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ARTICLES

TO BE

INQVIRED OF

WITHIN THE DIOCES OF

NORWICH:

In the first Visitation of the R. Reverend Father in God,

MATTHEW,

LORD BISHOP OF

NORWICH.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

K. Norwich, Dioc.

Printed at *London*, by *Richard Badger*.
1636.

The Tenour of the OATH to be Miniſtred to the *Church-wardens, and any other of every Pariſh, that ſhall be ſworne to make Preſentments.*

YOu ſhall ſweare, that you, and every one of you, ſhall and will duly conſider, and diligently enquire of every one of theſe Articles here given you in charge, and of all the branches thereof, and make true anſwer to all particulars therein demanded; and that all affection, or favour, or hatred, or hope of reward and gaine, or feare of diſpleaſure, or malice of any perſon, and all other pretences ſet aſide, you ſhall and will preſent every ſuch perſon of your Pariſh, or within it, as hath committed any offence or fault, or made any default mentioned in any of theſe Articles, or which is vehemently ſuſpected, or otherwiſe defamed of any ſuch offence, fault, or default; wherein you ſhall deale uprightly and fully according to the truth, neither preſenting, nor ſparing to preſent any contrary to the truth: Having in this action God before your eyes, with an earneſt zeale to maintaine truth and vertue, and to ſuppreſſe vice, and to diſcharge your owne conſciences. So helpe you God, and the Holy Contents of this Booke.

God ſave the KING.

Articles to be inquired of in the Diocess of *Norwich*, at the Visitation, holden in the yeere of our *Lord*, 1636.

Chap. 1. Concerning Religion and Doctrine.

1 ARE there any abiding in your Parish, or resorting to it, who have wilfully maintained any heresies, errours, or false opinions, contrary to the faith of Christ and holy Scripture? Or that do impugne any of the 39. Articles of Religion, agreed upon in Anno 1562. and established in the Church of England? And to the declaration, which the Kings Majesty professeth touching those 39. Articles, concerning the setling of the questions late in difference, duly observed by all within your Parish, according to his Majesties gracious commandement?

2 Be there any in your Parish that have denied, or perswaded any other to bow, worship, or reverence the Kings Majesties authority, and supremacy, in causes Ecclesiasticall within his Realme?

3 Is there in your Parish any that hath heene, or is vehemently suspected to have beene present at any unlawfull assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of Religion? Or doe any affirme and maintaine such meetings to be lawfull?

4 Be there any abiding in, or resorting to your Parish, that are commonly reported to be ill affected in matter of the religion professed in our Church, as Papists or Recusant Papists, or Sectaries separatists, refusing to repaire unto the Church, to heare divine Service, and to receive the holy Communion? Or that have or do publish, sell, or disperse any superstitious, seditious, or schismaticall Bookes, Libels, or Writtings, touching the Religion, State, or Ecclesiasticall government of this Kingdome of England? Present their names, qualities, and conditions, if you know of have heard of any.

Chap. 2. Concerning publike Prayer, and administration of the holy Sacraments, &c.

1 HAth any in your Parish spoken, or declared any thing in derogation or depraving of the forme of Gods worship, established in the Church of England, and the administration of the Sacraments, Rites, and Ceremonies set forth and prescribed in the booke of Common Prayer? Or do any preach, speak, and declare that the booke of Common Prayer containeth any thing that is repugnant to the holy Scripture, or not meet to be used? Or doe use any scornefull words against those godly Sermons, called, the Homilies of the Church?

2 Hath any in your Parish, caused, procured, or maintained any Minister, to say any common or publike prayer, or to administer the Sacrament of Baptisme, or of the Lords Supper, otherwise, or in any other manner, than is mentioned in the said booke of Common Prayer? Or hath any interrupted, hindered, let, or disturbed the Minister in reading of Divine Service, or administring the Sacraments in such sort, as is mentioned in the said booke? Or hath any interrupted him in his preaching, or reading the Homilies?

3 Is the Sacrament of Baptisme rightly and duly administred according to the forme prescribed in the booke of Common Prayer; using the observation of all Rites and Ceremonies prescribed to be used in the same, without adding or altering

of any part of any prayers, or interrogatories? Is the signe of the Crosse euery time vsed, and the Surplice neuer but worne in the administring of it?

4 Hath the administration of the Sacrament of Baptisme beene at any time deferred longer than till the next Sunday or Holiday, immmediatly following the birth of the childe?

5 Hath the Sacrament of baptisme beene refused to be administred to any children borne in, or out of wedlock, their birth being made knowne to the Minister of the Parish, and they offered vnto him to be baptized? Or haue any such children dien vnbaptized?

6 Haue the parents of the childe baptized, beene at any time admitted to be Godfathers or Godmothers to the same? Or haue any beene admitted to be Godfathers or Godmothers to any childe, before they haue receiued the holy Communion? Or haue any Godfathers or Godmothers vsed any other answers or speech in Baptisme, then is by the Book of Common Prayer appointed? Or haue they giuen to the children baptized any name that is absurd, or inconuenient for so holy an action?

7 Haue any children beene baptized in priuate houses, or by any Lay-person, or Midwife, or popish Priest, or by any other than your owne Minister? And haue all children priuately baptized, if they liued, beene afterwards brought to your Church, that the Congregation and the Minister of the Parish (in case they were not baptized by him) might be certified, whether they, or any of them were lawfully baptized or no?

8 Haue the children that haue beene borne to any popish Recusant in your Parish, beene publikely baptized in your Parish Church, by your owne Parson, Vicar, or Curate? Or by whom else were they baptized, or where, to your knowledge, or as you haue heard?

9 Hath the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper beene duely and reuerently administred in your Church or Chappell, so often, and at such conuenient times, that, at least thrice euery yeere (whereof once at Easter) euerie parishioner within your Parish, being of the age of 16. yeeres, or vpwards, might receiue the same?

10 Hath the said blessed Sacrament been deliuered vnto any, or receiued by any the Communicants within your Parish, that did vnreuerently either sit, stand, or kneele; or that did not deuoutly and humbly kneele vpon their knees, in plaine and open view, without collusion or hypocrisie?

11 Haue any of your Parish, which are openly knowne to liue in notorious sinne without repentance; or any excommunicate persons or schismaticks, common and notorious deprauers of the Religion and Gouernement of this Realme (without vnfained sorrow shewed by them for their impiety and wickednesse) beene admitted to be partakers of the holy Communion?

12 Hath any of your Parish been debarred from the said holie Communion, without iust cause, or without intimation presently giuen to the Ordinarie or Bishop of the Diocese?

Chap. 3. Concerning the Church, the furniture, and possessions thereof.

HAue you in your Church or Chappell, the whole Bible in the largest Volume, of the last translation, the Booke of Common Prayer, the two Bookes of Homilies, and Bishop Iewels Apologie, all well and fairely bound? And haue you also in your Church, the forme of the Diuine Seruice, for the 5th day of Nouember, and for the 27th day of March, and the Booke of Constitutions or Canons Ecclesiasticall?

2 Haue you in your Church or Chappell, a Font of stone set in the ancient vsed place, whole and cleane, and fit to hold water? A conuenient and decent Com-

munion-

nation Table, with a Carpet of silke, or some other decent thinge continually laid upon the Table, at the time of diuine Seruice; and a faire linnen cloth thereby laid, at the time of administring the Communion? And is the same Table placed conuenientlie, so as the Minister may best be heard in his administration, and the greatest number may reuerently communicate? Do that end doth it ordinarily stand vpon the East end of the Chancell, where the Altar in former times stood, the rails thereof being placed North and South? Is it at any time vsed vnreuerently, by leaning or sitting on it, throwing Hats or any thing else vpon it, or writing on it; or is it abused to any other prophane or common vse? And are the ten Commandements set vp in your Church or Chappell, where the people may see and read them, and other chosen sentences also written vpon the walls of your said Church or Chappell, in places conuenient for the same purpose?

3 Haue you in your said Church or Chappell a conuenient seat for your Minister to reade diuine Seruice in? Where doth it stand? how farre from the Chancell? and which way doth the standing thereof cause the Minister to turne his face, when he readeth therin at prayer? Haue you also a comely Pulpit set vp in a conuenient place with a decent Cloth or Cushion for the same; a comelie large Surplice; a faire Communion Cup of siluer, and a conuenient couer readie to the same; a Flagon of siluer or pewter, with all other things, and Ornaments necessarie for the celebration of diuine Seruice, and administration of the Sacraments? And haue you a Chest wherein to put the linnes for the poore, with three locks and keies vnto it, and another Chest for the keeping of the Bookes, and the Communion Vessels, and Ornaments of the Church? Or wheresoeuer they kept?

4 In the said Chest, haue you a Register-booke in Parchment, wherein to register the Christnings, Weddings, and Burials? And is the same booke written and kept in all points according to the Canon? And is the Christian name of the mother, as well as of the father, therin duly registred? And is there a transcript thereof transmitted euerie yeere into the Bishops principall Registry? Haue you also a faire Paper-booke, wherein euerie Preacher (being a stranger) to subscribe his name, the day he preached, and by whose authoritie he is licensed? Haue you also a Table set vp in your Church, of the degrees wherein by Law are prohibited to marrie?

5 Is your Church or Chappell, with the Chancell thereof, and your Parsonage-house or Vicarage-house, and all other houses thereto belonging, your Parish Almes-house and Church-house, in good reparations? And are they employed to goodly and their right holy vses? And if any of them be ruinous and wasted, in whom is the default? And is your Church, Chancell, and Chappell, decently and comely kept, as well within as without? and are the leads in good well maintained, the Steeple and Bels prouided, the windowes in no part stopt vp, but well glased, the rails and walls cleane, the whole Church paued, plaine and euen, and all things there in orderly and decent sort as they ought, neate, or finely or any thing that may be either noisome or vnseemely for the house of God?

6 Is there any in your Parish, that hath or doth refuse to contribute towards the reparation of your Church, or towards the prouision of such things as belong thereunto?

7 Is your Church-yard or Chappell-yard well fenced, and kept without abuse and waste, either in the default of any person within your minister, or that you haue reason to feare? Or is the same vsed vpon the Sabbath dayes, by setting vp any kinde of building or fence vpon it, or by opening any backe gate or dore into it? Hath any vsed that place (consecrated to an holie vse) prophanely or wickedly? Hath any quarrelled or stricken one another, either in the Church or Church-yard? Hath any person behaued himselfe rudely and vnreuerently in either of the same places, by vsing any light or prophane talke, or

any other rude and immodest behauiour in them? Haue any Playes, Feasts, Reuels, Suppers, Church-ales, Drinkings, Lampreds, Courts, or Leets, Layerings, Shearers, exercise of dancing, Stale-ball, Foote ball, or the like, or any other prophane playe beene suffered to be kept in your Church, Chappell, or Church-yard? Haue any annoyed your Church yard or the fences thereof, by putting in of Cattell, by hanging vp of cloathes, or by laying any dust, dung, or any other filthinesse there? When Graues are digged, are the bones of the dead piously vsed, & decently interred againe, or laid vp in some fit place, as beseemeth Christians? And is the whole consecrate ground kept free from swine, and all other filthinesse?

8 Are your Church wardens carefull to take speciall order, that no Dogs be at any time suffred to come into the Church, to the disturbance of the diuine Seruice, and the polluting of that holy place of the Christian congregation? And doe any of the inhabitants (of what condition soeuer) or of their company, bring their Hawkes into the Church, or vsually suffer their Dogs of any kind to come with them thither, to the prophanation of the house of God, and his holy worship?

9 What Legacies haue been giuen to the vse and benefit of your Church, and how haue they been bestowed? Who hath receiued & detained them without due impleignment? Doth any detaine or imbezell, or hath sold and made away any of the Church-goods, or vsed or imployed them otherwise, than by law they ought to doe?

10 Is your Church full, or vacant of an Incumbent? And if vacant, who receiueth the fruits thereof, and who serueth the Cure, and by what authority? And is it a Personage, Vicarage, or Donatiue?

11 Is there in your Parish, or any where about you, that you know or haue heard of any Church, Chappell, or Oratory, now demolished, or likely to be ruined, or that is conuerted to any priuate or secular vse?

12 Hath any priuate man, or men, of his or their priuate authority (for ought you know) erected any pewes, or builded any new Seats in your Church? And what pewes or seats haue beene of late yeres new built, by whose procurement, and by what authority? And are all the pewes and seats in the Church, so ordered, that they which are in them may all conueniently kneele downe in the time of prayer, and stand their faces vp Eastward, towards the holy Table? Is the middle alley of the Church, or any of the other alleyes or Iles, or the body of the Chancell, built vpon (in any part thereof) for the setting vp of pewes or seats, or for the inlarging of any those aforesaid? Are there also any kind of seats at the East end of the Chancell, aboue the Communion Table, or on either side vp euen with it?

13 Are there any priuie Closets, or close Pewes in your Church? Are any pewes so loftily made, that they do any way hinder the preacher of the Church or Chancell, or that they which are in them be hidden from the face of the congregation? What Galleries also haue you in your Church? How are they placed, and in what part of the Church? When were they built, & by what authority? Is not the Church large enough without them to receiue all your owne parishioners? Is any part of the Church hidden or darkned thereby, or any of the Parish annoyed or offended by them?

14 Hath any in your Parish defaced, or caused to be defaced, or purloyned any Monuments or Ornaments in your Church, or any inscriptions of braſſe, any Lead, or Stones there, or the Glasse windowes? When & by whom it was done, and by whose

15 Hath any popish Recusant, being lawfully excommunicate, or any other excommunicated person beene harboured in your Church or Church yard, before absolution from that censure and excommunication obtained? And if yea, declare when, and how?

16 Are the profits, tithes, or any commodities Ecclesiasticall belonging to the Parsonage or Vicarage of your parish, conuerted to the vse and benefit of the Patrons of, or any other, and by them receiued and taken? And how long haue they been so

And is there but a Curate or Stipendary Priest kept in any place, where you have Power or Gift to present an Incumbent should be preferred, and what allowance hath he?

7 Is there any other Cure annexed to your parish, or any Chappell of ease belonging to the same? How are they served, by whom, and upon what allowance? Or have you in your parish any dwelling-house with a Chappell thereto; or in which any resort is customarily used for preaching, or saying the Divine Service, and administring the holy Sacraments?

8 Have you a true Terrier of all the Glebe-Lands, Tenements, Gardens, Orchards, Woods, Woods, Ampleforths, Tenements, and Hereditaments of Rectory, within your Parish, or elsewhere, belonging to your Parsonage or Vicarage, taken by the view of honest men of your said parish, appointed by the Ordinary? And is it safely kept and preserved, and in whose hands? And hath there a true coppie thereof, under the hands of the Minister and Church-wardens, been transmitted and left in the Bishops Registry, there to continue for a perpetuall memory thereof? And if you have no such Terrier yet made, you the Church-wardens and Sidesmen, together with your Parson or Vicar, or to his absence, your Curate, are duly appointed to make diligent inquiry of the premisses, and to make, subscribe, and assigne the said Terrier, and to bring in a true copie of it into the Bishops Registry, as is aforesaid?

Chap. 4. Concerning the Ministers, Preachers, and Lecturers.

1 Is your Minister, Parson, Vicar, or Curate, a Graduate in either of the Universities, yea or no? And if he be a Graduate, then of what degree is he? and what kinde of Book doth he use to weare in the Church?

2 Is your Minister a licensed Preacher, yea or no? And if he be licensed, then by whom? Doth he preach duelly in his owne Cure, or in some other Church or Chappell where adjoyning, where there is no Preacher, once every Sunday? And doth he read the Divine Service appointed to be used, duelly and orderly, and is he also present Reading, and in his Cannonicall and Corner (yea or no?) with his Surplice and Hood also, if he be a Graduate, and doth he keep hospitality? And if he be not a licensed Preacher, doth he take upon him to preach in his owne Cure, or elsewhere, to expound any Scripture or matter of doctrine, or doth he keep homilies only to the reading of Homilies published by authority; and doth he procure Sermons to be preached amongst you, once every moneth at least, by such as are lawfully licensed? And doth he or his Curate upon every Sunday when there is no Sermon, read some one of the Homilies prescribed by authority, and before the said Homilie, recite that forme of prayer (only) which is prescribed in the fifty nine Canon?

3 Is your Minister resident with you upon his benefice? or if absent, how long time yearly he absenteth himself from the most part? And doth he in his absence make allowance to the poore, and what allowance doth he make? Hath he any other Benefice, and doth he supply his absence by a Curate that is licensed to preach, and what allowance doth he make to his Curate?

4 Is your Curate licensed by the Bishop of the Diocese? And doth your Minister or Curate serve any more Cures than one? If yea, then what other Cure doth he serve, and how far are the Cures distant one from the other?

5 Hath any being no Minister, or Person, presumed at any time to read common prayers openly in your Church or Chappell; or to serve the Cure of your Parish? Or hath any [illegible] the Communion in your Church or Chappell? Pon are to present the names of any that have offended herein.

6 Doth

6 Doth your Minister, Preacher, or Lecturer, begin his Sermon at any time, or part of the diuine Seruice, but immediately after the Beliefe called the Nicene-creed? Doth he before his Sermon (or Homilie, if he reade one) vse any forme of prayer which is of his priuate conceiuing or collecting, and of his owne inuenting or deuising, or doth hee containe himselfe within that briefe forme only, which is prescribed by the Church (in the 55. Canon) thereby to moue the people to ioyne with him in prayer for Christs holie Catholike Church, and for the Kings most excellent Maiestie (naming him and his roiall Titles) for the Queene, the Prince, and the roiall Issue, for the Archbishops also and the Bishops, for the Councell, the Nobility, the Magistracie, & Commons of the land, and to giue thanks to God for the faithfull departed out of this life? And doth he alwaies conclude it with the Lords Prayer? Doth the Preacher or Minister also after his Sermon, wholly forbeare to vse any kinde or forme of prayer (not being prescribed,) as also to pronounce the Blessing (out of the Pulpit) wherewith the Church vseth to dismisse y people? But doth he there conclude only with, Glorie be to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost: and then comming from the Pulpit (if the Sermon were made within the Church or Chappell) doth he, or who soeuer then officiates at the same place, where he left before the Sermon, proceed to reade the remainder of the diuine Seruice, and at the close of all, to giue the Blessing?

7 Doth euerie Priest and Deacon in your Parish daily say the Morning & Euening prayer, either priuately or openly, vnlesse he be vpon lawfull cause hindered? Doth your Curate say the same daily in your Church or Chappell, with the tolling of a Bell before he begin? Especially doth your Minister or Curate doe it on euerie Sunday and Holiday, and their Eues, and on the day of the conuersion of S. Paul, S. Barnabies day, and euery day of the holie Week next before Easter; as also on all Wednesdaies and Fridaies, at fit & vsuall times, according to the forme prescribed in the booke of Common Prayer, in a reuerent manner euer, and as audibly & distinctly as he vseth to preach? Doth he also reade all those Psalmes and Lessons, and no other, with the Collect, Epistle, and Gospell, which are appointed for the day? At the end of euery Psalme, doe they stand and say, Glory be to the Father, &c. and doth hee leaue out the Contents of the Chapters? After the Lessons, doth he vse any other Psalme or Hymne, but those which the booke of Common Prayer hath appointed? Doth he reade the Creede of S. Athanasius (called the Quicunque vult) on all those daies for which it is appointed, and the commination on Ashwednesday, and the Letany on euery Wednesday and Friday?

8 Doth your Minister and Curate, at all times, as well in preaching or reading the Homilies, as in reading the Prayers and the Letany, in administring the holy Sacraments, solemnization of Matrimonie, burying of the dead, churching of women, and all other offices of the Church, duly obserue the Orders and Rites prescribed, without omission, alteration, or addition of any thing? And doth he, in performing all and euery of these, weare the Surplice duly, and neuer omit the wearing of the same, nay of his Hood, if he be a Graduate?

9 Doth your Parson or Vicar hauing a Curate vnder him, notwithstanding read diuine Seruice himselfe vpon two seuerall Sundayes in the yeere, publikely at the vsuall times, both in the forenoone and afternoone, in the Church which he possesseth? and doth he also administer both Sacraments, as often in euery yeere in such manner, and with the obseruation of all such Rites and Ceremonies, as are prescribed in the booke of Common Prayer in that behalfe?

10 Doth your Minister, Preacher, and Lecturer, euery yeere, of purpose & expressly, (yet not by way of disputation, but by plaine conclusion and determination) teach and declare the lawfull authority which the King hath ouer the State, both Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill; and the iust abolishing of all forraigne power or iurisdiction ouer the same?

11 Doth

11 Doth your Minister publish in his Sermons any doctrine, which is new and strange, and disagreeing from the Word of God, and from the Articles of Christian faith and Religion, agreed on and published Anno Domini 1562? And doth he teach any thing, which he would have the people religiously observe and beleeve, but that which is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that which the Catholike Fathers and ancient Bishops have gathered out of that doctrine, according to the Canon?

12 Doth your Minister goe to the administration of holy Baptisme, euer immediately after the second Lesson? Doth he alwayes (at first) aske, whether the childe be baptized or no? Afterward, doth he euer vse and neuer omit, both to take the childe in his hands, and also to make the signe of the Crosse, so as to touch the childs forehead in making the same? Doth he at any time baptize but in the Font, or with any Basson or Bason, or other vessell set into the Font? hath he euer deferred or willingly neglected or refused to baptize any infant within the Parish, being in danger of death, notice thereof having beene giuen to him? And hath any childe died without baptisme, by his default?

13 Doth your Minister or Curate often admonish the people, that they defer not the baptisme of their infants any longer, after they are borne, than is prescribed, but vpon a great and reasonable cause, declared to the Minister or Curate, and approued by him; nor that they procure them to be baptized at home without great necessity.

14 Hath your Minister admitted any person to answer as Godfather or Godmother, at the christening of a childe, that hath not before receiued the holy Communion, and is not able to recite the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandements, and the Articles of Beliefe, and to answer to the same, being required? And doth he at the Font, as soone as he hath baptized any childe, admonish them to bring the childe to the Bishop to be confirmed, as soone as he hath learned the Catechisme?

15 Doth your Minister, euery Sunday & Holiday before euening prayer, where no Sermon was wont to be, halfe an houre, or more, catechise and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of your Parish, in the ten Commandements, the Articles of Beliefe, and the Lords Prayer? And doth he vse for that purpose, the Catechisme set forth in the booke of Common Prayer, and diligently heare, instruct, and teach them in the said Catechisme? Or what other Catechisme doth he vse either in publike or priuate? And be the youth and ignorant persons of your parish, sent in due time vnto your Church, by them that ought to send them, to be catechized and instructed by the Minister? And if not, you are to present the names of those that make default in sending them, and of all those that vse not to come?

16 Are your afternoone-sermons (if there were wont to be any) turned into catechizing by question and answer, where and whensoeuer there is no great cause apparent to the contrary? And is this truly and sincerely performed, without mockery, or in shew only?

17 Doth your Minister vse to administer the holy Communion, at least thrice in the yeere (whereof once at Easter) to euery parishioner in your Parish, that is fortene yeeres of age and vpwards; and first to receiue the same himselfe, kneeling, on euery day that he administreth it to others; and to administer it to none but to such as doe kneele at the receiuing thereof? And doth he alwayes vse the words of Institution, according to the booke of Common Prayer, without alteration, at euery time, that the Bread and Wine is renewed? Doth he also vse to deliuer the Bread and Wine to euery Communicant seuerally, and with his owne hand, repeating to euery one, all the words appointed to be said at the distribution of the holy Body and blood of our Lord IESVS, and vpon no pretence omitting any part of the words, or saying them all-but now and then to many at once? And is there warning giuen by him, to the parishioners, publikly in the Church, at morning prayer the Sunday [illegible] euery

time of his administring of the Holy Communion, for their better preparation thereunto?

18 Hath your Minister admitted vnto the holy Communion any of his cure or flocke, which he openly knowne to liue in sinne notorious, without Repentance, or any that haue maliciously and openly contended with their neighbours, before they be reconciled; or any Church-wardens, or Side-men, who hauing taken their oathes to present to their Ordinary all such publike offences, as they are particularly charged to inquire of in the Parish, haue and doe notwithstanding, wittingly and irreligiously incurre the horrible crime of periurie, either in neglecting or refusing to present such publike offences, as they themselues know, or haue heard to be committed within your Parish?

19 Hath your Minister at any time admitted vnto the Communion any that refuse to be present at publike prayers, or who are notorious deprauers of the Booke of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, or of the Orders, Rites, or Ceremonies therein prescribed; or of any thing contained in the thirty nine Articles, or in the Booke of ordaining Priests and Bishops? Or who haue spoken against, or depraued his Maiesties Soueraigne Authoritie in causes Ecclesiasticall, vnlesse they and euerie of them do first acknowledge their repentance for their fault, and promise to do so no more?

20 Doth your minister or Curate admit any to the Communion, before they can say their Catechisme, and be confirmed?

21 Doth your Minister together with the Church-wardens and Quest-men, take diligent heed and care, not only that all and euery one of your owne Parishioners do receiue thrice euerie yeere; but also, that no strangers of any other Parish, do come often and commonly to your Church, from their owne Parish Church, or do there receiue the Holy Communion?

22 Doth your Minister, before the seuerall times of administration of the Lords Supper, admonish and exhort his Parishioners, if any of them haue their Conscience troubled and disquieted, to resort vnto him, or to some other learned Minister, and open their griefe, that they may receiue such ghostly counsell and comfort, as their conscience may be relieued, and by the Minister they may receiue the benefit of Absolution, to the quiet of their Conscience, and auoiding of all scruple? And if any man confesse his secret and hidden sinnes, being sicke or whole, to the Minister, for the vnburthening of his conscience, and receiuing of spirituall consolation or ease of minde from him, Doth he the said Minister (or hath he at any time) by word, writing, or signe, openly or couertly, directly or indirectly, reueale and make knowne to anie person whatsoeuer, any Crime or Offence, so committed to his trust and secresie?

23 Hath your Minister solemnized the Mariage of any person vnder the age of twenty one yeeres, without the consent of their Parents or Gouernours; or hath he maried any, which doe not audibly say and answere in all things appointed by the Liturgy; or any without a Ring, or in times prohibited, or without the Banes first published three seuerall Sundaies or Holidaies, in time of diuine Seruice, in the seuerall Churches or Chappels of their seuerall abodes, without a speciall license from the Arch-bishop, or Bishop of the Diocese, or his Chancellor, or the Commissary, first had and obtained? And doth hee begin in the bodie of the Church, and then goe vp to the Table, as is appointed? Also doth your Minister, so oft as there is any mariage, appoint to haue a Communion? After the Gospell doth he say a Sermon (if he be licensed to preach) wherein to declare the office of man and wife, according to holy Scripture; Or else doth he read that which the Church hath appointed to be read at Matrimonie?

24 Doth your Minister vse the forme of thanksgiuing for women after childe-birth immediatly before the Communion Seruice? Or hath he admitted thereunto any women begotten with childe in Adultery or Fornication, without license of his Ordinary?

25 Doth your Minister carefully looke to the reliefe of the poore, and from time to time call vpon his Parishioners, to giue somewhat according to their abilities, to godly and charitable vses; especially doth he inforce it vpon them with earnest exhortation (as is prescribed) at the time of the oblation or offering before the Communion, and vpon their sick beds, or when they make their wils?

26 Doth your Minister or Curate resort vnto such as be dangerously sicke in your Parish (if he be sent for, or notice thereof be giuen to him) to instruct or comfort them in their distresses, according to the order of the Booke of Common Prayers; not omitting then especially, to moue them earnestly to liberality towards the poore?

27 If any being sick doe desire the prayers of the Congregation, is it done according to the forme in the Liturgie, at the time of diuine Seruice; or is it done only by giuing their names to the Preacher, and mentioning of them in the Pulpit, before or after Sermon?

28 Hath your Minister euer refused to burie any which ought to be interred with Christian buriall? Or hath he deferred the same longer than he should? Doth he go before the Corps to the Graue, and there say the whole seruice appointed, not omitting the Lesson or any other part? Doth he deuoutly kneele, when he saith the prayers, and the Collect at buriall? or hath hee admitted any to christian buriall, which by the Lawes of the holy Church of this Realme, ought not to bee so interred?

29 Doth your Minister, being a Preacher, and hauing any Popish Recusant or Recusants in your Parish, labour diligently with them from time to time, to reclaime them from their errours? Or otherwise is he ouer-conuersant with them, or suspected to fauour them?

30 Hath your Minister, (or any other taking vpon him the calling of a Minister) preached, baptized children (except in case of necessity) solemnized mariage, churched any women, or ministred the holy Communion in any priuate house or houses? If yea, then where, when, and how often hath he done it?

31 Doe you know, or haue heard of any which are reputed to be Ministers (or of any other of the Laity, either Male or Female) that presume to make matters of Diuinity their ordinary Table-talke? Or that vnder pretence of holinesse and edification, take the liberty at their Trencher meetings, or where seuerall company (not being all of the same family) are assembled, rashly and prophanely to discourse of holy Scripture? Or amidst their cups, to dispute or determine any Articles of Faith and Religion, or touching any point of doctrine or Ecclesiasticall discipline, at their owne pleasure, and to their owne phansie? you shall name the persons, times, and places, as far as you know or haue heard, and can remember?

32 Doth your Minister euery sixe moneths, in your Parish Church, openly in the time of diuine Seruice, vpon some Sunday, denounce and declare, excommunicate by name, such as doe persieuere in the sentence of excommunication, not seeking to be absolued? And hath he said diuine Seruice, whiles any excommunicate person hath beene present in the Church? Or hath admitted any person, that hath beene excommunicate, into the Church, without a Certificate of his absolution from his Ordinary? Or hath he staied or forborne to denounce any excommunication, or suspension or absolution that hath beene sent him from his Ordinary?

33 Hath your Minister beene at any priuate meetings or conuenticles, to consult there, about the impeachment or deprauing of the doctrine of the Church of England, or of the booke of Common Prayer, or of any part of the gouernment and discipline of the Church; or to practise any forme of their owne, either for worship or discipline?

34 Doth your Minister, vpon Sundayes at Morning Prayer, declare vnto the parishioners what Fasting-dayes and Holidayes are to be kept, the weeke following?

35 Doth your Minister in the Rogation dayes, go the perambulation of the circuit of your Parish, saying and vsing the Prayers, Suffrages, and Thanksgiuing vnto God, appointed by Law, according to his duty; thanking God for his blessings, and praying for his grace and fauour?

36 Doth your Parson or Vicar maintaine and keepe in due reparation, the Mansion-houses, and all other edifices belonging to his Parsonage or Vicarage, without suffering them to grow into ruine or decay?

37 Hath your Minister taken vpon him, to appoint, or to hold or continue any priuate or publike fasts, or meetings, for preaching or lecturing on any working-day, in his owne parish or elsewhere, or prophesies or exercises, or any other such thing, not approued by his Ordinary for the time being?

38 Is your Minister studious in holy Scripture, and abstaineth from mechanicall trades, bodily labour, soliciting of causes in Law, common buying and selling of Horses or other Cattell, and all other imployments not befitting his calling & holy Function? Doth he vsually weare a Gowne with a standing collar, and sleeues strait at the hands, and a square Cap? Doth he in trauelling vse a cloak with sleeues, commonly called a Priests-cloake, without guards, buttons, or cuts? Doth he at any time in publike weare any coife or wrought night-cap, but only a plaine cap of black silke, sattin or velvet? Doth he at any time go abroad in his doublet and hose without a coat or callock, or weare any light coloured stockings? Or is he any way excelliue in apparell, either himselfe or his wife?

39 Is your Minister suspected, or knowne to haue obtained his Benefice by any Simoniacall compact, directly or indirectly? Or is he reputed to be an incontinent person, a frequenter of Tauernes, Innes, or Ale-houses, a common gameller or player at dice or cards, a common sweerer or drunkard, or otherwise faulty in any other kinde that is scandalous to his function?

40 Hath your Minister publikly in your parish Church or Chappell, once euery yeere read ouer the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall agreed vpon by the Clergy of both Prouinces, An. Dom. 1603. in such manner as the same is commanded to be done?

41 Is there any in your parish or resorting thereunto, who hauing taken holy Orders of Priest or Deacon, doth voluntarily relinquish & forsake his calling, and liueth in the course of his life as a Lay-man? Or any that hauing beene silenced, or suspended by authority, so remaineth without conforming himselfe in due obedience to the Church? And how doth he imploy his time; and where or whence hath he his maintenance, as you know or haue heard?

42 Are any admitted to preach in your Church, who doe not before the Churchwardens subscribe their names in your book prouided for that purpose, and the day when he or they preached, and the name of the Bishop or Bishops of whom they had licence to preach?

43 Doth any Preacher particularly impugne and confute any doctrine deliuered by any other Preacher in the same Church, or in any Church neere adioyning, before he hath acquainted the Bishop of the Diocese therewith, and receiued order from him, what to doe in that case?

44 Haue you any Lecturer in your Parish, and on what day is your Lecture? If any such be, doth he, twice at the least euery yeere, reade diuine Seruice both morning

and

and euening, two ſeuerall Sundayes, publikely in his Surplice and Hood? And alſo twice in the yéere adminiſter both Sacraments, with ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as are preſcribed by the Booke of Common Prayer?

45 Doth the Lecturer (whoſoeuer he bee) reade the diuine Seruice according to the Liturgie printed by authority, in his Surplice and Hood before euery Lecture?

46 Doth your Preacher or Lecturer behaue himſelfe in his Lectures & Sermons, as he ought to doe, teaching obedience, and edifying his auditory in matters of faith and good life, without intermedling with matters of State, or newes, or other diſcourſes not fit for the Pulpit; and alſo without fauouring or abetting Schiſmaticks or Separatiſts (that are at home, or are gone abroad) either by ſpeciall prayer for them, or by any other approbation of them?

47 Haue you any Lecture or Combination ſet vp in your Parish? And if ſo, is it read by a company of graue and orthodox Diuines, neere adioyning, and in the ſame Diocés? And doth euery one of them preach in a Gowne, and not in a Cloake? And when and by whom were they appointed? And what be their names?

48 Is any ſingle Lecturer (maintained by your Towne or otherwiſe) ſuffered to preach, be not firſt profeſſing his willingneſſe to take vpon him the cure of ſoules, nor actually taking a Benefice or Cure, ſo ſoone as it may be fairely procured for him? What is his name, and what licenſe hath he? And hath he a ſet ſtipend or contribution aſſigned to the Lecturers place; or is it arbitrary, and for this Lecturer only? What ſumme doth it amount to ordinarily? By whom is it vſually paid or collected, or of late yéeres hath beene?

49 If any Pſalmes be vſed to be ſung in your Church, before or after the morning and euening prayer, or before or after the Sermons (vpon which occaſions only, they are allowed to be ſung in Churches) is it done according to that graue manner (which firſt was in vſe) that ſuch doe ſing as can reade the Pſalmes, or haue learned them by heart; and not after that vncouth and vndecent cuſtome of late taken vp, to haue euery line firſt read, and then ſung by the people?

Chap. 5. Concerning Matrimony.

BE there any in your Parish, that haue maried within the degrées of affinity or conſanguinity, by the Law of God forbidden, as is expreſſed in a certaine Table publiſhed by authority in Anno 1563. And if any haue ſo maried, what be their names, and where were they maried, and by whom?

2 Hath any beene maried ſecretly in priuate houſes, or without their Parents or Gouernours conſent ſignified, being vnder the age of twenty one yeeres?

3 Haue any perſons bin maried in your Parish, the Banes hauing not been thrice publiſhed, three ſeuerall Sundayes or Holidayes, in time of diuine Seruice: who were the parties, and who were preſent at ſuch mariages; & what Miniſter maried them?

4 Haue any perſons by licenſe or without, been maried in your parish Church, neither of them at that time dwelling in your towne or hath any mariage (that you know or haue heard of) bin made at any time, by licenſe or without, but betweene the houres of eight and twelue in the morning? Or was not the diuine Seruice then openly and duly ſaid, the Aſſembly being called together by the tolling or ringing of the Bell, as is at other times vſed? Or hath the Miniſter ſolemnized any mariage (without Banes publiſhed) by vertue of any licenſe granted by the Arch-deacon or his Officiall, or by any other licenſe then of the Arch-biſhop or Biſhop of the Diocés, or their Chancellors, Commiſſaries, or Vicars generall, or the Commiſſary for faculties? And hath any licenſe beene granted by any to ſuch perſons as were not of good ſtate and quality? Name the perſons and all particulars, as far as you know or can remember?

3 What popish Recusants, or their Children haue beene maried in your parish? In what sort was the matrimony solemnized? when? and by whom?

6 Doe any persons, being lawfully married, liue asunder? and in whom is the default?

7 Doe any (heretofore diuorced, or not) keepe company at bed and board, with any other man or woman, then with the person that he or she were married to? what be their names? when and where were they maried, and how long haue they continued so together?

8 Haue you any in your Parish, which liue together as man and wife, and yet not knowne, by whom, where, or when they were maried?

9 Haue all new-maried persons (the same day of their mariage) duly receiued the holy Communion? If not, by whose default was it, as you conceiue?

Chap. 6. Concerning the Church-wardens and Side-men.

BE the Church-wardens chosen by the Minister and Parishioners yearely in Easter-weeke, according to the 89. Canon? And hath any taken vpon him to be Church-warden, not being so chosen? Or hath any continued aboue one yeere in his office, without a new choise?

2 Haue any of the Church-wardens retained any of the Church-goods in their hands, and not made a iust account at their going out of their office, of what they haue receiued and expended; or not deliuered to their successors, by Bill indented betweene them, whatsoeuer money or other things belonging to the Church, that remained in their hands?

3 Are there in your parish yearely, two, three, or more discreet persons, either chosen by the Minister & Parishioners in Easter-weeke; or if they cannot agree, appointed by y Ordinary to be Sidemen, or Assistants in ioynt office with the Church-wardens?

4 What rates or leuies (as you know or haue heard) are yearely or commonly made in your parish for Church-vses? What is the vsuall summe thereof ordinarily? and what are the particular vses? or where are they written down, to which the same are for the most part imployed?

5 Do the Church-wardens and Side-men or Assistants, diligently see, that all the Parishioners doe duly resort to the Church, vpon all Sundayes and Holydayes, and there continue the whole time of diuine Seruice & Sermon; suffering no idle persons to walke, or talke, or stand idle, either in the Church, Church-yard, or Church-porch, during the time of diuine Seruice or Sermon; but causing them either to come into the Church, or else to depart? And haue they the said Church-wardens and Side-men taken any, either for reward, fauour, or affection, to present them, that haue beene, or are negligent in comming to Church, or that vse to walk or talk therein, or that haue bin found by them standing idle, or talking abroad, either in the Church-yard or streets in the time of diuine Seruice or Sermon, on Sundaies or Holidaies; or that haue not receiued the Communion yearly, at the Feast of Easter, or within one moneth after?

6 Doe you know of any Church-wardens, which within forty dayes after Easter, in their yeere, did not exhibit to the Bishop or his Chancellor, the names and surnames of all the parishioners, as well men as women, (which being of the age of 16. yeeres and vpward) receiued not the Communion the Easter before? And haue you, this last yeere exhibited a bill of them? or are you ready now so to doe?

7 Doe the Churchwardens against euery Communion, aduise with the Minister, about the prouiding of a sufficient quantity of fine white bread, and of good and whole some wine, for the number of Communicants that are to receiue? And is the wine brought in a cleane & sweet standing pot of pewter, or of other finer metal, vpon the

Communion

Communion daies do your Church-wardens (immediately after the Sermon or Homilie, and the Miniſters exhortation to remember the poore) gather the deuotion of the people in a ſafre and ſolemne manner, and put the ſame into the poore mans box?

8 Haue the Church-wardens ſuffered the Church, Church-yard, or Chappell, to be prophaned by Playes, Games, Feaſts, Banquets, Suppers, Church-ales, Drinkings, Temporall-courts, or Leets, Lay-iuries, Muſters, &c. at any time acted, kept, or held in them?

9 Hath any man that you know or haue heard of, by ſpeech or writing, or vpon the aſſertion of any other man affirmed; that men ought not to take the office or the Oath of a Church-warden, or of preſenting at the Biſhops Viſitation: Or that the ſaid oath is vnlawfully giuen them; or that being taken, it is but of courſe, and binds them not, nor need to be regarded; or that (the ſaid Oath notwithſtanding) it is free for them, neither to make inquiry, nor to anſwer; but to do what they liſt, and to leaue out and paſſe by whom they will, and what they will, in their Preſentments?

Chap. 7. Concerning the Pariſhioners.

DOe any in your Pariſh prophane any Sunday or Holiday, by any vnlawfull gaming, drinking, or tipling in Tauernes, Innes, or Ale-houſes, in the time of Common Prayer or Sermon; or by working, or doing the worke of their Trades and Occupations? Doe any in your Pariſh buy or ſell, or keepe open their Shops, or ſet out any wares to be ſold on Sundayes, or Holidayes, by themſelues, their ſeruants, or apprentices; or haue they any other wayes prophaned the ſaid dayes? And hath the Kings Declaration concerning the lawfull ſports and recreations beene publiſhed among you, yea or no? If ſo, when was it done, in what manner, and by whom?

2 Is the fifth day of November obſerued and kept in your Pariſh, with Prayer and Thankſgiuing vnto God, in ſuch forme, as is by publike Authority appointed for the day?

3 Is there any in your Pariſh that hath been heard to impugne or ſpeake againſt the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, or the lawfull vſe of them; or to affirme by word or writting, that the forme of Making and Conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, or any thing therein contained, is repugnant to the word of God; or that the Gouernement of this Church vnder his Maieſty by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſticall Officers, is Antichriſtian? Or hath ſpoken reproachfully, or diſgracefully of the Kings Maieſties Courts Eccleſiaſticall, or of the proceedings therof?

4 Haue you any in your Pariſh, that do come to the Sermon only, and not to diuine Seruice; or which vſe to come late to Church, or to depart from Church before the Bleſſing be giuen, wherewith they are to be diſmiſſed at the end of Seruice? Or that doe not reuerently behaue themſelues, entring into the Church, and during the time of diuine Seruice? Do all (both men and women) deuoutly kneele, when the Generall confeſſion of ſins, the Letany, the ten Commandements, and all Prayers and Collects are read, as well at Baptiſmes, Mariages and Burials, as at other parts of the diuine Seruice? Do all vſe due and lowly reuerence, when the bleſſed name of the Lord IESVS is mentioned: and ſtand vp when the Articles of the Creed are read? Do any men couer their heads in the Church, (vnleſſe it be for infirmity, in which caſe they may only weare a coife or night-cap,) or then and there giue themſelues to babling, talking, or walking, and are not attentiue to the Prayers and Hymnes, and to heare Gods word read and preached? Do all ſay Amen and Oby, and make ſuch other anſwers both in the Letany, and all other parts of diuine Seruice, as by the rule of the Common Prayer booke, are to be made by the people?

5 Doth

5 Doth any within your Parish, men or women, being fifteene yeeres of age and vpwards, or any other, lodging or commonly resorting to any house in your Parish, wilfully absent themselues, from your parish Church or Chappell, vpon Sundayes and Holydayes and other dayes appointed, at morning and euening prayers, or refuse to receiue the Communion, or perswade others from comming to Church, or receiuing the holy Communion?

6 Haue you any popish or puritanicall Recusants in your parish, that be of insolent behauiour, not without publike offence; or that do boldly bustle themselues in seducing or withdrawing others, either abroad, or in their owne families, from the Religion established in the Church of England? And how long haue the said popish or puritanicall Recusants obstinately abstained, either from diuine Seruice, or from the Communion? Whether of any long time, or of late only?

7 Are there any in your Parish, who doe absent themselues at any time from your owne Church, and do resort to any other parish or place to heare other Preachers? Or are there any in your parish, that do communicate, or that do baptize their children in any other parish?

8 Is there within your parish in any house or family, any one that is called or reputed a Chaplaine, or that is knowne or supposed to haue entered into holy Orders? Or any that liue there in imployment as a scholler? Present their names if there be any such, and how long they haue beene there?

9 Is there any in your Parish, who doe refuse to haue their children baptized, or themselues to receiue the Communion, at the hand of your Minister, because he is no Preacher, or doth not edifie in their phansie?

10 Doth any maried woman within your parish, after childe birth neglect to come to Church according to the booke of Common Prayer to giue thankes to God for her safe deliuerance, hauled in a decent manner, as hath beene anciently accustomed? And doth she then kneele in some conuenient place nigh to the Communion Table, while the Priest (standing by her) giueth thanks for her? And if there be a Communion, doth she then offer her accustomed offerings, and receiue the holy Communion?

11 Are there within your Parish or thereunto resorting, any players on Stage, or with Puppets, or any Musitians, Fidlers, Rimers, or Jesters, which do vse any prophane or filthy passages, in their songs, speeches, or gestures, to the dishonour of God, abuse of Scripture, or the corrupting of good manners; or which do publish any thing scandalous to the State, or reproachfull to the holy Clergie?

12 Haue you any in your parish that are commonly knowne, or reputed to be blasphemers of Gods holy Name, common and vsuall swearers, drunkards, vsurers, filthy speakers, adulterers, fornicators, incestuous persons, bawds, concealers of fornicators or adulterers? Haue any in your parish beene detected of such notorious crimes, and what penance haue they done for the same?

13 What corporall punishment for any such offence, hath beene commuted and changed into a pecuniary mulct or sum of money, by any Ecclesiasticall Judge exercising iurisdiction within this Dioces, by vertue of any Graunt or Commission? What was the sum of money by any of them so receiued and taken, and to what vses was the same imployed? And vpon such Commutations, was the vnfained repentance of the delinquent published in the Church?

14 Doe all Fathers, Mothers, Masters, & Mistresses, cause their children, seruants, and apprentises to come to the publike catechizing on Sundayes and Holidayes, to be instructed and taught therein? And those that doe not their duties herein, in not sending them to it, or not comming, or not learning and answering, you shall present their names?

15 Haue any in your Parish receiued or harboured any women gotten with childe out

out of wedlock, and suffered her to depart without punishment duly inflicted on her by the Ordinary? You shall truly present as well the party harbouring, as harboured; and who is suspected to be the father of the childe?

16 Is any person or persons suspected or detected hereto of incontinency and therefore departing out of your Parish for a season, now returned againe? Or in what place else is he or she now abiding to your knowledge, or as you have heard? You shall not faile to present the whole truth in that behalfe?

17 Doe all your Parishioners, of what sort soever, according as the Church expressly them commandeth, draw neere, and with all Christian humility and reverence come to the Lords Table, when they are to receive the holy Communion? And not (after the most contemptuous and unholy guise of some, if men did rightly consider) sit still in their Seats or Pewes, to have the blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour go up and downe, to seek them all the Church over?

18 Are there any lately deceased in your Parish, whose last Wills and Testaments have not yet been proved? or did they dye intestate? And if so, who hath taken upon him the administration of their goods, and whether by lawfull authority from the Ordinary, or without? What be the names of such deceased, and of their executors and administrators?

19 What persons be excommunicated in your Parish, and for what cause to your knowledge? and how long have they stood excommunicate? And doe any of them, not being absolved, presume to be present in the Church at divine Service? And doe any familiarly use the company of such as be obstinately stood excommunicate, knowing the same; and what be their names?

20 Doe you know of any that have abused the Churchwardens, or other honest men of your Parish, or given them evill words for executing their office, or to discharge and debar them from executing it, as by duty and duty they are bound?

Chap. 8. Concerning Schoole-maisters, Physicians, Chyrurgions, Midwives, and Parish-Clarkes.

HAve you any Schoolemaister in your Parish, that teacheth publikely or in private houses? Is there any teaching of Schollars to reade or write in the Chancell, or in any part of the Church? Doth any Popish Recusant keepe a Schoolemaister in his house, who commeth not to Church to heare Divine Service and to receive the holy Communion? What is his name, and how long hath he taught there or elsewhere? Doth your Schoolemaister teach any Papists or Recusants children, that come not to Church? Doth he bring his schollars to church, and duely instruct them all to learne the Catechisme in the Booke of Common Prayer, at the least once every weeke? or what other Catechisme doth he teach? Is he of honest and sincere life, and religion, and conversation? Is he a Graduate and sufficient to teach, and diligent in reasoning and bringing up of youth?

2 Is any thing truly yeelded and satisfied unto you, that hath been given to the use of a Schoole in your Parish? What is it? How much is it? And whereof?

3 What Physitian or Chyrurgion have you in your Parish, who not being a Doctor of Physick or otherwise sufficiently licensed in either of the Universities, doth notwithstanding practise physick? What other persons have you among you, either male or female, who take upon them to professe physick or chyrurgery? And who be skilfull in your parish?

4 Have you a fit Parish-Clarke (aged 20 yeares at least) of honest life, able to reade and write? Are his and the Sextons wages duly paid without fraud or diminution, according to the ancient custome of your Parish? By whom is he chosen? Is he diligent in his office, and serviceable to the Minister? Doth hee keepe the Church cleane

and the doores locked? Is there any thing lost or spoyled, by his default?

5 Doth your Clarke or Sexton take upon him to haue, or suffer any superstitious or any vnseasonable ringing of the bels at any time, or any ringing without good cause, such as the Minister and Church-wardens haue not allowed? When notice is giuen of any Christian passing out of this life, within the Parish, doth he neglect to toll a passing bell, or to ring after the departure?

Chap. 9. Concerning Ecclesiasticall Officers.

WHat peculiar or exempt iurisdictions know you of, within ỳ compasse of this parish?

2 Are there any Ecclesiasticall Officers exercising Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction within this Diocesse, or any Ministers or Clarkes vnder them, who do take or exact any extraordinary fees, for any cause that you know of?

3 Haue any Church-wardens and Quest-men, concealed and not presented any abuses or offences punishable in the Ecclesiasticall Court? Or haue any such offences, being by them presented to the Chancellor, Archdeacon, Commissary, Officiall, or any other vsing Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction within this Diocesse, beene suppressed, or left vnpunished, for bribe, reward, pleasure, friendship, feare, or any other partiall respect?

4 Are any Assemblies called Vestry-meetings, held in your Parish? when, and how often are they? In what place, and by whom? hath any thing (that you haue heard of) been proposed, treated, or concluded therein, touching the diuine Seruice, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church? Or any thing medled with, for the gouernment of the Church or Parish, which belongs to the Ecclesiasticall cognition and Iurisdiction?

5 Doth the Arch-deacon once in three yeares, visit and survey your Church, touching the repaires of the same, and vpon any defect found, hath he made certificate of it, as far as you know or haue heard?

6 Are there placed by the Registrar, two Tables containing the seuerall rates and summes of all fees due to the Iudge, and other officers of your Courts; one in the vsuall place or consistory, where the Court is kept; the other in the Registry; in such sort as euery man may come to view the same without difficulty? And doth the Chancellor, Arch-deacon, Commissary, or Officiall, or any other Minister of the Court, exact or extort any other greater fees or sums of money, than in the said Tables are contained?

7 Doth any Arch-deacon, Officiall, or Surrogate vnder him, make commutation of any penance; or doth the Chancellor or any Commissary, or any Surrogate vnder any, commute or change any penance or corporall punishment, for any money, without the consent of the Bishop? And what money haue they or any of them received for such commutation, and of whom? when, and what was the offence, for which any such sum of money was received, or appointed to be paid?

8 Doth the Chancellor, Arch-deacon, Commissary, or Official, or any other person vsing Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, speed any act in any cause, priuately of themselues, and not in the presence of some publike Notary or Actuary?

9 Is the number of Apparitors increased in this Diocesse? And wherein, and in what manner is the Countrey oner burthened or grieued by them? Hath any of them vnder pretence of authority, cited or summoned any person vnlawfully; or hath any of them taken any reward for the concealing of any offence or sin, or that the offenders might escape punishment? Who be they that haue so done? Or doe any of them take any fees that are not vsuall? haue they threatned any to prosecute them, if they had no reward giuen them? Or do any of them cause any party to appeare in any Ecclesiasticall Court within this Diocesse, without a citation first obtained from the Iudge of the Court?

10 Hath any Ecclesiasticall Iudge or Officer whatsoeuer, Aduocate, Registrer, Proctor, Clerke, or other such Ministers, any way abused themselues in their Offices, contrary to the Lawes and Canons in that behalfe prouided?

11 Were there any particular or speciall iniunctions giuen (as you know, or haue heard) by the Vicar generall or any other Commissioner, at the last Metropoliticall Visitation of the most Reuerend the Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury his Grace: And how haue the same beene performed or obserued by the Minister or any other of the Parish, whom they concerne?

12 Lastly, haue you and euery of you, by your selues, read, or haue caused to be read to you, all these Articles? Haue you well examined and inquired into euery particular therein intended? Haue you sincerely, vprightly, & without any partiall affection or concealement, presented and made knowne all and euery of the offenders in any of the particulars, either as they are taken in truth to be, or by common fame reported?

If you know any other matter of Ecclesiasticall cognisance, worthy the presentment in your iudgement and fit to be reformed by Ecclesiasticall censure, though it be not expressed in these Articles, yet you shall likewise present the same by vertue of your oaths.

The Minister also of euery Parish may and ought to ioyne with the Church-wardens, or other Sworne-men, for the presenting of offences; and if they be so irreligious as not to do it, the Minister of himselfe may & ought to present the offences, or the Church-wardens and Quest men, for not presenting, and is required in his Canonicall obedience so to doe.

There must be distinct answer made to euery Article, and to euery branch thereof, as far as they know, or haue heard of any offence.

And if (their Oath and all this aduertisement notwithstanding) any Church-wardens or other Sworne-men, shall follow the customary manner, and be careleſſe in inquiring and presenting as they ought, then shall they not be able hereafter to say, that they had not faire warning to the contrary giuen them in the spirit of meeknesse; or to complaine that they are hardly dealt with, if (vpon information and proofe otherwise had) they be called to answer their willfull periury, in some other course of iustice, for neglecting to inquire and present to all the particulars herein proposed.

And to the intent that all things aboue mentioned may (by the helpe of God) as well be kept, as set in good order, the Chancellor of the Diocesse, and all the Commissaries are hereby required, that so far as to them in their seuerall places it shall appertaine, when the Synods and Generals are holden respectiuely, they do faithfully inquire after all these things, & in all places of their Iurisdictions exact a due obseruance of the same.

The Parson, Vicar or Curate of this Parish is required to receive this Booke, and upon the Sunday next after the receipt hereof, immediately after the Morning Service, to publish the contents of the Processe which is sent forth. That all Preachers and Lecturers (if there be any in the Parish) together with the Church-wardens both of this present yeere and of the last yeere, and two or three of the eldest Parishioners besides, as also all Physitians, Schoole-maisters, Chyrurgions, Apothecaries, and Sequestrators, may take notice of the day & place specified in the said Processe, for appearance at the Lord Bishops Visitation: and after publication so made, this book of Articles is to be presently delivered to some of the said Church-wardens, for the ease of themselves and the rest that are to make Presentments.

Ma. Norrican.

FINIS.

ARTICLES

TO BE INQVIRED OF WITHIN THE DIOCES OF ELY

In the first Visitation of the R. Reverend Father in God

MATTHEVV,

LORD BISHOP OF ELY.



Printed at *London*, by *Richard Badger*.
1638.

The Tenour of the Oath to be miniſtred to the *Church-wardens, and any other of every Pariſh, that ſhall be ſworne to make Preſentments.*

YOu ſhall ſweare, that you, and every one of you, ſhall and will truly conſider, and diligently enquire of every one of theſe Articles here given you in charge, and of all the branches thereof, and make true anſwer to all particulars therein demanded; and that all affection, or favour, or hatred, or hope of reward or gaine, or feare of diſpleaſure, or malice of any perſon, and all other pretences ſet aſide, you ſhall and will preſent every ſuch perſon of your Pariſh, or within it, as hath committed any offence or fault, or made any default mentioned in any of theſe Articles, or which is vehemently ſuſpected, or otherwiſe defamed of any ſuch offence, fault, or default; wherein you ſhall deale uprightly and fully according to the truth, neither preſenting, nor ſparing to preſent any contrary to the truth: Having in this action God before your eyes, with an earneſt zeale to maintaine truth and vertue, and to ſuppreſſe vice, and to diſcharge your owne conſciences. So help you God, and the Holy Contents of this Booke.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Articles to be inquired of in the Dioces of *Ely*, at the Visitation, holden in the yeare of our LORD, 1638.

Chap. I. Concerning Religion, Doctrine, and Church-government.

ARE there any abiding in your Parish, or resorting to it, who (as farre as you know, or haue credibly heard from persons of deeper iudgment) do at any time preach, teach, deliuer, publish or maintaine any heresie, or any erroneous & false opinion contrary to ỹ faith of CHRIST, or any sentence, matter, or cause, which hath heretofore beene determined, ordered or adiudged to be heresie, by the authority of the Canonicall Scriptures, or by the first foure generall Councels, or any of them, or by any other generall Councell, determining the same to be heresie by the expresse words of holy Scripture? Or are there any which do deny or impugne any of the 39 Articles of Religion agreed vpon in Anno 1562. and established in the Church of England? And is the Declaration, which the Kings Maiesty prefixed before those 39 Articles, concerning the setling of the question late in difference, duly obserued by all within your Parish, according to his Maiesties commandement?

2 Be there any in your Parish that haue denied, or perswaded any other to deny, withstand or impugne the Kings Maiesties authority and supremacy, in causes Ecclesiasticall within this Realme?

3 Be there any in your Parish that haue affirmed, that the Forme of consecrating Bishops, and making Priests and Deacons, as it is vsed in the Church of England, is not holy, right, true and lawfull? Or that the Gouernment of this Church, vnder the Kings Maiestie by Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiasticall Officers, is vnlawfull or antichristian?

4 Is there in your Parish any that hath beene, or is vehemently suspected to haue beene present at any vnlawfull assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, vnder colour or pretence of any exercise of Religion: or do any affirme and maintaine such meetings to be lawfull?

5 Be there any abiding in, or resorting to your Parish, that are commonly reputed to be ill affected in matter of the religion professed in our Church, or taken to be Recusant Papists, or factious separatists, refusing to repaire vnto the Church to heare diuine Seruice, and to receiue the holy Communion? Or that haue or do publish, sell or disperse, or conueigh to others any superstitious, seditious, or schismaticall Bookes, Libels, or Writtings, touching the Religion, State, or Ecclesiasticall gouernment of this Kingdome of England? Present their names, qualities and conditions, if you know or haue heard of any.

6 Haue any in your Parish spoken or declared any thing in derogation or detraction of the forme of Gods worship, and the set forme of common prayer prescribed and established in the Church of England, or in dislike of the administration of the Sacraments, or of the other Rites and Ceremonies set forth and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Canons Ecclesiasticall? Or do any preach, speak and declare, that the Booke of Common Prayer containeth any thing that is repugnant to the holy Scripture, or not meet to be vsed? Or do vse any scornfull words against those godly Sermons, called, the Homilies of the Church?

Chap. 2. Concerning Publike Prayer, and the Administration of the Holy Sacraments, &c.

1 HAth any in your Parish caused, procured, or maintained any Minister, to say any common or publike prayer, or to administer the Sacrament of Baptisme, or of the Lords Supper, otherwise or in any other maner, than is mentioned in ỳ Book of Common Prayer? Or hath any interrupted, hindered, let, or disturbed ỳ Minister in reading of diuine Seruice, or administring the Sacraments in such manner as is mentioned in the said booke? Or hath any interrupted him in his preaching, or reading the Homilies?

2 Is the Sacrament of Baptisme rightly and duly administred according to the forme prescribed in the Booke of Common Prayer; with due obseruation of all Rites and Ceremonies prescribed to be vsed in the same, without adding or altering of any part of any prayers, or interrogatories? Is the signe of the Crosse euery time vsed, and the Surplice neuer but worne in the administring of it?

3 Hath the administration of the Sacrament of Baptisme béene at any time deferred longer than till the next Sunday or Holiday, immediately following the birth of the childe? And do they all come to Church when a child is to be baptized, at, or about the beginning of diuine Seruice? And is the baptizing performed immediately after the second Lesson?

4 Hath the Sacrament of Baptisme béen refused to be administred to any children borne in, or out of wedlock, their birth being made known to the Minister of the Parish, and they offered vnto him to be baptized? Or haue any such children died vnbaptized?

5 Haue the parents of the childe baptised, béene at any time admitted to be Godfathers or Godmothers to the same? Or haue any béene admitted to be Godfathers or Godmothers to any childe, before they haue receiued the holy Communion? Or haue there béene admitted more (or lesse) than two Godfathers and one Godmother for a male child, and two Godmothers and one Godfather for a female? Or haue any Godfathers or Godmothers vsed any other answers or speech in Baptisme, than is by the Booke of Common Prayer appointed? Or haue they giuen to the children baptised any name that is absurd, or inconuenient for so holy an action?

6 Haue any children béene baptised in priuate houses (except vpon great necessity: and if so, what was the same?) or by any Lay-person, or Midwife, or Popish Priest, or by any other than your owne Minister? And haue all children which were priuately baptized, if they liued, béene afterwards brought to your Church, that the Congregation and the Minister of the Parish (in case they were not baptised by him) might be certified, whether they were lawfully baptised or no?

7 Haue the children that haue béene borne to any Popish Recusant in your Parish, béene publikely baptised in your Parish Church, by your owne Parson, Vicar, or Curate? Or by whom else were they baptised, or where, to your knowledge, or as you haue heard? you are to giue all the notice you can, both of them and of their Parents.

8 Hath the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper béene duly and reuerently administred in your Church or Chappell, so often, and at such conuenient times, that, at least thrice euery yéere (whereof once at Easter) euery Parishioner within your Parish, being of the age of 16 yéeres, or vpwards, might receiue the same?

9 Hath the said blessed Sacrament béen deliuered vnto any, or receiued by any the Communicants within your Parish, that did vnreuerently either sit, stand, or leane; or that did not deuoutly and humbly kneele vpon their knees, in plaine and open view, without collusion or hypocrisie?

10 Haue

10 Haue any of your Parish, which are openly knowne to liue in notorious sinne without repentance; or any excommunicate persons or schismaticks, common and notorious deprauers of the Religion and Gouernment of this Realme (without vnfained sorrow shewed by them for their impiety and wickednesse) beene admitted to be partakers of the holy Communion?

11 Hath any of your Parish been debarred from the said holy Communion, without iust cause, or without intimation presently giuen to the Ordinarie or Bishop of the Dioces? Name euery such person, and the person that debarred him, or them.

Chap. 3. Concerning the Church, the furniture, and possessions thereof.

1 HAue you a Parish Church and Chancell now standing, and in vse, or is the same prophaned, or demolished, in part or in whole?

2 Haue you in your Church or Chappell, the whole Bible in the largest Volume, of the last translation, the Booke of Common Prayer, the two Bookes of Homilies, and Bishop Iewels Workes, all well and fairely bound? And haue you also in your Church, the forme of the Diuine Seruice, for the 5th day of November, and for the 27th day of March, and the Booke of Constitutions or Canons Ecclesiasticall?

3 Haue you in your Church or Chappell, a Font of stone set and fastened in the ancient vsuall place, whole and cleane, and fit to hold water? A conuenient and decent Communion Table, with a carpet of silke, or some other decent stuffe, continually laid vpon the Table at the time of diuine Seruice; and a faire linnen cloth thereon laid, at the time of administring the Communion? what did either of them cost? what be they now worth in value? And is the same Table placed conueniently, so as the Minister may best be heard in his administration, and the greatest number may reuerently communicate? To that end doth it ordinarily stand vp at the East end of the Chancell where the Altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South? Is it at any time vsed vnreuerently, by leaning or sitting on it, throwing hats or any thing else vpon it, or writing on it; or is it abused to any other prophane or common vse? Are there any steps or ascents in your Chancell vp to the Communion Table? Haue you also a decent raile of wood (or some other comely inclosure couered with cloth or silk) placed handsomely aboue those steps, before the Holy Table, neere one yard high, and reaching crosse from the North wall to the South (except by the order of the Diocesan it be made with the ends returning vnto the East wall) with two conuenient doores to open before the Table: And if it be a Raile, are the Pillars or Balisters thereof so close, that doggs may not any where get in? Also are the ten Commandements set vp in your Church or Chappell, where the people may see and read them; and other chosen sentences written vpon the walls of your said Church or Chappell, in places conuenient for the same purpose?

4 Haue you in your said Church or Chappell a conuenient seat for your Minister to read diuine Seruice in? Where and in what part of the Church doth it stand? how farre from the Chancell? and which way doth the standing thereof cause the Minister to turne his face, when he kneeleth therein at prayer? Haue you also a comely Pulpit set vp in a conuenient place, with a decent Cloth or Cushion for the same? Haue you a comely large Surplice? what cost it by the yard? and how long haue you had the same? Haue you also a faire Communion Cup of siluer, and a couer agreeable to the same; a Flagon of siluer or pewter, with all other things and Ornaments necessary for the celebration of diuine Seruice, and administration of the Sacraments? And haue you a chest therein to put the almes for the poore, with three lockes and keyes vnto it, and another Chest for the keeping of the Bookes, and the Com-

munion Vessels, and Ornaments of the Church? Or where are they kept ordinarily?

5 In the said Chest, haue you a Register-booke in Parchment, wherein to register the Christenings, Weddings, and Burials? And is the same booke written and kept in all points according to the Canon? And is the Christian name of the mother as well as of the father, therein duly registred? And is there a transcript thereof transmitted euery yeere into the Bishops principall Registry? Haue you also a faire Paper-booke, wherein euery Preacher which is a stranger, is to subscribe his name, the day when he preached, and by whose authority he is licensed? And haue you also a Table set vp in your Church, of the degrees, wherein by Law men are prohibited to marrie?

6 Is your Church or Chappell with the Chancell thereof, as also the Vestrey, and the Church Porch (if you haue any) and your Parsonage-house or Vicarage-house, and all other houses thereto belonging, your Parish Almes-house and Church-house, in good reparations? And are they imployed to godly and their right holy vses? And if any of them be ruinated and wasted, in whom is the default? And is your Church, Chancell, and Chappell, decently and comely kept, as well within as without? and are the seats in them well maintained, and the bottomes of them either boarded or paued? the Steeple and Bels preserued, the windowes in no part stopt vp, but well glazed, the roofe and wals cleane, the whole floore kept paued, plaine and euen, and all things there in orderly and decent sort, without dust, rubbish, straw or litter, or any thing that may be either noysome or vnseemly for the house of God? The Parishioners bring none but Vessels and fast matts in their seats, as need shall require?

7 Are there any armes and furniture for souldiers, or other munition, ladders, buckets, timber, or any other implements for publike or priuate vse, stored and kept in your Church, Vestry, Steeple, or any other part of the Church-buildings? How long hath it been so? And by whose authority or direction?

8 Is there any in your Parish, that hath or doth refuse to contribute towards the reparation of your Church, or towards the prouision of such things as belong thereunto?

9 Is your Church-yard or Chappell-yard enclosed and well fenced, and kept vnspoyled and abused? and if not, whose is the default? Hath any person within your memory, or that you haue credibly heard of, incroached vpon the Church-yard, by setting vp any kind of building or fence vpon it, or by opening any doore, gate or stile into it? Hath any vsed that place (consecrated to an holy vse) prophanely or wickedly? Hath any vsed any chiding, brawling or quarrelling words, or strucken any person either in the Church or Church-yard? Hath any person behaued himselfe rudely and disorderly in either; or vsed any filthy or prophane talke, or any other rude and vnmanerly behauiour in them? Is there any ordinary passage vsed through the Church, or any common walking therein, or carrying of burdens, or playing of children? Or haue any other Playes, Feasts, Banquets, Suppers, Church-ales, Drinkings, Temporall Courts, Leets, or Lay-iuries, Mulkers, exercise of danc ng, stoole-ball, foot-ball, or the like, or any Faires, or Markets, bowthes, stalls or standings; or any other prophane vse or abuse beene suffered to be kept in your Church, Chappell, or Church-yard? Haue any annoyed your Church-yard or the fences thereof, by putting in of cattell, by hanging vp of cloathes, or by laying any dull, dung, or any other vil vnnesse there? or by making water therein, especially against the Church-wals? When graues are digged, are they made six foot deepe (at the least) and East and West, and are the bones of the dead reuerently vsed, and decently interred againe, or laid vp in some fit place, as beseemeth Christians? And is the whole consecrate ground kept free from swine and all other nastinesse?

10 Doth your Clarke or Sexton, or any Constable or Bailiffe, or any other person (by occasion or pretence of any seruice office or seruice whatsoeuer) at any time take

(by

vpon him, within the Church or Church-yard, to proclaime any Sessions, or any other assemblie, or to warne any Courts or other meetings, or busines: or to cry any shewes, dogs, or other cattell, or any thing else: or to publish any Precepts, or other writings or Orders, for any Lay-occasion, or busines whatsoeuer: for such things should rather be done in the market, or without at the Church-yard stile, vnlesse by supreme authority it be otherwise commanded.

11 Are your Churchwardens carefull to take speciall order, that no dogs be at any time suffred to come into the Church, to the disturbance of the diuine Seruice, and the polluting of that holy place of the Christian congregation: And do any of the inhabitants (of what condition soeuer) or of their company, bring their hawkes into the Church, or vsually suffer their dogs of any kind to come with them thither, to the prophanation of the house of God, and his holy worship, and to the great scandall of the Christian profession?

12 What Legacies haue been giuen to the vse and benefit of your Church, and how haue they beene bestowed: who hath receiued and detained them without due imployment: Doth any detaine or imbezell, or hath sold and made away any of the Church goods, or vsed or imployed them otherwise, than by Law they ought to do? Haue you any Stocke or yeerely Reuenew belonging to the Church: what is it? how is it imployed?

13 Is your Church full, or vacant of an Incumbent? And if vacant, who receiueth the fruits thereof, and who serueth the Cure, and by what authority? And is it a Parsonage, or Vicarage, and Presentatiue, or Donatiue? Or haue you but a Stipendary Priest only? what is the common value? meanes of his place known or reputed to be?

14 Is there in your Parish, or any where about you (that you know or haue heard of) any Church, Chappell, or Oratory, now demolished, or likely to be ruined, or that is conuerted to any priuate or secular vse?

15 Hath any priuate man, or men, of his or their owne authority (for ought you know) erected any pewes, or builded any new seates in your Church or Chancell? And what pewes or seats haue beene of late yeares new built, by whose procurement, and by whose authority? And are all the pewes and seates vniforme therein, and so ordered, that they which are in them may all conueniently kneele downe together in the time of prayer, and haue their faces vp Eastward, toward the holy Table? And also that men and women do not sit promiscuously together? Is the middle alley of the Church, or any of the other alleyes or Iles, or the body of the Chancell, built vpon (in any part thereof) for the setting vp of pewes or seats, or for the inlarging of any there adioyning? Are there also any kind of seats at the East end of the Chancell, aboue the Communion Table, or on either side vp euen with it? And is the Chancell fully diuided from the body of the Church, and how, or in what manner?

16 Are there any priuy closets, or close pewes in your Church? Are any pewes so loftily made, that they do any way hinder the prospect of the Church or Chancell, or that they which are in them be hidden from the face of the congregation? What galleries also or scaffolds haue you in your Church? How are they placed, and in what part of the Church? When were they built, and by what authority? Is not the Church large enough without them to receiue all your owne Parishioners? Is any part of the Church hidden or darkened thereby, or any of the Parishioners annoyed or offended by them?

17 Are any Tombes or Monuments for the dead, suffered to be erected, without the good licence and approbation of the Ordinary first shewed to the Churchwardens? Are there any so made, that they cumber some roome which may not well be spared; or trouble any seat or passage; or hinder the prospect of the Church or Chancell, or the light of any windows; or be inconuenient to the Minister in executing any part of the diuine

diuine Offices; or be so set vp, as to giue any scruple or offence to mens Christian motions in their holy prayers and deuotion? Are any other meane toyes and childish gew-gawes (such as the fonder sort of people prepare at some burials) suffered to be fastened vp in your Church at any ones pleasure? or any Garlands and other ordinary funerall Ensignes to hang, where they hinder the prospect, or vntill they grow foule and dusty, withered and rotten? And is your Church-yard pestered and cloged with frames of wood, pies of brick, or stones laid ouer the graues? Do any take vpon them (as they please) to set vp or lay great stones there at the head and foot of any graue, without the Incumbents leaue and the licence of the Ordinaris?

18 Hath any in your Parish defaced, or caused to be defaced, or purloyned any Monuments or Ornaments in your Church, or any Inscriptions of Brasse, any Lead, or Stones there, or any part of the Glasse-windowes, or the Organs? When was it done, and by whom?

19 Hath any Popish Recusant, being lawfully excommunicate, or any other excommunicated person been buried in your Church or Church-yard, before absolution from that censure and excommunication obtained? And if yea, then by whom, and when?

20 Be the profits, tithes, or any commodities Ecclesiasticall, belonging to the Personage or Vicarage of your Parish, conuerted to the vse and benefit of the Patrons, or of any other but the Incumbent, and by them receiued and detained? And how long haue they beene so? And is there but a Curate or stipendary Priest kept in any place, where you haue heard, or do beliene an Incumbent should be possessed, and what allowance hath he?

21 Is there any other Cure annexed to your Parish, or any Chappell of ease belonging to the same? How are they serued, by whom, and vpon what allowance? Is there any other kind of Chappell or Chappels within the precincts of your Parish? To whom do they belong? When were they erected? and when consecrated? Haue you in your Parish any house or houses, whereof any roome is ordinarily vsed for Preaching, or saying the diuine Seruice, and administring the holy Communion? How long hath it beene so? and by what authority or licence?

22 Haue you a true Terrier of all the Glebe-lands, Meadowes, Gardens, Orchards, Houses, Stockes, Implements, Tenements, and portions of Tithes, within your Parish, or without, belonging to your Parsonage or Vicarage, taken by the view of honest men in your said Parish, appointed by the Ordinary? And is it safely kept and preserued, and in whose hands? And hath there a true copie thereof, vnder the hands of the Minister and Churchwardens, beene transmitted and laid vp in the Bishops Registry, there to continue for a perpetuall memory thereof? And if you haue no such Terrier yet made, vse the Churchwardens and Sidemen, together with your Parson or Vicar, or in his absence, your Curate, are now appointed to make diligent inquiry of the premisses, and to make, subscribe, and signe the said Terrier, and to bring in a true copie of it vnto the Bishops Registry, within three moneths after the receit of this booke of Articles?

Chap. 4. Concerning the Ministers, Preachers, and Lecturers.

IS your Minister, Parson, Vicar, or Curate reputed to be a Graduate in either of the Vniuersities, yea, or no? And if he be a Graduate, then of what degree is he? what is his Christian and Sirname?

2 Is your Minister a licensed Preacher, yea or no? And if he be licensed, then by whom? Doth he preach duely in his owne Cure, or in some other Church or Chappell? or at home, where there is no Preacher, once euery Sunday? And how often

daily

hath he beene negligent in so doing? Doth he also preach standing, and in his Cassock and Gowne (not in a Cloak) with his Surplice and Hood also, if he be a Graduate, and with his head vncouered? And if hee be not a licenced Preacher, doth he take vpon him in his owne Cure, or elsewhere, to expound any Scripture, or matter of doctrine, or doth he keepe himselfe only to the reading of Homilies published by authority; and besides, procure Sermons to bee preached amongst you, once euery moneth at least, by such as are lawfully licenced? And doth hee or his Curate vpon euery Sunday when there is no Sermon, read some one of the Homilies prescribed by authority, and before the said Homily, vse that forme of exhorting to prayer (onely) which is prescribed in the fifty fifth Canon, and no other prayer of his owne, either before or after it?

3 Is your Minister resident with you vpon his benefice? or if absent, how long time hath he beene so? and where is he resident for the most part? And doth he in his absence make allowance to the poore, and what allowance doth he make? Hath he any other Benefice, and doth he supply his absence by a Curate setled and dwelling in your Parish, that is licenced to preach, and what allowance doth he make to his Curate, and how often in the yeere comes he thither himselfe?

4 Is your Curate licenced by the Bishop of the Dioces? And doth your Minister or Curate serue any more Cures then one? If yea, then what other Cure doth he serue, and how farre are his Cures distant one from the other?

5 Hath any being no Priest, or Deacon, presumed at any time (vnder pretence of being a graduate, or a Scholler of the Vniuersity) to read common prayers openly in your Church or Chappell; or to serue the Cure of your Parish, or to preach there; Hath any Deacon not hauing receiued the full order of Priesthood, taken vpon him alone to administer the Communion in your Church or Chappell; You are to present the names of any, that haue herein offended as farre as you know or beliene?

6 Doth your Minister, Preacher, or Lecturer, duely read the Communion Seruice, commonly called the second Seruice, at the Communion Table? Doth he begin his Sermon at any time, or part of the diuine Seruice, but immediately after the Beliefe called the Nicene-creed? Doth hee before his Sermon vse any forme of Prayer which is of his priuate conceiuing or collecting, and of his owne inuenting or choosing, or doth he containe himselfe within that briefe forme onely, which is prescribed by the Church (in the 55. Canon) thereby only to exhort and moue the people to ioyne with him in Prayer for Christs holy Catholike Church, and for the Kings most excellent Maiesty (naming him and his royall Titles) for the Queene, the Prince, and the royall Issue; for the Arch-bishops also and the Bishops; for the Councell, the Nobility, the Magistracy, and commons of the land, and to giue thanks to God for the faithfull departed out of this life? And then (this moning to prayer being done, as briefly as conueniently may be) doth he alwayes conclude it with the Lords Prayer?

7 Doth your Preacher or Minister at the close of his Sermon, wholly forbeare to vse any kind of forme of Prayer (not being prescribed,) as also to pronounce the blessing (out of the Pulpet) therewith the Church vseth to dismisse the people? But doth he there conclude only with, Glory to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost: and then comming from the Pulpit (if the Sermon were made within the Church or Chappell) doth he, or whosoeuer then officiates, at the same place where he left before the Sermon, proceed to reade the remainder of the diuine Seruice, and at the close of all to giue the Blessing, and not before?

8 Doth euery Priest and Deacon in your Parish daily say the Morning and Euening prayer, either priuately or openly, vnlesse hee be vpon lawfull cause hindered?

Doth your Curate say the same daily in your Church or Chappell, with the tolling of a Bell before hée begin? Especially doth your Minister or Curate do it on euery Sunday and Holiday, and their Eues, and on the day of the conuersion of Saint Paul, Saint Barnabies day, and euery day of the holy Weeke next before Easter; as also on all Wednesdaies and Fridayes, at fit and vsuall times, according to the forme prescribed in the Booke of Common Prayer, in a reuerent manner euer, and as audibly and distinctly as he vseth to Preach? Doth he also read all those Psalmes and Lessons, and no other, with the Collect, Epistle, and Gospell, which are appointed for the day? At the end of euery Psalme, doe they stand and say, Glory be to the Father, &c. and doth he leaue out and not read the Contents of the Chapters? After the Lessons, doth he vse no other Psalme or Hymne, but those which the Booke of Common Prayer hath appointed? Doth hée read the Créed of S. Athanasius (called the Quicunque vult,) on all those dayes for which it is appointed, and the Commination on Ashwednesday, adding the Letany on euery Wednesday and Friday?

9 Doth your Minister and Curate at all times, as well in Preaching or reading the Homilies, as in reading the Prayers and the Letany, in administring the holy Sacraments, solemnization of Mariage, burying of the dead, churching of women, and all other offices of the Church, duly obserue the Orders and Rites prescribed, without omission, alteration, or addition of any thing? And doth he, in performing all and euery of these, weare the Surplice duly, and neuer omit the wearing of the same, nor of his Hood, if he be a Graduate?

10 Doth your Parson or Vicar hauing a Curate vnder him, notwithstanding read diuine Seruice himselfe frequently and publikely at the vsuall times, both in the forenoone and after noone, in the Church which hée possesseth? and doth hée also administer both Sacraments, euery yéere in such manner, and with the obseruation of all such Rites and Ceremonies, as are prescribed in the Booke of Common Prayer in that behalfe? and how oft in the yéere hath he done it?

11 Doth your Minister, Preacher, and Lecturer, euery yéere, of purpose and expressly (yet not by way of disputation, but by plain conclusion & determination) duly teach and declare the lawfull authority which the King hath ouer the State, both Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill; and the iust abolishing of all Popery and forraigne power or iurisdiction ouer the same?

12 Hath your Minister, or any Preacher among you published in his Sermons any doctrine, which is new and strange, and disagreeing from the Word of God, and from the Articles of Christian Faith and Religion, agréed on and published Anno Domini 1562. Or hath he taught any thing, which he would haue the people religiously to obserue and beleeue, but that which is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that which the Catholike Fathers and ancient Bishops haue gathered out of that doctrine, according to the Canon, as you conceiued, or haue beene informed by others of better iudgement?

13 Doth your Minister goe to the administration of holy Baptisme, euer immediately after the second Lesson? Doth he allwayes (at first) aske, whether the child be baptized or no? Afterward doth he euer vse and neuer omit, both to take the child in his hands, and also to make the signe of the Crosse, so as to touch the childs forehead in making the same? Doth he at any time publikely baptize but in the Font, or with any Bason, Backet, or Paile, or other vessell set into the Font? Hath he euer deferred, or willingly neglected, or refused to baptize any infant within the Parish, being in danger of death, notice thereof hauing beene giuen to him? And hath any child dyed without baptisme, by his default?

14 Doth your Minister or Curate often admonish the people, that they deferre not the baptisme of their infants any longer, after they are borne, than is prescribed, vn-

lesse

lesse vpon a great and reasonable cause, declared to the Minister or Curate, and approued by him; nor that they procure them to be baptized at home without great necessity.

15 Hath your Minister admitted any person to minister as Godfather or Godmother, at the christening of a child, that hath not before receiued the holy Communion, and is not able to recite the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandements, and the Articles of Beliefe, and to answer to the same, being required? And doth hee at the font, as soone as he hath baptized any child, admonish them to bring the child to the Bishop to be confirmed, as soone as it hath learned the Catechisme?

16 Doth your Minister, euery Sunday and Holiday before euening prayer, halfe an houre or more, catechise and instruct the youth, and ignorant persons of your Parish, both male and female in the ten Commandements, the Articles of Beliefe, and the Lords Prayer? And doth he vse for that purpose, the Catechisme set forth in the Booke of Common Prayer, and diligently heare, instruct, and teach them in the said Catechisme? Or what other Catechisme doth he vse either in publike or priuate? And be the youth and ignorant persons of your Parish, sent in due time vnto your Church, by them that ought to send them, to be catechized and instructed by the Minister? And if not, you are to present the names of those that make default in sending them, and of all those that vse not to come, or care not to learne.

17 Are your afternoone-sermons (if there were wont to be any) turned into catechizing by question and answer, where and whensoeuer there is no great cause apparent to the contrary? And is this truly and sincerely performed, without mockery, or in shew only, and so, without any long or large discourse (Sermon-wise) vpon the said Questions and Answers; but only to explaine the same in few and briefe passages fit to be remembred?

18 Doth your Minister vse to administer the holy Communion at least thrice in the yeere (whereof once at Easter) to euery parishioner in your Parish, that is sixteene yeeres of age and vpwards; and still to receiue the same himselfe, kneeling, on euery day that he administreth it to others; and to administer it to none but to such as doe kneele at the receiuing thereof? And doth he alwayes vse the words of institution according to the Booke of Common Prayer, without alteration, at euery time, that the Bread and Wine is renewed? Doth hee also vse to deliuer the Bread and Wine to euery Communicant seuerally, and with his owne hand, repeating to euery one, all the words appointed to be said at the distribution of the holy Body and blood of our Lord IESVS; and vpon no pretence (till the Church appoint otherwise) omitting any part of the words, or saying them all but now and then to many at once? And is there warning giuen by him to the Parishioners, publikely in the Church, at morning prayer the Sunday before euery time of his administring of the holy Communion, for their better preparation thereunto?

19 Hath your Minister admitted vnto the holy Communion any of his cure or flocke, which he openly knowes to liue in sinne notorious, without Repentance, or any that haue maliciously and openly contended with their neighbours, before they bee reconciled; or any Church-wardens, or Side-men, who hauing taken their oathes to present to their Ordinary all such publike offences, as they are particularly charged to enquire of in the Parish, haue and doe notwithstanding, wittingly and irreligiously incurre the horrible crime of periury, either in neglecting or refusing to present such publike offences, as they themselues know, or haue heard to bee committed within your Parish?

20 Hath your Minister at any time admitted vnto the Communion any that refuse to be present at publike prayers, or who are notorious depraiers of the Booke of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacrament, or of the Orders, Rites,

or Ceremonies therein prescribed; or of any thing contained in the thirty nine Articles, or in the Book of ordaining Priests and Bishops? Or who have spoken against or depraued his Maiesties Soueraigne Authority in causes Ecclesiasticall, willing they and euery of them doe first acknowledge their repentance for their sin, and promise to do so no more?

21 Doth your Minister or Curate admit any to the Communion, before they can say their Catechisme, and be confirmed?

22 Doth your Minister together with the Church-wardens and Questmen, take diligent heed and care, not only that all and euery one of your owne Parishioners do receiue thrice euery yeare; but also, that no strangers of any other Parish, doe come often and commonly to your Church, from their owne Parish Church, or do there receiue the holy Communion?

23 Doth your Minister, before the seuerall times of administration of the Lords Supper, admonish and exhort his Parishioners, if any of them haue their Conscience troubled and disquieted, to resort vnto him, or to some other learned Minister, and open their griefe, that they may receiue such ghostly counsell and comfort, as their conscience may be relieued, and by the Minister they may receiue the benefit of Absolution, to the quiet of their Conscience, and auoiding of all scruple? And if any man confesse his secret and hidden sinnes, being sicke or whole, to the Minister, for the vnburthening of his conscience, and receiuing of spirituall consolation or ease of minde from him, Doth he the said Minister (or hath he at any time) by word, writing, or signe, openly or couertly, directly or indirectly, reuealed and made knowen to any person whatsoeuer, any Crime or Offence, so committed to his trust and secrecie?

24 Hath your Minister solemnized the Mariage of any person vnder the age of twenty one yeeres, without the consent of their Parents or Gouernours; or hath he maried any, which doe not audibly say and answer in all things appointed by the Liturgie; or any without a Ring, or in times prohibited; or without the Banes first published three seuerall Sundaies or Holidaies, in time of diuine Seruice, in the seuerall Churches or Chappels of their seuerall abodes, except they brought him a speciall licence from the Arch-bishop, or Bishop of the Dioces, or his Chancellor so to doe? And doth hee begin in the body of the Church, and then goe vp to the Table, as is appointed? Also doth your Minister, so oft as there is any mariage, appointed to haue a Communion? After the Gospell doth hee say a Sermon (if he be licenced to preach) wherein to declare the office of man and wife, according to holy Scripture; Or else doth hee read that which the Church hath appointed to bee read at Matrimony?

25 Doth your Minister vse the forme of thanksgiuing for women after childe birth vnmarried lately before the Communion Seruice? Or hath he admitted thereunto any women begotten with child in Adultery or Fornication, without licence of his Ordinary?

26 Doth your Minister carefully looke to the reliefe of the poore, and from time to time call vpon his Parishioners, to giue somewhat according to their abilities, to godly and charitable vses; especially doth he enforce it vpon them with earnest exhortation (as is prescribed) at the time of the oblation or offering before the Communion, and vpon their sick beds, or when they make their wils?

27 Doth your Minister or Curate resort vnto such as bee dangerously sicke in your Parish (if he be sent for, or notice of their sickneſſe being giuen vnto him) to instruct or comfort them in their distresses, according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer, not omitting them especially, to moue them earnestly to liberality towards the

28 If any being ſicke doe deſire the prayers of the Congregation, is it done at the time of diuine Seruice after the three Collects? and according to the forme in the Liturgie for the Viſitation of the ſick? and not onely by giuing their names to the Preacher, and mentioning of them in the Pulpit, before or after a Sermon?

29 Hath your Miniſter euer refuſed to bury any which ought to bee interred with Chriſtian buriall? Or hath hee deferred the ſame longer than hee ſhould? Doth hee goe before the Corps to the Graue, and there ſay the whole ſeruice appointed, not omitting the Leſſon or any other part? Doth he deuoutly kneele, when hee ſaith the prayers, and the Collects at buriall? or hath hee admitted any to Chriſtian buriall, which by the Lawes of the holy Church of this Realme, ought not to bee ſo interred?

30 Doth your Miniſter, being a Preacher, well ſtudied in diuinity, and hauing any Popiſh Recuſant or Recuſants in your Pariſh, labour diligently with them from time to time to reclaime them from their errors? Or otherwiſe is he euer conuerſant with them or ſuſpected to fauour them?

31 Hath your Miniſter, (or any other taking upon him the calling of a Miniſter) preached, baptized children (except in caſe of neceſſity) ſolemnized mariage, churched any women, or miniſtred the holy Communion in any priuate houſe or houſes? If yea, then where, when, and how often hath he done it?

32 Doe you know, or haue heard of any which are reputed to bee Miniſters (or of any other of the Laity, either Male or Female) that preſume to make matters of Diuinity their ordinary Table-talke? Or that vnder pretence of holyneſſe and edification, take the liberty at their Trencher-meetings, or where ſeuerall company (not being all of the ſame family) are aſſembled, raſhly and prophanely to diſcourſe of holy Scripture? Or amidſt their cups, to diſpute or determine any Articles of Faith and Religion, or touching any point of doctrine or Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, at their owne pleaſure, and to their owne phanſie: you ſhall name the perſons, times and places, as far as you know or haue heard, and can remember.

33 Doth your Miniſter euery ſix moneths, in your Pariſh Church, openly in the time of diuine Seruice, vpon ſome Sunday, denounce and declare excommunicate by name, ſuch as doe perſeuere in the ſentence of excommunication, not ſeeking to be abſolued? And hath hee ſaid diuine Seruice, whiles any excommunicate perſon hath beene preſent in the Church? Or hath admitted any perſon, that hath beene excommunicate, into the Church, without a Certificate of his abſolution from his Ordinary, vnder the ſeale of the office, and not by any note or Ticket only vnder the hand of the Regiſter or any other Clerk? Or hath hee ſtayed or forborne to denounce any excommunication or ſuſpenſion or abſolution that hath beene ſent him from his Ordinary, further then the next Sunday or Holyday after receipt thereof vnder Seale?

34 Hath your Miniſter beene at any priuate meetings or conuenticles, to conſult there, about the impeachment or depraying of the doctrine of the Church of England, or of the Booke of Common Prayer, or of any part of the gouernment and diſcipline of the Church; or to practiſe any forme of their owne, either for worſhip or diſcipline?

35 Doth your Miniſter, vpon Sundayes at Morning Prayer, declare vnto the Pariſhioners, what Faſting-dayes and Holy dayes are to bee kept, the week following?

36 Doth your Miniſter in the Rogation dayes, go the perambulation of the circuit of your Pariſh, ſaying and vſing the Prayers, Suffrages, and Thankſgiuing vnto God, appointed by Law, according to his duty; thanking God for his bleſſings, and praying for his grace and fauour?

37 Doth your Parſon or Vicar maintaine and keepe in due reparations the Man-

sion-houses, and all other edifices and fenses belonging to his Parsonage or Vicarage without suffering them to grow unto ruine or decay?

38 Hath your Minister taken upon him, to appoint, or to hold or continue any private or publike fasts, or meetings, for preaching or lecturing on any working-day, in his owne Parish or elsewhere, or prophesies or exercise, or any other such thing, not being approued by his Ordinary for the time being?

39 Is your Minister studious in holy Scripture, and abstaineth from mechanicall trades, bodily labour, soliciting of causes in Law, common buying or selling of Hayes or other Cattell and all other imployments not befitting his calling and holy function? Doth he vsually weare a Gowne with a standing collar, and sleeues strait at the hands, and a square Cap? Doth he in journeying vse a cloak with sleeues, commonly called a Priests-cloake, without guards, buttons, or cuts? Doth he at any time in publike weare any coife or wrought night-cap, but only a plaine cap of black silke, sattin or velvet, and of a decent fashion and proper for Diuines? Doth he at any time goe abroad in his dublet and hose without a Coat or Callock, or weare any light coloured stockings, long haire, deep bands, great ruffled bootes, or any other vndecent thing? Or is hee any way excessiue in apparrell, either himselfe or his wife?

40 Is your Minister suspected, or knowne to haue obtained his Benefice by any Simoniacall compact, directly or indirectly? Or is he reputed to bee an incontinent person, a frequenter of Tauernes, Innes, or Ale-houses, a common gamester or player at dice or cards, a common swearer or drunkard, a brabler or brawler, giuen to contention, vsury, brocage, or common merchandizing, or otherwise faulty in any other kind that is scandalous to his function?

41 Hath your Minister publikely in your Parish Church or Chappell, once euery yeare read ouer the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall agreed vpon by the Clergy of both Prouinces, An. Dom 1603, in such manner as the same is commanded to be done?

42 Is there any in your Parish or relorting thereunto, who hauing taken holy Orders of Priest or Deacon, doth voluntarily relinquish and forsake his calling, and lines in the courts of his life as a lay-man? Or any that hauing beene silenced, or suspended by authority, so remaineth without conforming himselfe in due obedience to the Church? And how doth he imploy his time; and where or whence hath he his maintenance, as you know or haue heard?

43 Haue any beene admitted to preach in your Church, who doe not before the Church-wardens subscribe their names in your booke prouided for that purpose, and the day when he or they preached, and the name of the Bishop or Bishops of whom they had licence to preach?

44 Hath any Preacher particularly impugned and confuted any doctrine deliuered by any other Preacher in the same Church, or in any Church neere adioyning, before he acquainted the Bishop of the Dioces therewith, and receiued order from him, what to do in that case?

45 Haue you any Lecturer in your Parish, and on what day is your Lecture? If any such be, doth he, twice at the least euery yeare, read diuine Seruice both morning and euening, two seuerall Sundaies, publikely in his Surplice and Hood? And also twice in the yeare administer both Sacraments, with such Rites and Ceremonies as are prescribed in the book of Common Prayer?

46 Doth the Lecturer (whosoeuer he be) reade the diuine Seruice according to the Liturgie printed by authority, in his Surplice and Hood before euery Lecture?

47 Doth your Preacher or Lecturer behaue himselfe in his Lectures and Sermons as he ought to doe, teaching obedience, and edifying his auditory in matters of faith and good life, without intermedling with matters of State, or newes, or other discour-

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ses not fit for the Pulpit; and also without fauouring or abetting Schismaticks or Separatists (that are at home, or are gone abroad) either by a spectall prayer for them, or by any other approbation of them, and their schismaticall courses?

48 Haue you any Lecture or Combination set vp in your Parish? And if so, is it read by a company of graue and orthodox Diuines, neere adioyning, and in the same Dioces? And doth euery one of them Preach in a Colon, and not in a Cloake? And when and by whom were they appointed? And what be their names?

49 Is any single Lecturer (maintained by your Towne or otherwise) suffered to preach, he not first professing his willingnesse to take vpon him the cure of soules, nor actually taking a Benefice or Cure, so soone as it may be fairely procured for him? What is his name, and what licence hath he? And hath he a setled contribution affixed to the Lecturers place; or is it arbitrary, and for this Lecturer onely? What summe doth it amount to ordinarily? By whom is it usually paid or collected, or of late yeeres hath beene?

50 If any Psalmes be vsed to be sung in your Church, before or after the morning and euening prayer, or before or after the Sermons (vpon which occasions only, they are allowed to be sung in Churches) is it done according to that graue manner (which first was in vse) that such doe sing as can read the Psalmes, or haue learned them by heart; and not after that vncouth and vndecent custome of late taken vp, to haue euery line first read by one alone, and then sung by the people?

Chap. 5. Concerning Matrimony.

BE there any in your Parish, that haue maried within the degrees of affinity or consanguinity, by the Law of God forbidden, as is expressed in a certaine Table published by authority in Anno 1563. And if any haue so maried, what be their names, and where were they maried, and by whom?

2 Hath any beene maried secretly in priuate houses, or without their Parents or Gouernours consent signified, being vnder the age of twenty one yeeres?

3 Haue any persons beene maried in your Parish, the Banes hauing not beene thrice published, three seuerall Sundayes or Holydayes in time of diuine Seruice: who were the parties, and who were present at such mariages; and what Minister maried them?

4 Haue any persons by licence or without, beene maried in your parish Church, neither of them at that time dwelling in your Towne? Or hath any mariage (that you know, or haue heard of) beene made at any time, by licence or without, but betweene the houres of eight and twelue in the morning? Or was not the diuine Seruice then openly and duly said, the Assembly being called together by the tolling or ringing of the Bels, as is at other times of diuine Seruice vsed? Or hath the Minister solemnized any mariage (without Banes published) by vertue of any licence granted by the Arch-deacon or his Officiall, or by any other licence then of the Arch-bishop or Bishop of this Dioces or their Chancellors, or Vicars generall, or the Commissary for faculties. And hath any Licence beene granted by any to such persons as were not of good state and quality? Name the persons and all particulars, as farre as you know or can remember.

5 What popish Recusants, or their Children haue beene maried in your Parish? In what sort was the matrimony solemnized? when? and by whom?

6 Do any person, being lawfully maried, liue asunder? and in whom is the default, as far as you know or beliene?

7 Doe any (heretofore diuorced, or not) keep company at bed and board, with any o. her

other man or woman, then with the person that hee or shee were maried to? what be their names? when and where were they maried, and how long haue they continued so together?

8 Haue you any in your Parish, which liue together as man and wife, and yet not known, by whom, where, or when they were maried?

9 Haue all new maried persons (the same day of their mariage) duly receiued the holy Communion? If not, by whose default was it, as you conceiue?

10 When any Mariage is solemnized in your Parish Church, is there any thing accustomed to bee said or done (in the Church, or Chancell, at the Church doore, or in the Church-yard; either by the parties themselues, or any other that accompany them, or that are then and there present) which is not prescribed by the Rubricks of the Booke of Common Prayer, or the Canons of the Church, and which is impertinent or uncomely for that holy businesse, and not befitting the reuerence of that sacred place, in which they are assembled? specifie what it is, and present the parties.

Chap. 6. Concerning the Church-wardens and Side-men.

BE the Church-wardens chosen by the Minister and Parishioners yearely in Easter-week, according to the 89. Canon? And hath any taken vpon him to bee Church-warden, not being so chosen? Or hath any continued aboue one yeare in his office, without a new choice?

2 Haue any of the Churchwardens retained any of the Church-goods in their hands, and not made a iust account at the going out of their office, of what they haue receiued and expended; or not deliuered to their successors, by Bill indented betweene them, whatsoeuer money or other things belonging to the Church, that remained in their hands?

3 Are there in your Parish yearely, two, three, or more discreet persons, either chosen by the Minister and Parishioners in Easter-weeke: or if they cannot agree, appointed by the Ordinary to bee Side-men, or Assistants in ioynt office with the Church-wardens?

4 What rates or leuie? (as you know or haue heard) are yearely or commonly made in your Parish for Church vses? What is the vsuall summe thereof ordinarily? and what are the particular vses? or where are they written down, to which the same are for the most part imployed?

5 Do the Church-wardens and Side-men or Assistants, diligently see, that all the Parishioners do duly resort to the Church, vpon all Sundaies and Holidayes, and there continue the whole time of diuine Seruice and Sermon; suffering no idle persons to walk, or talk, or stand idle, either in the Church, Church-yard, or Church-porch, during the time of diuine Seruice or Sermon; but causing them either to come into the Church, or else to depart? And haue they the said Church-wardens and Side-men forborne, either for reward, fauour, or affection, to present them, that haue beene, or are negligent in comming to Church, or that vse to walk or talk therein, or that haue bin found by them standing idle, or talking abroad, either in the Church-yard or Streets in the time of Diuine Seruice or Sermon, on Sundaies or Holydayes; or that haue not receiued the Communion yearely, at the Feast of Easter, or within one moneth before or after?

6 Doe you know of any Church-wardens, which within forty dayes after Easter, in their yeare, did not exhibit to the Bishop, or his Chancellor, the names and surnames of all the Parishioners, as well men as women, (which being of the age of 16. yeares and vpward) receiued not the Communion the Easter before? And haue

you,

you this last yeare exhibited a bill of them? or are you now ready so to doe?

7 Do the Church-wardens against every Communion, advise with the Minister, about the prouiding of a sufficient quantity of fine white-bread, and of good and wholesome wine, for the number of Communicants that are to receiue? And is the wine brought in a cleane and sweet standing pot of pewter or of other finer mettall? Vpon the Communion dayes doe your Church-wardens (immediately after the Sermon or Homily, and the Ministers exhortation to remember the poore) gather the deuotion of the people in a faire and solemne manner, and put the same into the poore mans box?

8 Do the Church-wardens suffer any one to read diuine Seruice in your Church at any time (whatsoeuer he pretend himselfe to be) till sufficient notice be taken, by themselues or some other credible person) not only of his being in holy Orders, but also of his Licence to read there. Or do they suffer any man to preach, till he haue subscribed his name in their Paper book, and the day wherin he preached, and by whose authority he is licenced?

9 Hath the Church-wardens suffered the Church, Church-yard, or Chappell, to be prophaned by Playes, Games, Feasts, Banquets, Suppers, Church-ales, Drinkings, Lemporall Courts, or Leets, Lay-iuries, Coroners inquests, Parish accounts, Fusters Wrestlings, wasters, dancings, &c. at any time acted, kept, or held in them?

10 Haue any man that you know or haue heard of, by speech or writing, or vpon the assertion of any other man affirmed; that men ought not to take the office or the Oath of a Church-warden, or of presenting at the Bishops Visitation? Or that the said oath is vnlawfully giuen them; or that being taken, it is but of course, and binds them not, nor need to be regarded; or that (the said oath notwithstanding) it is free for them, neither to make inquiry, nor to answer; but to do what they list, and to leaue out and passe by whom they will, and what they will, in their Presentments? Or do you know of any that haue abused the Church-wardens or other Sworn-men in your Parish, or giuen them euill words for executing of their office, or to dishearten or deterr them from executing it, as by oath and duty they are bound?

Chap. 7. Concerning the Parishioners.

DO any in your Parish prophane any Sunday or Holyday, by any vnlawfull gaming, drinking, or tipling in Tauernes, Innes, Tobacco-shops, or Alehouses, in the time of Common-Prayer or Sermon; or by working, or doing the work of their trades and Occupations? Do any in your Parish buy or sell, or keep open their Shops, or set out any wares to be sold on Sundayes or Holydayes by themselues, their seruants, or apprentises; or haue they any other wayes prophaned the said dayes? And hath the Kings Declaration concerning the lawfull sports and recreations beene published among you, yea or no. If so, when was it done, in what manner, and by whom?

2 Is the fifth day of November obserued and kept in your Parish, with Prayer and Thanksgiuing vnto God, in such forme, as is by publike Authority appointed for the day? Is the 27. day of March also well and duely obserued? are the Bels vsually rung in loy of those dayes? Do any in your parish take vpon them (in such publike manner) to obserue any other dayes in the yeare but these two?

3 Is there any in your Parish that hath beene heard to impugne or speake against the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, or the lawfull vse of them; or to affirme by word or writing, that the forme of making and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons, or any thing therin contained, is repugnant to the word of God or that the Gouernment of this Church vnder his Maiesty by Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall Officers is Antichristian? Or hath spoken reproachfully, or disgracefully of the Kings Maiesties Courts Ecclesiasticall, or of the proceedings thereof?

4 Haue you any in your Parish, that doe come to the Sermon only, and not to diuine Seruice; or which vse to come late to Church, and to depart from Church before the Blessing be giuen, wherewith they are to be dismissed at the end of Seruice? Or that doe not reuerently behaue themselues entring into the Church, and during the time of diuine Seruice? Do all (both men and women) deuoutly kneele, when the Generall confession of sinnes, the Letany, the ten Commandements, and all Prayers and Collects are read, as well at Baptismes, Marriages and Burialls, as at other parts of the diuine Seruice? Do all vse due and lowly reuerence, when the blessed name of the Lord IESVS is mentioned: and stand vp when the Articles of the Creed are read? Doe anymen couer their heads in the Church, (vnlesse it be for infirmity, in which case they may only weare coifes or night-caps,) or then and there giue themselues to babling, talking, or walking, and are not attentiue to the Prayers and Hymnes, and to heare Gods word read and preached? Doe all say Amen audibly, and make such other answers both in the Letany, and all other parts of diuine Seruice, as by the rule of the Common Prayer booke, are to bee made by the people?

5 Do any within your Parish, men or women, being fifteene yeeres of age and vpwards, or any other, lodging or commonly resorting to any house in your Parish, wilfully absent themselues from your Parish Church or Chappell, vpon Sundaies and Holydayes and other dayes appointed, at morning and euening Prayers, or refuse to receiue the Communion. or perswade others from comming to Church, or receiuing the holy Communion?

6 Haue you any popish or puritanicall Recusants in your Parish, that bee of insolent behauiour, not without publike offence; or that do boldly build themselues in perswading seducing or withdrawing others, either abroad, or in their owne families from the Religion established in the Church of England? And how long haue they bin popish or puritanicall Recusants obstinately abstained, either from diuine Seruice, or from the Communion? Whether of any long time, or of late only?

7 Are there any in your Parish, who do absent themselues at any time from your owne Church, and do resort to any other Parish or place to heare other Preachers? Or are there any in your Parish, that do communicate, or that doe baptize their children in any other Parish? Or doe the Parishioners of any other Parish resort vnto your Church? how long haue they done so? and vpon what occasion or licence?

8 Is there within your Parish or in any Parish neere you that you know of, in any house or family, any one that is called or reputed a Chaplaine, or that is known or supposed to haue entred into holy orders? Or any that liue there in employment as a Schoolemaister? Present there names if there bee any such, and how long they haue been there, and his name in whose house they keepe.

9 Is there any in your Parish, who do refuse to haue their children baptised, or themselues to receiue the Communion, at the hand of your Minister, because he is no Preacher, or doth not edifie in their phansie?

10 Doth any maried woman within your Parish, after child-birth neglect to come to Church according to the booke of Common Prayer to giue thanks to God for her safe deliuerance, hailed in a decent manner, as hath been anciently accustomed? doth she also come to Church at or neere the beginning of diuine Seruice that day, and when the thanksgiuing for her is to be said, doth she goe and kneele in some conuenient place nigh to the Table, (but without the inclosure) while the Priest standing within, by her, giueth thanks for her? And doth she then offer her accustomed offerings, and receiue the holy Communion, if there be one?

11 Are there within your Parish or thereunto resorting, any players or Stage, or with Puppits, or any Musitians, Fidlers, Rimers, or Iesters, which do vse any prophane or filthy passages, in their songs, speeches, or gestures, to the dishonour of God,

abuse

abuse of Scripture, or the corrupting of good manners; or which doe publish any thing scandalous to the Church, or reproachfull to the holy Clergie?

12 Do you know of any man or woman, that hath abused their Parson, Vicar, or Curate, or any other that is in holy Orders, with contumelious words, or unciuill gestures or deeds, or behaued themselues rudely towards them? Or that haue reproached either the marriage or the single life of Priests, or haue said, or done any thing else that did redound to the scorne or dishonour of their persons or of their holy function and calling?

13 Haue you any in your parish that are commonly knowen, or reputed to bee blasphemers of Gods holy name, common and vsuall sweaters, drunkards, vsurers, filthy speakers, aduulterers, fornicators, incestuous persons, bawdes, concealers of fornicators or aduulterers? Haue any in your parish beene detected of such notorious crimes, and what penance haue they done for the same?

14 What corporall punishment for any such, or any other offence, hath been commuted and changed into a pecuniary mulct or summe of money, by any Ecclesiasticall Iudge exercising iurisdiction within this Diocese, what was the summe of money by any of them so receiued and taken, and to what vses was the same imployed? And vpon such Commutations, was the inioined repentance of the delinquent published in the Church? And hath Commutation been granted to one and the same party aboue once, for any crime of the same kind

15 Do all Fathers, Mothers, Maisters, and Mistresses, cause their children, seruants and apprentises to come to the publike catechizing on Sundayes and Holydayes, to be instructed and taught therein? And those that do not their duties herein, in not sending them to it, or not duly comming, or not learning and answering, you shall present their names?

16 Haue any in your Parish receiued or harboured any woman begotten with child out of wedlock, and suffered her to depart without punishment first inflicted on her by the Ordinary? You shall truly present as well the party harbouring, as harboured, and who is suspected to be the father of the child?

17 Is any person or persons suspected or detected heretofore of incontinency, and therefore departing out of your parish for a season, now returned againe? Or in what place elis is he or she now abiding to your knowledge, or as you haue heard? You shall not faile to present the whole truth in that behalfe, as far as you know.

18 Do all your parishioners, of what sort soeuer, receiue the blessed Sacrament, thrice euery yeare at least, and when they do receiue it, doe they all according as the Church expresly them commandeth, duely kneele, and with all Christian humility and reuerence come before the Lords Table? And not (after the most contemptuous and vnholy vsage of some, if men did rightly consider) sit still in their seates or pewes, to haue the blessed Body and Blood of our Sauiour go vp and down, to serue them all the Church ouer?

19 Are there any deceased in your parish, whose last Wills and Testaments haue not yet beene proued? or did they dye intestate? And if so, who hath taken vpon him the administration of their goods, and whether by lawfull authority from the Ordinary, or without? What be the names of such deceased, and of their Executors and Administrators?

20 What persons bee excommunicated in your parish, and for what cause to your knowledge? And how long haue they stood excommunicate? And do any of them, not being absolued, presume to be present in the Church at diuine Seruice? And do any familiarly vse the company of such as do obstinately stand excommunicate, knowing the same, and what be their names?

Chap. 8. Concerning Schoole-masters, Physitians, Chirurgions, Midwives, Parish-clarks, and Sextons.

HAue you any Schoole master in your Parish, that teacheth publikely or in any priuate houses? And if so, what is his name, and how long hath he beene there? Is there any teaching of Schollers to read or write in the Chancell, or in any part of the Church? Doth any Papist keep a Schoole-master in his house, who commeth not to Church to heare diuine Seruice, and to receiue the holy Communion? What is his name, and how long hath he taught there or elsewhere? Doth your Schoole-master teach any Papists or Sectaries children, that come not to Church? Doth he bring his schollers to Church, and duly instruct them all to learne the Catechisme in the Booke of Common Prayer, at the least once euery weeke; or what other Catechisme doth he teach? Is he of honest and sincere life, and religion, and conuersation? Is he a Graduate, and sufficient to teach, and diligent in teaching and bringing up of youth?

2 Is any thing withholden or otherwise imployed, that hath beene giuen to the vse of a schoole in your parish? What is it? by whom is it imbezelled?

3 What Physition or Chirurgion haue you in your parish, who not being a Doctor of Physick, or otherwise sufficiently licenced in either of the Vniuersities, doth notwithstanding practise physick? what other persons haue you among you, either male or female, who take upon them to professe or practise physick or chirurgery? And what be Midwiues in your parish?

4 Haue you a fit Parish-clark (aged 20. yeeres at least) and a Sexton? Is your Clark or Sexton of honest life, able to read and write? Are his and the Sextons wages duly paid without fraud or diminution, according to the ancient custome of your parish? What are the said wages by the yeare? By whom are the said Clark or Sexton chosen? Are both or either of them diligent in his office, and seruiceable to the Minister? Doth he keepe the Church cleane and the doores locked? Is there any thing lost or spoyled through his default?

5 Doth your Clark or Sexton take upon him to haue, or suffer any superstitious or any vnseasonable ringing of the Bels at any time, or any ringing without good cause, such as the Minister and Church-wardens haue not allowed? When notice is giuen of any Christian passing out of this life, within the parish, doth he neglect to toll a passing-bell, or to ring presently after the departure?

6 Doth your parish Clark or Sexton or any other of your parish exact or require more then the ordinary and accustomed Fee for any seruice done by him or them, in or at mariages christenings and burials; or for any thing else concerning the same? or haue they refused to do their duties therein, vntill they haue receiued what they demanded?

Chap. 9. Concerning Ecclesiasticall Officers.

WHat peculiar or exempt Iurisdictions know you of, within the compasse of this parish?

2 Are there any Ecclesiasticall Officers exercising Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction within this Dioces, or any Ministers or Clarks under them, who do take or exact any extraordinary fees, for any cause that you know of, or by way of gratuity for expedition?

3 Haue any Church-wardens and Quest-men, concealed and not presented any abuses or offences punishable in the Ecclesiasticall Court? Or haue any such offences, being by them presented to the Chancellor, Arch-deacon, Officiall, or any other vsing

Eccle-

Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction within this Dioces, beene ſuppreſſed or left unpuniſhed, for bribe, reward, pleaſure, friendſhip, feare, or any other partiall reſpect?

4 Are any aſſemblies called Veſtry-meetings held in your Pariſh? when and how often are they? In what place, and by whom? Hath any thing (that you haue heard of) beene propoſed, treated or concluded therein, touching the diuine Seruice, or the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church? Or any thing medled with, for the gouerment of the Church or pariſh, which belongs to the Eccleſiaſticall cognition and Iuriſdiction?

5 Doth the Arch-deacon once in three yeares, viſit and ſuruey your Church, touching the repaires of the ſame and vpon any defect found, hath he made certificate of it, as far as you know or haue heard?

6 Are there placed by the Regiſtrar, two Tables containing the ſeuerall rates and ſummes of all fees due to the Iudge, and other officers of your Courts; one in the vſuall place of Conſiſtory, where the Court is kept; the other in the Regeſtry, in ſuch ſort as euery man may come to view the ſame without difficulty? and doth the Chancellor, Arch-deacon, or Officiall, or any other Miniſter of the Court, exact or extort any other greater fees or ſummes of money, then in the ſaid tables are contained?

7 Doth the Arch-deacon his Officiall, or Surrogate, make commutation of any penance; or doth the Chancellor, or any Surrogate under him commute or change any penance or corporall puniſhment, for any money, without the conſent of the Biſhop? And what money haue they or any of them receiued for ſuch commutation, and of whom? when, and what was the offence, for which any ſuch ſumms of money was receiued, or appointed to be paid?

8 Doth the Chancellor, Arch-deacon, or Officiall, or any other perſon vſing Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, ſpeed any act in any cauſe, priuately of themſelues, and not in the preſence of ſome publike Notary or Actuary? Or (for want of them) in the preſence of two (or moe) ſufficient witneſſes, and then cauſe the ſame act to be regiſtred?

9 Is the number of Apparitors increaſed in this Dioces? And wherein, and in what manner is the Country ouerburthened or grieued by them? Hath any of them vnder pretence of authority, cited or ſummoned any perſon vnlawfully; or hath any of them taken any reward for the concealing of any offence or ſin, or that the offenders might eſcape puniſhment? Who bee they that haue ſo done? Or do any of them take any fees that are not vſuall? Haue they threatned any to proſecute them, if they had not reward giuen them? Or do any of them cauſe any party to appeare in any Eccleſiaſticall Court within this Dioces, without a citation firſt obtained from the Iudge of the Court?

10 Hath any Eccleſiaſticall Iudge or Officer whatſoeuer, Aduocate, Regiſter, Proctor, Clarke, or other ſuch Miniſters, any way abuſed themſelues in their Offices, contrary to the Laines and Canons in that behalfe prouided, that you know of?

11 Doth the Regiſtrar or any of the Clarkes in Eccleſiaſticall Office, when any obtaine Abſolution from the Iudge, neglect to ſend forth the ſame vnder the Seale of the office, or doth any of them preſume to giue ſignification vnto the Miniſter of the Pariſh, only by a Note or Ticket, vnder their hand, to the intent that notice therof ſhould be taken, or the ſame be publiſhed in the Pariſh by him?

12 Laſtly, haue you and euery of you, by your ſelues read, or haue cauſed to be read to you, all theſe Articles? Haue you well examined and inquired into euery particular therein intended? Haue you ſincerely, uprightly, and without any partiall affection or concealement, preſented and made knowne all and euery of the offenders in any of the particulars, either as they are taken in truth to be, or by common fame reported,

If you know of any other matter of Ecclesiasticall cognisance, worthy the presentment in your iudgement and fit to be reformed by Ecclesiasticall censure, though it be not expressed in these Articles, yet you shall likewise present the same by vertue of your oathes.

The Minister also of every Parish may and ought to ioyne with the Church-wardens, or other Sworn-men, for the presenting of offences; and if they be so irreligious as not to do it, the Minister of himselfe may and ought to present either the offences, or the Church-wardens and Quest-men, for not presenting, the same and is required by his Canonical obedience so to do.

There must be distinct answer made to every Article, and to every branch thereof, as far as they know, or haue heard of any offence, otherwise the presentment will not be admitted.

And if (their Oath and all this punctuall direction and admertisement notwithstanding) any Church-wardens or other Sworn-men, shall follow the customary manner, and be carelesse in inquiring and presenting as they ought, then shall they not be able hereafter to say, that they had not faire warning to the contrary giuen them in the spirit of meekenesse; or to complaine, that they are hardly dealt with, if (upon information and proofe otherwise had) they bee called to answer their wilfull periury, in some other Court, or course of iustice, for neglecting to inquire and present to all the particulars herein proposed.

And to the intent that all things above mentioned may (by the help of God) as well be kept, as set in good order, the Chancellor of the Dioces, and the Officiall, and all their Surrogates are hereby required, that so far as to them in their seuerall places it shall appertaine, they do faithfully inquire after all these things, and in all places of their Iurisdictions exact a due obseruance of the same.

The Parſon, Vicar, or Curate of this Pariſh is required to receiue this booke, and vpon the Sunday next after the receipt hereof, immediately after the Morning Seruice to publiſh the contents of the Proceſſe which is ſent forth. That all Preachers and Lecturers (if there be any in the Pariſh) together with the Church-wardens and two or three of the chiefeſt Pariſhioners beſide, as alſo all Phiſitians, Schole-maſters, Chirurgions, Midwiues, and Sequeſtrators and all other whom it doth concerne, may take notice of the day and place ſpecified in the ſaid Proceſſe, for appearance at the Lord Biſhops Viſitation: and after publication ſo made, this booke of Articles is to be preſently delibered to the ſaid Church-wardens, for the vſe of themſelues and the reſt that are to make the preſentments.

Ma. Elien.

FINIS.

This *Masquarade Du Ciel*
may be printed.

HENRY HERBERT.

Novemb. 24. 1640.

In hoc tantùm peccat, quòd nihil peccat.

J. T.

MASQUARADE DU CIEL:

Presented
to the GREAT QUEENE
of the LITTLE WORLD.

A CELESTIALL MAP,

REPRESENTING
The True Site and Motions of the Heavenly Bodies, through the yeeres
1639, 1640, &c.

SHADOWING
The late Commotions, between
SATURN and MERCURY,
about the Northern
THULE.

With the Happy PEACE and UNION,
through the whole LITTLE WORLD,
made by the Goodneſſe of PHEBUS
and His Royall PHEBE.

By *J. S.*

LONDON,
Printed by *R. B.* for *S. C.* 1640.

TO THE QUEENE.

MADAME,

IT cannot be *presumption* to present That, Which to detaine were *Sacriledge.* my Plea is, I Durst not but Bring the *Letters*, which HEAVEN Sends: *It endites*, what *Earth writes*; in THIS most specially, Which it hath *Signed*, with its owne *Hand*; and *Sealed*, with its owne *Signet*: Yet, if unacquainted with its *Hand*, I mistake the *Superscription*, and present it amisse; my Hope is, Such Royall Goodnesse, may yet Pardon,

MADAME,

Your Majesties

most Humble

Servant

I. S.

Chaplain to y^e D. Brook

The Persons herein Personated.

PHEBVS and His Royall *PHEBE*, } *King and Queene of* Heaven.

Poëticall Names, compounded of Greek words signifying *Light* and *Life*; Both which, come from the *Sunne* and *Moone*.

SATVRN, *The coldest Planet, remotest from the Sunne and This Earth. With Poets a Great God: which (being a* Northern Genius) *they make to reside about THVLE, a cold North Iland, belonging to the Crown of SCOTLAND, as appeares in the* Notes *after the* Masque.

MERCVRY, *in* Heaven *a Little Planet, (little in Body, but great in Influence:) with Poets, the Great God of Learning; Patron of Schollers, and all* Ecclesiasticall *men.*

IVPITER, *with Poets Saturns sonne; in* Heaven *a Planet neare the* Sunne.

MARS, *a Fiery Planet. The Poeticall God of* Warre, *and a Generall* Enemy *to all* Peace.

VENVS, *a Great Bright* Planet, *going sometimes behinde, but often before, the* Sunne *in* Heaven: *with Poets an Old* Great Goddesse, *and as Great a Friend to* Mars, *Enemy to* Peace.

Corona Borea,
Lyra,
Aquila,
Coma Berenices,
Cassiopea, } *Celestiall* Heroins *waiting on PHEBE.*

Most of these Persons are more fully expresst, *page 6.*

The

The ſeverall Scenes, Anti-maſques, and Entries, in This *Device* of HEAVEN.

THE GENERALL SCENE, is the LITTLE WORLD, or Iſle of BRITAIN; centred within the Sphears of Heaven. *page* 1.

The GREAT QUEENE being ſeated under a Royall State, a Cloud riſing, brings up the Firſt Scene: A Scene of Darkneſſe, Nightwork, Thunder, Lightning, with all Attendants of Storme and Tempeſt.

NIGHT enters in a hideous ſhape, holding a Landskip of Horror, inſcribed in a ſtrange Dialect (to cauſe more Admiration) ΣKOTOS*: But ſoaring up too neere the State, is amaz'd at ſuch a Majeſtie; and, as dazled with that unexpected Brightneſſe, is forced to retire in moſt confuſed haſte; in which She loſt two of Her Attendants, SILENCE and OBLIVION: Which were ſtill retained behinde Her, as Foyles to grace the following Scene of glorious *Brightneſſe*, riſing up like a cleere Day, dawning out of blackeſt Clouds. *p.* 3, 4.

* Signifying *Darkneſſe.*

In this Scene, Two Celeſtiall HEROINS* deſcend from the Sphears; Preſenting the Plot of the Maſque, to the GREAT QUEENE; with a Petition inviting Her, to vouchſafe Her preſence to the HERO's of Heaven, now ready to attend Her, whoſe Beauty might ſupply the want of PHEBUS Rayes, who was already Masked within the Sphears, expecting Her preſence. *page* 4.

* *Aſtronomia & Aſtrologia.*

Theſe two, re-aſcending in a glorious Rain-bow, Sing the firſt Song to the GREAT QUEENE; who, riſing up in a Roſie coloured Cloud, was preſently ſeene, Entring among the Maſquers, perſonating PHEBE; and at the end of the Maſque, was againe ſeene with Her Royall PHEBUS under the State; while a Celeſtiall Chorus enters ſinging, and concludes the Maſque. *page* 19.

The *Plot* of the Masque (presented by ASTRONOMIA and ASTROLOGIA) consists of *two* Parts, or *Maps*: The one *Celestiall*, the other *Terrestriall*.

The *Celestiall Map* *, is a most true and exact draught of the Site and Motions of the SUN, MOONE, VENUS, SATURN, MERCURY, JUPITER and MARS; with other Heavenly Bodies, through the yeeres, 1639, 1640, &c.

The *Terrestriall Map*, is truly to represent, How all *Those Motions* were shadowed upon Earth, for all That time. But, this last *Map* (or History) is not yet fully perfected, because the exact proportion 'twixt Heaven and Earth, is not yet concluded on, by the best ASTRONOMERS.

* This *Map* is fully represented in the Masque Vnmaskt.

The *Celestiall* and *Terrestriall* Maps, shadowed Both together in one compendious Scheme; being an Epitomy of the following Masque.

PHEBUS, pleasing to blesse the *Southern* World with his Chiefest Residence, deputes MERCURY to the *Northern* THULE *; but SATURN (having pre-possession) drives MERCURY back, from THULE.

This Quarrell is shadowed in the Antimasque of Night-work, *inscribed* ΣKOTOS. *pag.* 3.

* Of this THVLE; as of *Saturn* and *Mercuries* Right to it; and quarrell for it; are large Notes, both in the Margents of the Masque, and after the Masque.

MERCURY imploreth PHEBUS; Who, in much Goodnesse, condescendeth to take a *Northerne* Progresse toward THULE, to reconcile these Two; yet, lest They should prove Contumacious, He advanceth in Warre-like manner; attended with JUPITER, MARS, and all their *Satellites*. *pag.* 9.

MARCH, APRIL, MAY } 1639.

But PHEBE's Royall Goodnesse vouchsafeth to Mediate *Peace*; which PHEBUS granteth to his Deareſt PHEBE: and so, SATURN and MERCURY are againe setled by PHEBUS in their proper Places.

JUNE.

Onely MARS, is Enemy to This *Peace*, and by divers assayes, Labours to break it. But, PHEBE still opposeth Him; and so prevaileth, that MARS Fals downe as Thunder-struck; yeelding himself Prisoner to PHEBUS.

JULY.

PHEBUS returneth again (leading MARS a Captive-Prisoner) to His wonted *Southern* Residence; to the content and Joy of All. *pag.* 12. 13.

At

At His Return, VENUS petitioneth for Her old Friend MARS, and beggeth His Liberty; which at length, PHEBUS granteth, in much Royall Goodneſſe; which (to all ingenuous Noble Spirits) is a Bond, much more Strong, then any Chaine, then any Fetter.

AUGUST.

MARS releaſed (being more inraged at His Impriſonment) *Plots* to incenſe SATURN and MERCURY againe; and after divers aſſayes, at length prevailes ſo farre, that SATURN begins againe to frown on MERCURY: which MARS ſo foments, that, ere long, MERCURY is again driven out of THULE, and forced to re-implore PHEBUS.

Through the reſt of 1639 and great Part of 1640.

PHEBUS condeſcendeth to take a *Second* Progreſſe toward THULE: yet reſolving, rather to prevaile with *gentle Rayes* of wonted Goodneſſe, then by Thunderbolts.

1640.

But PHEBE *again* vouchſafeth to interpoſe Her ſelfe; prevailing with PHEBUS, to ſummon His *Grand Councell of all the Seeming Deities*. *pag.* 14.

SEPTEMBER.

Who meeting in AREOPAGUS *, joyntly agree to Arraigne MARS, for *rebelling* againſt PHEBUS; *diſturbing the Peace* mediated by PHEBE; *incenſing* SATURN, and with him joyntly *oppoſing* MERCURY.

* *Mars-Hill.*

MARS thus *arraigned*, was Caſt, by joynt conſent, of all the *Deities*; and adjudged to *forfeit* all His Honours, Dignities, Priviledges, &c. to His Soveraigne PHEBUS; and for ever to be excluded from the Number of Gods.

PHEBUS Returneth *again* to His wonted *Southern* Reſidence, in Great glory: while PHEBE ſtill condeſcendeth to mediate a perfect *Peace*; for which, Her Royall Goodneſſe prevaileth with PHEBUS, to continue His *Great Councell*; and to ſummon all the CAUSES into JUPITERS HALL, the Great *Councell-Place* for all the *Gods*.

OCTOBER.

NOVEMBER, &c.

Here, SATURN and MERCURY reſigne up all Their Poſſeſſions, Claimes, &c. into PHEBUS Hands, acknowledging Their dependance on His *Royall Favour*.

PHEBUS receiveth them with wonted Goodneſſe; Which alone moveth Him not onely to re-inveſt them with all *Former* Priviledges; but alſo to ſmile on them with new addition of Royall Favours; well knowing, that *Royall Goodneſſe*, is ſtill wont to *Finde*, or *Make*, *Loyall Subjects of all Noble Spirits*. *pag.* 16.

Thus at length, is a moſt Happy *Peace* effected through the whole LITTLE WORLD: at which all the CAUSES joyntly petition, for an *Eternall Memoriall* of the *Royall Goodneſſe* of PHEBUS and His Royall PHEBE.

Who (after a Bright Cloud of thinne Exhalations had opened it ſelfe and diſappeared) are *Both* ſeen reſting under the *Royall State*; to the greateſt content and Joy of All. Witneſſed by a *Generall Applauſe*, firſt begun among all the *Deities* in *Heaven*; and being thence reflected through the whole Scene, was againe counter-echoed by all the Sphears.

Whence iſſueth a *Celeſtiall Chorus* ſinging, and congratulating the moſt Happy *Peace*, and *Vnion* of the *Little World*, made by the Royall Goodneſſe of PHEBUS, and His Royall PHEBE.

MAS.

MASQUERADE DU CIEL:

Preſented to the *Great Queene* of the LITTLE WORLD.

THE SCENE was centred within a circle of Magnifique *Portico's*, all fairely Vaulted; yet ſo artificially poyzed with ſuch curious Proportion, that without preſſure, They *ſupported* their *Supporters*; Which ſeemed Silver Pilaſters, inter-veyn'd with Streaming Sprigs of fineſt Gold. Over theſe, ran an *Architrave Freez*; yet ſhooting up ſo farr from the eye, that it loſt ſomewhat of its luſter, and ſeemed *but* Pearle, filleted with ſparkles of richeſt Diamonds. The outward *Balcon's*, for *feneſtello's* had a continued Chryſtall Work, backt with a moſt glorious *proſpect*, which quickly loſt the eye, midſt *Orient* Colours, ſtreamed with *Azure*, at greateſt diſtance.

Within *Theſe*, was a ſtately Fabrick, curiouſly couched into a *Sphear*; intermixtly waved with foure *Elements*; and foyled about with a *Perſpective* of Clouds; over which, at diſtance, NATURE hovered, with an aſpect that ſeemed to *admire*, rather then *view*, Arts choiſe Compoſure.

On This, a Curious *Baleſtrata*, finely rais'd; ſeeming a LITTLE WORLD Riſing up from within a *Greater*: The Great Globe's Epitomy: Natures *Second* Draught; at which Shee ſmil'd to ſee her ſelfe growne an *Artiſt*, in more compleat Limning; For, Her *Former* lines ſeemed but as imperfect Aſſayes, of what ſhe meant to draw in *This*; Her *Maſter-peece* of all, which with a *modeſt* ſcorne, ſeemed to *diſdaine* all Admiration. Its utmoſt Verge, was an *Artificiall* Border, made of a *Naturall* Sea; moſt lively expreſt flowing into a *Circle*; whoſe in-moſt *Area*, (ſeeming an Iland of *Moſaique* Work, Terraſt with *antick* knots) was the *Baſis* to a *Royall State*, bleſt with the Preſence of the GREAT QUEENE.

Over

THE SPHEARS of HEAVEN, and GLOBE of EARTH.

THE LITTLE WORLD, or ISLE of BRITAIN.

Over whom, ran a moſt glorious *Canopy*; in which the *Graces* were ſeene, each with her ſilver needle, *Enameling* rather then *Embroyd'ring*: and ſo *neatly* were the *Flowers* contriv'd, that with humble reverence they All inclined to the GREAT QUEENE, (as the *Heliotropion to the Sunne*) ſeeming to acknowledge their Colour to *Her Lippe*, their Sweetneſſe to *Her Breath*.

Toward the Fringe, the *Graces* met; and with a pleaſant ſmile, all at once reflected on the *laſt* made (but *firſt* intended) *Flower*, finely purled with BRITTANNOCLEA[1]; which was the *Soule* to This *Body*, the *Motto* impres'd on This *Device* of HEAVEN.

1 Britaines Glory.

The Colour moſt in Eye, was the Roſie-Lilly-ſweetly-mixt *Carnation*; yet changeably inclining toward *Crimſon*, which ſeemed but a Naturall modeſt Bluſh, at the preſence of the GREAT QUEENE: Who ſate Circled about with a *Glory* of Rayes; which yet needed not to expreſſe *Her*, Whom all knew the QUEENE of glorious Brightneſſe: The fayreſt *Idea* of perfect *Beauty*; and among Mortals, *Vertue's* choiſeſt Sampler, which She makes a Pattern for Her *Faireſt* Draughts: One, whom Nature had taught with beſt grace to *adorne* Majeſtie; and with the Luſter of Her *leaſt* rayes, to *dazle Glory Her ſelfe*, who now ſtood at *diſtance* Bluſhing, yet ambitious to attend this GREAT QUEEN, Bleſſing the *State*.

On either hand, ſtood a ROYALL PRINCE; Both which, were *Darlings* to the ſame *Nature*, which at Their *Birth*, thought it no Soleciſme to cloath *Maturity* with youngeſt yeers: Both, with a *Youthfull*, yet *gracefull* bluſh, ſeemed to Smile, as ſeeing themſelves laden with Others *Hopes*, while They ſtood as Centre to all the Lines of future Felicity: Over *One* of them, hovered a *Crowne*, with this *Motto*, DON DES CIEUX[2].

2 A Gift from Heaven.

Neere Theſe, were placed *Two Fayreſt Young Ladies*, in Rich attire, *Carnation* guarded with ſilver *deluces*; Their Haire, knotted with *Starrs*, and powdered with Golden *Attoms*, raiſ'd up with a Dazling Ray, darted out from that *Sphear of Brightneſſe*, fixed under the *Royall State*.

At whoſe beck, a *Cloud*, in an inſtant Riſing, diſcovered THE FIRST SCENE.

A SCENE of DARKNES; an Impresse of Horror: a Chaos *felt*, though not *Seene*. NIGHT, not content with her wonted *Sables*, affects now a more dismall hue; Enters, presenting Terror in a *Lantskip*, shadowed with blackest colours; The Inscription in a strange Dialect (speaking more admiration,) ΣKOTOS[1].

[2] Steepe rising Hils, farr off, (mocking night, at noone, with shady tops of pathlesse groves) fill halfe the *Scene*: Leaving for the nighest part a Solitary Valley, divided with a River; whose purling Streames (murmuring through broken rocks) taught the Woods, *beyond*, to *Tremble*; Their boughs and leaves being shadowed on the Water by the *glimring* MOONE: Whose weake Beames (Refracted with frequent flashes of Lightning, breaking out from blackest Clouds) made up a *Faint Light*, much more dismall then *Darknesse*; For 'twas only enough to make *Dark Confusion* seeme more *Horrid*.

These Trembling measures, traced in full time, to the crowing of Cocks (only ecchoed in saddest reports, from farthest distance) interrupted with harsh unpleasing kroaking, and hideous Scritchings of *Nights Forlorne Creatures*; made up the Musick that best *accords* with *Nights Discord*.

This Scene *presents the* Antimasques, *acted by Drowsie* MORPHEUS, *Pale* PASSION, *and Trembling* FANCY.

At length (lest *Horror* yet should seeme *imperfect*;) *Nights* wonted *silence*, was forced to degenerate into a *whispering murmur*; Which quickly grew up into a most violent and confused *Tumult*: which being re-echoed by many Counter-bounds, midst hollow rocks, brake out at once, into most terrible Claps of *Thunder*; at which, *Nature* her selfe, seemed to *Startle*, as amazed at such *unexpected Commotions* [3] in her Lower Elements.

When This had a while detained the *Thoughts*, rather then *Eyes*, of the *Trembling* Spectators: The Cloud soaring up too neer the *Royall State*, was instantly dissolv'd and dis-appeared; while *Brightnesse* againe unvayl'd Herselfe: at which a *New Scene* Rose up (while the Former vanished) forcing *Black Night* to post away her *Chariot*, mounted on her own Birds [4].

1 A Greek word, *signifying* DARKNES.

2 NIGHT-WORK: being also a description of THVLE.

In this *Antimasque* inscribed ΣKOTOS, is preshadowed the whole *Plot of the* Masque (*more particularly personated afterwards in severall Entries*) First, *Saturne* and *Mercuries Quarrell*, about the *Northern* THVLE: and then the *Pacification*, interrupted awhile by MARS: but at length happily perfected by the Goodnesse of PHEBVS and his Royall PHEBE.

3 *Saturne* and *Mercuries* QVARREL.

4 Night-Owles.

But Theſe (being dazled with that ſudden unexpected *Brightneſſe*) miſtooke their Way; and in ſted of falling, ſoared *upwards* wincking (like Seeled Lanners:) yet not able to mount to the Sphears, began to hover a while in the Ayre: at which *pauſe*, *Night* ſeemed offering to ſpeake; had not ſome preſent *Deity* ſtruck her downe; and ſo *prevented*, rather then *interrupted*, Her *Darke* intents [1].

At Her Diſcent, Dull OBLIVION and Soft SILENCE, not able to hold pace with their Flying Miſtreſſe, were forced to ſtay *behinde* Her; and ſo were ſtill detained, as *Foyles*, to Grace the following *Scene* of Glorious *Brightneſſe* [2].

THESE ANTIMASQUES being thus paſt; from a *Cleere Heaven*, opening on either ſide, came Two *Chariots*, curiouſly toucht with *Gold*, each borne up with a Cloud of *Aurora* Colour; gently gliding downe the Ayre in equall pace, till neere the *State* they met: Where, in an inſtant diſ-appearing, They left Two *Seeming Deities*, or *Second Cauſes*, in forme of moſt Beautifull young *Virgins*; Richly cloathed in *Skie* Colours, waved with lighteſt *Azure*, hightned with *ſilver*; looſly tuckt about with a *Starry* Girdle, ſuch as *Plebeians* call a *Zodiack*; Their Armes bare, with bracelets of Pearle; Their Faire Haire *Diſchevald*, mixt with ſilver: On their Head, a *Coronis of Starres*; yet of ſuch *different* Light, Colour, and Magnitude, that at diſtance they ſeemed *Roſes*, ſweetly mixt with *Lillies*; which joyntly refracted their Rayes, into a moſt pure *Carnation Iris*.

Both Theſe * addreſſing themſelves to the GREAT QUEENE under the *State*, with a *bluſhing Startle*, as amazd at ſome unexpected Majeſtie (though they expected much) humbly preſented a *Little Scrowle*, ſeeming a *petition*: yet ſome thought it the *Plot* of the *Maſque*. What ever it was, Her Majeſtie received it with a gracious ſmile, and ſeemed with much delight to read it; while They Both, were Rapt up within a glorious Rainebow, mounting up HEAVEN by degrees, while They ſung thus, to the GREAT QUEEN.

Clouded

1 When theſe *Commotions* ſeemed brought to their *end*, they here *begin* againe; and *Roſe* even in their *Fall* (which is more cleerly expreſt anon, When MARS diſturbs the *Firſt Pacification*;) But at length all is ſo well ſetled, that by ſome Divine Power, NIGHTS Darke intents, ſeeme *Prevented* rather then *Interrupted*.

2 At the end of theſe *Commotions*, the CAVSES petition PHEBVS for an *Act* of OBLIVION *pag.* 17.

Even as the *Athenians* of old, after the Civill warre, called the *Holy Warre*, blotted out all, with a Law of *Forgeting*, entitled AMNHΣTIA.

See *Thucidid. Pauſan. Attic.* and the *Scholaſt* on *Ariſtoph. Plut.* & *Pax.*

* Theſe Celeſtiall *Heroines*, are ASTRONOMIA and ASTROLOGIA. For, as a true *Hiſtory* may repreſent the *Terreſtriall*, So *theſe Two* preſent the *Celeſtiall Plot* of this *Maſque of Heaven*: Being the true place and motions of the *Heavenly* Bodies (*ſhadowed on earth*) through 1639, 1640. &c.

Clouded *Eyes in* darkeſt *Night*,
To Thee may glance for Beames of Light:
That Sphear *of* Brightneſſe *in Thine* Eye,
Darts Rayes enough to make a Sky.
Thy Stock *of* Beauty *hath a powre*
To dawne a Sun, *for every houre.*

But Pity yet poore Mortalls ſight:
With Lawn *or* Cypreſſe Cloud *Thy Light*;
Leſt Thy Beauty, FAYREST QUEENE,
Dazle *all, and be* Unſeene:
Celeſtiall Hero's * *Durſt not aske*
To See Thy Face, *but in a* Mask.

* Whowere now to be *Maſquers* with her Majeſty, in this *Maſque* of *Heaven.*

With Thee yet PHEBUS* *hath prevaild*
To let Thy Beauty *be unvaild:*
That in His ſted Thy Glorious Ray,
May Condeſcend *to make a* Day,
Throughout This Hemiſphear; *while He*
Masked *preſents a* Maſque *to Thee.*

* Who was already masked within the Sphears.

'Tis Heaven's *Will,*
That we unſeene,
Should eccho ſtill *

Fair-
-eſt
QUEENE.

* Heere They were hid in the Clouds; and a ſweet melting *Eccho*, began in *Heaven*, and thence being reflected through the whole *Scene*, made up the laſt verſe FAIREST QUEENE.

Which Eccho, *was moſt artificially caught, and continued with moſt* harmonious, *ſoule-raviſhing* Muſick; *While the* GREAT QUEENE *roſe up in a Roſie-coloured* Cloud; *and was afterwards ſeene, with the* Maſquers, *(yet* Unveyld) *Perſonating* PHEBE: *At which the Muſick ſweetly melted, being heard at* diſtance, *as from within the* Sphears of Heaven.

PHEBVS.

Whence soone issued PHEBUS, in his wonted Robes: sitting in his glorious Chariot, almost deceiving the sharpest eye and disappearing, midst thickest, yet purest Rayes; which yet were all but as dark shadowes, foyling that farre more curious Draught within; to whose *Natuall* Luster, *Glory* could adde no *artificiall* complement: Before Him the brightest Rayes, blusht themselves into Dusky Clouds, as asham'd; though 'twas no shame, to be out shonn by such a Deity.

IVPITER and MARS.

Neere This *Sunne* (and yet not *neere*, for so could none) stood Two CAUSES, but *Second* only; Acted by the Thought, rather then Beck, of This *First* Moover, in This Second HEAVEN. The Glory of these Two, seemed somewhat above *Mortals*, because only below PHEBUS; Whose broken scattred Rayes (above enough to make *Day*) being reflected on These Two, were NATURE's Measures, for the *Highest* Beauty, in this *Lower* WORLD. Their *Names* were nothing but their *Natures*, well contracted into JUPITER and MARS; The one Lightned to the others Thunder, and held the Bolts the other cast: and yet neither did either; being neither JUPITER nor MARS (though Both) but PHEBEIDES.

PHEBE; VENVS: Corona Borea, Lyra, Coma, &c. attending PHEBE.

Somewhat Higher, with her VENUS (attended with *Corona Borea*, *Lyra*, *Coma Berenices*, *Cassiopea*, *Astrea Virgo*, with other *Celestiall Heroins*) was a Seeming Deity, that might easily have seemed NATURE her selfe (as the Poets describe Her) but that Her Age spake her much younger. However, Dame NATURE must now admit her Equall, (and Grammer make no *solecism* of Two *superlatives*;) For sure, no *Second* Place was capable of This *Primest of Beauties*, Blessing This Scene. And yet with a sweet and gracefull blush, She seemed to contract Her Rayes; that so *Beauty* might keepe that distance with *Brightnesse*, which PHEBE must with PHEBUS. For with This *Double-Single* Name, Those *Two* Deities pleased to *One* themselves: And This was the only way to limit admiration; For, all curious inquiries were soone answered thus, THIS is PHEBUS, and THIS is PHEBE; None asked more; for more could not be said, more could not be Thought.

Yet

Yet, one thing more there was, at which both *Art* and *Nature* ſtood amaz'd; each thinking That, the others Skill, Which it ſelfe, durſt not preſume to owne. This was a moſt Naturall Likeneſſe, Proportion, Feature; yea, Identity it ſelfe, between This Faire and Glorious PHEBE, now *over* the State [1], and That as Faire, Great and Glorious a QUEEN, ſeene before *under* it.

Moſt of the Spectators, not having eyes to ſee One Sunne (much leſſe Two at once) thought Both Thoſe, but *One*; yet with ſeverall names in ſeverall Places: So, *over* the State They called Her PHEBE; but *under* it, The GREAT QUEENE: as of old to the Poets, The ſame Deity was (but in ſeverall Places) PHEBE, DIANA, and PROSERPINA.

Yet ſome few, that ſaw with Thoughts, as well as eyes, Thought the One, only, Reall, The other Repreſentative; as Reflected on ſome choiſeſt Chryſtall, fixt or moved ſooner then Thought, yet ſtill after the Motions of the GREAT QUEENE.

But, ſome Sublimate *Roſie-Crucians* (that were preſent with their Spectacles) not yet content, would needs dive to the Bottome of their Deepeſt Chryſiple, to ſearch out This *artificiall* Myſterie of *Nature*. In diſcuſſing of which, They had almoſt made another *Antimaſque*, or peece of *Night-worke*, by profound Myſticall Diſputations, whether *Art* or *Nature*, *Senſe* or *Reaſon*, could beſt ſeparate, abſtract, at leaſt preſcind, a Sprightly *Genius* from its *Body* (which they called the *Carcer Anima*; the *Night* of *Light*; the *Terreau Hecceity* of an *Etheriall Quiddity*:) ſo that the ſame *Suppoſitum* might exiſt in Two diſtinct *Individuums*: For, ſuch they thought, the Exiſtence of theſe *Maſquers*, both in *Heaven* and *Earth*, at the ſame inſtant.

And theſe ſuttle *Loſophers* (which was beſt of all) thought this *Tactulum* of theirs, a fine Grace to this Maſque of *Heaven*: Hoping their *Bandore*, might happly doe as much for the *Baſs*, at the next Conſort, as the *Graſ-hopper* once did for the broken *Treble* [2].

In the meane time, not pauzing for this Harmonicall Diſcord below, *the Muſick ſuddenly brake forth* above: *moſt melodiouſly continued with a ſweet, though ſaddeſt Ditty; whoſe* Ayre, *was thought to be the ſame with* That, *compoſed at the Sad parting, of the Grecian Princes, from their Ladies, towards* Troy.

1 In the bright Clouds of *Heaven*.

2 Rhodigin: Var: Lect:

While the Muſick began to pauze with a moſt *pathetical* melting Note; PHEBUS Riſeth, and with a moſt Emphaticall aſpect, parteth from His Deareſt PHEBE*; whoſe *Eyes* onely (and they fainted too) were left able, to breath out a Sighing *Vale*.

The occaſion of This Saddeſt Parting, was ſome *Important Buſineſſe* of HEAVEN; at which PHEBUS himſelfe pleaſed to advance *Northward*, there to make *Two* Enemies *One* Friend: Condeſcending thus to interpoſe Himſelfe (though *below* Himſelfe) rather then by a Thunder-bolt to deale with Both, at greater diſtance.

THE MATTER WAS THIS:

PHEBUS, pleaſing to bleſſe the *Southern* World, with his chiefeſt Reſidence, Deputed MERCURY to the utmoſt *Northern* THULE [1]. But MERCURY is ſhrewdly there Oppos'd by SATURN; upon an old *Grudge*, ere-ſince MERCURY ſo ſorely foyled CUPID, SATURNS grandchild

——— *Manet altâ mente repoſtum.*

Yet at preſent, SATURN pretends another quarrell; pleading, Thoſe cold North Climats, ſubject unto Him, in PHEBUS abſence: and, to aſſert his cauſe, beſides preſent *Poſſeßion* (almoſt the beſt Point in Law) He produceth an Old *Charter*, Patent under PHEBUS Broad Seale, on which *Nature* had ſtampt the *Armes* [2] of HEAVEN.

MERCURY offers Diſpute; and doubts not to make his Cauſe good by force of Argument. But *Saturn* could handle his Sithe, much better then a Syllogiſm; yet, had *Logick* enough to hold His owne *Concluſion*, and deny MERCURIES *Aſſumption* of ought belonging to Him; yea, confeſſing He could not *Diſpute*, He thought beſt to *Moderate*; and Himſelfe will *Determine* MERCURIES *Theſis*. And in Concluſion, Be it *Right* or *wrong*, Hee Forceth MERCURY to goe back as he came; and, which was more, wilily directs That *Back-motion* into a FALL [3].

MERCURY *Falling*, Proteſts againſt SATURNS Injurious Act; and to Right Himſelfe, Appeales to PHEBUS [4]: while SATURN *Reproteſts and Antiproteſts*; Truſting to the Goodneſſe of his Cauſe; not knowing that a New Patent might ſuſpend an Old Charter, that was never made, or meant, to be Eternall.

To

* *March* 25. 1639. the *Sunne* parted from the *Moone* (the *King* of Heaven from His *Queene*) and went *Northward* in the Ecliptick; Being then in ARIES the firſt of all the *Northern* Signes.

How this (*as all the reſt*) *was ſhadowed on earth, about that time, belongs to* Hiſtory *to record, as in a true* Terreſtriall *Map, parallell to this* Celeſtiall.

1 Of this THVLE; alſo of *Saturn* and *Mercuries* right to it, and *Quarrell* for it, are large notes annext to the end of the *Maſque*.

2 The Signe of the *Lion* (in Heaven) is by all Aſtrologers made the proper Palace of the *Sun*, and ſo the *Device* of PHEBVS.

3 Divers times ſince 1637 was *Mercury* the Planet driven out of AQVARIVS, SATVRNS houſe (ſhadowed here under the name of THVLE) and Forced into *PISCES*: which *Signe* all Aſtrologers call *Mercuries Fall*.

4 MERCVRY *Falling* into PISCES in *March* 1639, ſeemes to *appeale* to the *Sun*; who, was then in PISCES a *Southern* Signe.

To Compose this quarrell, PHEBUS Himselfe condescended to take a *North* progresse towards THULE[1]; and, lest SATURN should prove contumacious (which some feared) He advanceth in *Warlike* manner; Sending also MARS before Him, to attend MERCURY; who, without PHEBUS's speciall Favour, was like to prove by much too weake for SATURN.

MARS goeth before, toward MERCURY; Yet by the Way lingreth a while in VENUS House, on old acquaintance; But to his Great losse and detriment, for PHEBUS will anon revenge it[2].

JUPITER followes PHEBUS, with His Thunderbolts, but *at distance*; and not without some seeming great *Reluctancy*, going *Backward* oft, as he seemed to step *forward*: For loth he was, to hurt his *Old Father*, yet much more loth, to be disloyall to his *Soveraigne* PHEBUS[3].

Both at length, are well prevented by PHEBE's Wisdome: Whose Royall Goodnesse vouchsafeth to mediate PEACE: which PHEBUS Granteth to His Dearest PHEBE. And so, being *Reconciled*, casts His wonted *Gracious Aspect* upon SATURN: Who was thus againe setled by PHEBUS in His proper Place, to the Great content and Joy of all[4].

At this, began *an* Applause *through the whole* Scene, *while the* Musick *suddenly brake forth againe, melodiously continued by all the* Sphears.

But, while This was blessing the Scene above; there hapned *an unexpected Accident* below, which in a *Plebeian Comedy*, might well have made an *Interlude*, and have spared Musick between the *Acts*: But *Heere* 'twas much below the *Genius* of a *Royall Masque*. However, it caused some smiles, though only among the crowd of *Lowest Spectators*.

Thus it was. A *Spunisht Prognostique* that ne're durst Thinke of seeing *Heavens Face* (but in a Pond, or through a Peece of Gypresse) Hearing perchance that *Heaven* would now be *Masked*, before the QUEEN: Thought this an Excellent opportunity to bee a *Star-gazer*, and yet not hurt his eyes. Hee vowes therefore to make one in the crowd (at this *Masque*) though it cost him the *Swooning* of his last and best *Almanack*: which he now regards the lesse; because he presumes, at this *Celestiall Vision*, to get, at least, a *New Edition* of his *Old Ephemerides*, now almost at last gasp.

Having

1 As soone as MERCVRY had thus *fallen* and *appealed*, the *Sunne* presently left the *Southern* Signes, and advanced *Northward* in the Ecliptick: yet in *Warrelike* manner, for ARIES the first of the *Northern* signes (into which the *Sun* then entred) is by all Asttologers called the House of MARS, and so of *Warre*.

2 MARS then also became *Northern* (both in *Latitude* and *Longitude*) and went before the *Sun* toward GEMINI, MERCVRIES House.

Yet by the way, lingred awhile in TAVRVS, VENVS *House*: but to his hurt; for, TAVRVS is also called MARS *Detriment*:

This is also Poeticall, alluding to the old Fable of MARS *with* VENVS *taken by the Sun.*

3 IVPITER (with the Poets SATVRNS sonne) then followed the *Sun* in SAGITARIVS (so at distance) but with seeming *Reluctancy*, being *Retrograde*.

4 *May* 30. 1639, the *Moon* seemed to mediate a Peace between the SVN, SATVRN and MERCVRY: for, she aspected them all, on the same *Day*, in *friendly Trine*: and the *Sun* presently (as reconciled) smiled on SATVRN in the like *Trine*. At which SATVRNE was setled in his *House* & *Ioy* AQVARIVS: but MERCVRY in GEMINI; under which, Astrologers place LONDON and great part of *England*.

The rest is a *Maske*, but This a *Veyle*; covering *Ianus*' head with two Faces: of which, one seemes to smile (*Et quis fuit alter?*) as if its eye glaunc'd at an old English Comedy, entitled, WHEN YOV SEE ME, YOV KNOW ME, &c.

Having crowded at length (with much adoe) within ken of the Scene: The First thing He heard, was a mutter (among some next him) of SATURN and MERCURIES late Great *Variance*. At first sound of SATURN and MERCURY, He thought This might prove a most incomparable good Notion for his next *Calender*, were it so *Translated*, that profane Vulgars also might understand This *Sublime Dialect* of *Heaven*; which He durst think no lesse then *Hebrew*, (what ever more) for *This*, He had heard, was *Heavens Language*.

Well, this Translation shall bee his owne work; who yet remembred some had told him, His First Minority had *Surfeted* by eating a *Construing Booke*; which made his queasie Stomack, ever since, to nauseate *Minced meat*; specially *Tongues*, which (with *Hartichoaks* of the Jewish mould) he had heard the *Learned Doctors* most forbid, as the hardest to digest: Yet, he resolves to take Heart-a-grace, for once, and so will venture another *Surfet*.

The first *Course* was soone concocted; For, SATURN and MERCURY comming aboard, he knew them at first sight, to be peeces of *his owne Element*; and so might easily come to signifie *any thing* in *Heaven* or *Earth*. But as for *Variance*, This he only knew in *Practise*, and not a word of its *Theory*; Therefore durst not venture to translate it ex-tempore; but thinks best to Empannell a *Jury* of his best *Thoughts*, to depose Their verdict for its cognizance. And while They step aside into a *By-roome*, He was content to leave thinking awhile; and pleased in much curtesie to condescend so low, as (all the Interim) to *Grace* the *Masque* with the *Tips* of his eares. Yet, hearing nothing Heere, but *Dumb Shewes* (which he understood no more then *Variance*:) His Teeth open by *instinct*, and hee thinks good (being moved) to inure his *Docuity*, by instructing some next him; stiching up many reasons, why HEAVEN would come abroad *mewd* up in a *Maske*, since *French Hoods* went out of fashion.

But heere by chance, Over-hearing His *Jury* wrangle about their Verdict for *Variance*: He resolves to make a New *Foreman* of the next *Gowne* he saw. But, This *Gown* hapning to be lin'd with Furr, he durst not a great while crowd neere it, lest perchance some *Mace* should hang loose in its pocket, which slipping out, might *raise his Memory* with old *Obligations*. Yet, at length, bethinking himselfe, that, of all *Vices*, *Modesty* had long beene most *Odious*; hee ventures to accost the *Furr Gowne*: and with a Congruous congie, confessing himselfe ingramm in all the *Oriental Tongues*, beseeches his Worship to give him to understand, what *Variance* might meane at *Court of Heaven*.

Mr. Alderman (for so the other cald him) either out of depth of Science; or else willing to horse the Asse, at least to muzzell him, (Himself being intent on the Masque) cryed *Peace, Peace*; at which the other quickly conjur'd his lips into a Gramarcy of your Honour.

Thus

Thus having gotten the *theory* as well as *practise* of *Variance*; and presuming on SATURN and MERCURY's courtesie; he scornes to *spell* any longer, but with most learned confidence, puts all together in one breath; Thus: *Saturn and Mercury, or Heaven and Earth, are at Peace, or Variance.*

But, in the next Breath, bethinking himselfe hee could not prove his words, if any should chance to question him: He resolves to sleep whole, by Unsaying all againe; yet, with a gentle qualification for his credits sake: and so starts up in a *pythick rapture*, and swears by the *Genius* of all the *Good Starres* in his *Horoscope*, that what ere he *thought*, yet he *meant*, *Saturn and Mercury would not*, long, *be at Variance in Arabick, or Peace in English.* Which, he spake the rather, that so he might intimate a most contagious *Disease*, he lately had, which the *Doctors* call the *Prophetick Tympany*: the least Sent of *which*, he hoped, might easily give him more roome and ease in the Crowd.

Heere his memory chancing to stumble on some Heroicall Verses, made for his next *Kalender*; he pleaseth in much courtesie to *perfume* Them next him, with a *spice* of his Pottery: and so by learned expiration breathes out these *Rythmicall Proses*, ushred in, by two or three *Antick faces*, *bare-head.*

Now * *Resteth in His* Aquary * June 1639.
Lord Saturn, *smiling on* Mercury,
In Trine: *'tis well I wot*; *but Stay*,
Till Sirius *shall cast his Ray* *, * July August, &c.
And Leo *frown*: Titan and Mercury,
With Saturn *Then shall be at Emnity* 1.
Enough, no more, yet doe not Wonder,
If after Lightning, *it doe* Thunder.
Enough, too much: *for* speake *I dare not now*;
But yet Ile Think, *and care not How.*

All which, and a great deale More, was but a peece of a *non-Licet*-Booke, called an *All-men-ake*: a peece of *Felony* (what ever more) for 'twas *Stolen* out of an old *Ephemerides*, calculated for another Climat, and not for the Scene of *This Royall Masque of Heaven*: Whose Heroick *Genius* disdaines such spurious *Comitragick Interludes*: and yet This Pedantick Strologer, would faine have Canted out his old *Prosodia* with new Accents, and acuter Tones; which might perhaps have at length beene over-heard by some of the *Masquers* above; had not some neere him (wiser then Himselfe) quickly husht him, and sent him packing, to learne *New Calculations* in the *Old Counter-house.*

However, This Discord below, *with sweet* Cadence, *brought in, the Concord* above, *with the finer grace*; *at least to the Lower Spectators*; *For the Other needed no* artificiall Foyles *to Grace their most* Naturall *Harmony, made by* Heaven *it selfe, with all its* Sphears.

And

C

* *Qui non odit, amet tua Carmina Mævi*: Mart. Epigram.

1 *Ridentem dicere verum,*
Quid vetat? πολλάκι τοι καὶ μωρὸς ἀνὴρ.
'Tis true, that after a few *Smiles* in June 1639, those Planets continue *frowning* on SATVRN all the rest of that yeare, and most of the next, *viz.* 1640. But what the *Issue* will be, appears anon, by the Entries following the Arraignment of MARS for disturbing the *First Pacification.*

But, how these motions of *Heaven*, were shadowed upon *Earth* all that time, belongs to the *Terrestriall* (or *Historicall*) *Map*, to represent.

And while this Muſick melted away by degrees, at the *North Horizon* PHEBUS Roſe in great Glory; advancing *Southward* againe with his wonted Attendance, ſutable to His Majeſtie: His Triumphant Chariot was drawne by Sparkling Steeds, Foure in Front, as the old *Romans* were wont to Triumph [1].

NOW JUPITER alſo commeth *back again* with his *Satellites*, waiting on the Returne of His Soveraigne PHEBUS; who, in his Return, *exalteth* JUPITER [2], His Loyall and moſt Humble Servant: who, like a *Noble Subject*, Thought one Gracious ſmile, one Glaunce, from his *Prince*; more then enough to reward the moſt faithfull and Loyall Service (poſſible) to His Royall Soveraign.

MERCURY alſo, Leaving a while his *Northern* Station, commeth *Southward:* Following PHEBUS, till Hee came to the Royall Palace; and there Reſted, Diſmiſſing MERCURY with a gracious ſmile [3].

Only MARS is Enemy to This *Pacification*: whether out of Naturall *Antipathy* to SATURN (ever ſince He mockt him for Dalliance with VENUS) or elſe in *Sympathy* to MERCURY (in whoſe Houſe He had been Billeted moſt of This Time:) what ere the matter was, He ſeemed much inraged, that He muſt, either returne and ſtrike never a blow; or elſe, ſtay Freezing in the cold *Cronian* Ocean, as a lump of raw metall, glu'd to the *North* Pole, by its magneticall vertue [4].

While He lingreth in MERCURIES Houſe; SATURN, Threatens him: who quite benumd, and Frozen into a Daſtardly Apoplexy (by the *Northern ſent* of Cold THULE) is forced to cry mercy: and not able to reſiſt ſuch ſtrong Syllogiſms made in *Ferio*, he Flies thence; and Flutters *Southward* againe with all his Ice-ickles. But Comming at length into *Southern* Heat, He is thawd againe into His wonted Rage (which was Frozen about THULE:) and Raging, Enters PHEBE's Palace; Hoping by ſome meanes to divert Her mediation, and ſo diſturb the *Pacification* [5].

But for all his Spurrs, His Rage is Bootleſſe: for,

1 In *Iune*, 1639. the *Sun* came to CANCER (called the *Tropick*, becauſe he there begins to *turn* ſouthward again in the Ecliptick) but came not into LEO his wonted Palace till *July*: CANCER being his *Higheſt Aux* or *Apogeum*, ſeems a Triumphant Chariot.

2 IVPITER followed him (being *Retrograde*) and was aſpected with a gracious *Trine* from the *Sun* being in CANCER which all Aſtrologers call IVPITERS EXALTATION.

3 MERCVRY was *Northern*, *Aprill* and *May*, but in *Iune* became *Southern*, following the *Sun* till hereſt in LEO, where he was graciouſly aſpected both by *Sun* and *Moon*, and then became *Northern* againe.

4 Here (as in the former *Interlude*) are ſhadowd ſome unexpected *Commotions* ſtrangely diſturbing the *Firſt Pacification*: Theſe are raiſed by MARS the Poeticall *God of warre*, Enimy to all peace; and in Heaven the moſt fiery Planet.

5 MARS being in GEMINI, MERCVRE'S *Houſe*, APRIL and MAY, 1639, is there aſpected by SATVRN; and towards the beginning of IVNE, He is driven thence: and ſeeming inraged, Enters CANCER the MOONS *Houſe:* But in CANCER the MOON *oppoſed* Him: as appeares by the next Entry (in This Maſque) *which is to be reſerd to the Motions of the Heavenly Bodies, through* IVNE, IVLY, and the reſt of 1639.

for, PHEBE ſoone *Oppoſeth* Him in greateſt diſpleaſure [1], being That fire-brand that firſt kindled debate between SATURN and MERCURY; and now durſt ſmoake alſo, at That *Peace*, which Her owne Goodneſſe had vouchſafed to mediate with ſuch happy ſucceſſe.

While He yet Raged, PHEBE ſo prevailed that with a Ray darted out, MARS was dazled; & ſuddenly fell down as Thunder-ſtruck, yeelding himſelfe Priſoner to PHEBUS: And ſo, being drawne Captive like after the Triumphant Chariot, for ſhame & grief, He hideth himſelf under it [2].

VENUS, at firſt, was affrighted at This unexſpected Fall of MARS, & Fled Thence; yet ſeemed Ambitious to attend PHEBUS' Triumph; & ſo haſteth into His Royall Palace; there to prepare for His Glorious Return [3]. At which, She petitioneth for her old Friend MARS, & beggeth his Liberty: which PHEBUS, at length, Granteth in much Mercy [4]; Well, knowing that *Royall Goodnes*, to all *Ingenuous Nolle Spirits*, is a ſtronger Bond then any Chaine, then any Fetter.

MARS, releaſed by PHEBUS, at VENUS' Petition; was now no Priſoner, yet MARS ſtill; and ſtill mindfull of Former Chaines (ſuch is His Temper ſtill!) ſoon haſteth into VENUS' Houſe, There to renew Former acqaintance. Thence he plotteth to incenſe SATURN and MERCURY again: and after divers aſſays, at length prevailes ſo farr, that SATURN begins again to frown on MERCURY: which Frowning Diſguſt, MARS ſo reſents and foments; that ere long, MERCURY is again Driven out of THULE, and again by SATURN forced to Fall [5].

MERCURY *Falling*, re-imploreth PHEBUS helpe (His beſt refuge:) after which, PHEBUS condeſcendeth to make a *Second* Progreſſe towards THULE: Yet reſolves by Gentle Rayes of Royall Goodnes, much rather then by Thunder-bolts, to prevaile both with SATURN and MARS, who now joyntly oppoſed MERCURY [6].

But PHEBE [7] again vouchſafeth to interpoſe Her ſelf; whoſe owne Goodneſſe moveth Her again to mediate Peace (ſuch ſtill are the Thoughts, breathings, & Motions, of True Royall Goodnes) for effecting of which, She prevaileth with PHEBUS to Summon His Grand Councel of all the Seeming Deities.

1 This *Oppoſition* of MARS was but two or three dayes after the MOON had mediated *Peace* between the SVN, SATVRN and MERCVRY; about the beginning of IVNE 1639.

2 Preſently after This *Oppoſition* MARS Fell *Combuſt* (and ſo was *Hid* by the *Sun*-Beams) in CANCER; Which Signe is with all *Aſtrologers*, cald MARS FAL.

3 When MARS thus Fell in CANCER, VENVS was there: but as affrighted, Fled thence into LEO the SVNS Palace, ſeeming to prepare for His Returne, which was in IVLY 1639.

4 In SEPTEMBER MARS was ſet free from the *Sunn's* Beames, in LIBRA; which is the *Houſe* of VENVS, MARS Conſtant Friend, with all the *Poets*.

5 MARS thus Free from *Combuſtion, &c.* Entreth LIBRA, VENVS *Houſe*: and thence aſpecteth SATVRN and MERCVRY, OCTOB. 1639. Which ſeems to inrage them; for ſoon after, They Frown in a bitter *Quartile*: which Frown MARS ſo Foments by divers Aſpects, that MEBCVRY being met by SATVRN, FEB. 164c. is Driven again out of AQVARIVS (SATVRN'S Houſe, ſhadowed here by THVLE) into PISCES, which ſigne is with all Aſtrologers MERCVRIE'S FALL.

6 *Mercury* meets the *Sun* in *Piſces* & ſo ſeems to beg his help: Who (ere long) advanceth *Northward* again; & in his way, is oppos'd by *Saturn* & *Mars*; Who Both alſo oppoſe *Mercury*. Aug. & Sept. 1640.

7 But in *Sept.* the *Moon* ſeem's again to mediat *Peace*, ſmiling on the *Sun*, *Venus*, *Saturn* and *Mars*, (in a *Trine*) all in a day.

Who, meeting (according to PHEBUS' Summons) in AREOPAGUS [1]; think best to begin at the Root of Trouble, the Author of the late Commotions in the *Little World*: and so, with generall consent, agree to Arraigne MARS, of Rebellion against PHEBUS; Disturbing the Peace mediated by PHEBE's Goodnesse; Incensing SATURN, and with Him joyntly opposing MERCURY. His Inditement being Heard; after all Pleas, They all conclude Him One Generall CAUSE of most of the Late Commotions: and joyntly Censure him, to be most justly excluded from the Number of *Gods*: and deprive him of all Priviledges, Honours, Dignities &c. Which are all rendered back againe into PHEBUS Hands, from whose Royall Favour, they first came [2].

PHEBE still continues to mediate a Full *Pacification*, between SATURN and MERCURY [3]: to which end, Her Royall Goodnesse prevaileth with PHEBUS to continue His *Great Councell*; and summon all the CAUSES at once; to conclude and attest a compleat, perfect, and Eternall *Peace*, through the whole *Little world*.

This being Concluded on, PHEBUS Finisheth His *North* Progresse, and begins, the *Second* Time, to Returne *Southward* againe, in Great Glory [4].

Heere a Bright Glorious Cloud Disappearing, The GREAT QUEEN, was againe seene Seated in Royall Majestie, under the *State* (as at First.) At which appeared a *Celestiall Chorus*, (Forerunners to PHEBUS Glorious Return) Rising up at the *North Horizon*, like *Orient* Rayes, Sparkling about *Phosporus*, till *Aurora* give place to Phebus' Rising. These mounting *Heaven* by Degrees, Sing thus to the GREAT QUEEN:

Faire PHEBE, Thou alone hast Eyes,
To see Thy Glorious PHEBUS Rise:
If Rise *He can, Who is at* Hight
Of Beauty, Glory, and Delight:
He cannot Lose, He cannot Get,
He cannot Rise, *He cannot* Set.

Or if He Set, *'tis still 'ith* West,
And still His Rising *maketh* East:
But if in South *He Day doe make,*
Or to the North *a Progresse Take;*
*Speak Faire*st *PHEBE, can we call,*
This PHEBUS Setting or His Fall. *When*

1 Towards the end of *Sept.* 1640. Most of the greater Heavenly Bodies attend the SVN, in the latter Degrees of LIBRA, The *Zodiaks North* Limit (that old *Hieroglyphick* of *Justice & Judgement*) Which with all Astrologers are called *Termini Martis*, and so here, MARS *Hill*, or *Areopagus*, (The great Judgement Seat in *Athens*) so called, because MARS was there Tried by his 12 Peeres: of which, *Pausanias* in his *Atticks*.

2 In *Octob.* and *Novemb.* The SVN takes possession of SCORPIO the House and Joy of MARS, who is thus dispoyled, and forfeits all to PHEBVS.

3 Divers Times through *Sept. Octob.* and *Novemb.* 1640. The MOONE mediates between the SVN, SATVRN and MERCVRY, seeming earnestly to desire *Peace*.

4 In *Octob.* 1640. The SVN leaves LIBRA (which is the Bound, or Limit to the *Northern* Signes) and commeth more and more *Southward* in the *Ecliptick*.

When First He pleasd to change His Place,
Tis True, a while He veyld His Face 1,
Contracting in, His Southern *Rayes:*
But to the North, *He Them displayes:*
Speake Fairest PHEBE can we call,
This an Eclipse, *Setting or Fall?*

'Twas Pity *kept him veyld a while;*
For if He, Pleased, pleasd to Smile,
He Pit'ed Them, He smil'd on, lest
They should be Dazled, *Whom he Blest:*
Or if he Frownd, *'twas Pity still,*
That veyld his Frowns, *that else would kill.*
Like Lightning or like Thunder-claps,
Them whom He Frownd *on: Or perhaps*
He pit'ed Thee, *Himself in Thee;*
Lest Thy eye, *His* Frowns, *should see,*
And seeing Greive Thy Tender Heart:
And so Himselfe *in* Thee *should smart.*

Yet lest the Southern World *should misse,*
His wonted Rayes, Their wonted Blisse;
He left Thy Beauty *in His Place,*
While Going North *He veyld His Face.*
That Veyle *was but a* Maske, *for See*
How in a Masque *He comes to Thee* 2.

1 This alludes to the *Sun's* Eclipse *May* 22. 1639.

2 At these words, began PHEBVS to appeare at the *North Horizon*, mounting up with *Orient Rayes*, like the *Rising* Sun.

Heere They entred a *Cleere Heaven* (Full of Twinkling *Starrs* like a *Morning Skie* before *Sun Rising*) singing still; but seeming to speak to some in *Heaven.* The Verses not lost by the great distance, were These.

Adiew yee Sparkles, *Twinkling in Night;*
Who mock *us,* Counterfeiting *Light:*
Once called Starrs, *and Heaven's* Eyes;
Now Darkest Atoms *of the Skies;*
All is so Bright *with PHEBUS' Rayes:*
Though through a Maske *He them displayes.*

Come See, and Blush, Blushing be gone,
And Going Cry, we are out-shone.

Thus, while the Song and Musick most sweetly melted away by degrees; PHEBUS leaveth the *North Horizon* 3, advancing *Southward* again in Greatest Glory: being

3 In *Octob.* 1640. The SVN comes *Southward* in the Ecliptick: Having left the *Northern* Signes at the *Autumnall Equinoctiall.*

being adorn'd with Rayes of wonted Goodnes and mercy, darted out in a milde and Gracious Aſpect; yet ſparkling with Royall Majeſty; which ſeemed as the choyſeſt Diamond, *enſhrining* it ſelfe mid'ſt pureſt metall; or as a Fragrant Roſe, longing to *Carnation* it ſelfe, with the Faire *Idea* of the whiteſt *Deluce*.

Soon after His Return, All the CAUSES (ſummoned before) attend him in JUPITERS [1] *Hall* (which was firſt made for the Great *Conncell-Houſe* for all the Gods,) where they conſult with one conſent, for ſetling a Perpetuall and Inviolable *Peace* through all the *Little world*.

For this end, at length SATURN and MERCURY jointly reſigne up all Their Priviledges, Honors, Dignities, Poſſeſſions, Claimes, &c. into PHEBUS Hands. Acknowledging Their Dependance on His Royall Goodneſſe: profeſſing They had rather be devoyd of all that might ſpeak them Happy: yea rather not to *Be*, than be *Clowded* from His benigne Rays, and quickning Influence: or contiuue conſcious of promeriting His leaſt Frown; whoſe wonted Smiles, were more then Light, more then Life.

PHEBUS receiveth them with wonted Goodneſſe: which, of it ſelfe, moved Him to re-inveſt Them againe; not only with former Poſſeſſions, but alſo with great addition of New Favours. Which to make firme and inviolable, Hee Sealeth, by ſmiling on Them with moſt Gracious Aſpects; ſpecially on his reconciled Subject SATURN [2]. Knowing that *Royall Goodneſſe*, is ſtill wont either to *Finde*, or elſe *Make*, *Loyall Subjects*; Whoſe *Freeſt* and greateſt *Liberty*, ſpeakes Their *Soveraign*, the Compleateſt *Monarch*; Ruling (not only *Bodies* with *Feare*, but) *Soules* with *Love*: Which ſtill was, ſtill will be, the *Sureſt* and the *Straiteſt Bond*, to all *Ingenuous Noble Spirits*; to Rule *whom*, is Truly to be a *King*, a *Royall Prince*.

Thus moſt Happily was a *Compleat Peace* ſetled through the whole *Little World*; mediated by PHEBE; petitioned alſo and moſt cordially deſired, with one conſent, by all the CAUSES; Granted, Sealed, & confirmed by the Royall Goodneſſe of the GREAT KING: Which to maintaine and atteſt, PHEBUS was graciouſly pleaſed to Decree, and Ordaine, Frequent State Meetings, & Conſultations, of All the CAUSES [3]. Who

1 About the beginning of *November* 1640, The SVN in Heaven, comes (attended with moſt of the greater Heavenly Bodies) into SAGITTARIVS, which is with all Aſtrologers, IVPITERS *Houſe* or *Hall*; which with *Poets* was the Great *Councell-Houſe for all the Gods*.

2 In *Decemb.* The SVN begins to ſmile on SATVRN in a *Sextile*; which favour increaſeth, more and more, till about the beginning of *February*, SATVRN waits upon the SVN who ſmil's on him, (as perfectly reconciled) in a moſt *Gracious Aſpect*. MERCVRY alſo is neere, but in PISCES, and *Combuſt*.

3 Thus again in *February* 1642 is a Great *Meeting* of moſt of the Heavenly Bodies. But in PISCES. In PISCES alſo is a ſtarr greater *Meeting* of all the *Planets* (but MARS) ſpecially SATVRN and IVPITER, wayting on SVN and MOON *Feb.* 1643. And if THIS MOST GREAT CONIVNCTION be not Attended with moſt notable Events (moſt probably for much good) threugh greateſt Part of *Europe*: All Mathematicians muſt confeſs, They yet underſtand not, the *Dialect* of *Heaven*.

Who, before This Firſt Meeting was diſolved (after a moſt grateſull acknowledgment of the wonted Goodneſſe of PHEBUS and His Royall PHEBE, in quietting thoſe Sad Commotions, ſo much diſturbing the *Little world*) did joyntly agree to petition His Majeſtie, Hee would be graciouſly pleaſed, that all Remembrance, of MERCURY', and SATURN's *Quarrell*, might be wiped out; not only from His own Breaſt, (which His own Goodneſſe, of its ſelf, had already done) but alſo from the whole *Little World*; ſo that, an *Act of* [1] OBLIVION might for ever, blot out, and quite remove all *Staines*, and *Spots*, that might reſpectively adhere to any of his Loyall, and *Devoted Subjects*.

But, for an Eternall remembrance and Deteſtation of MARS His Treaſon; in *Rebelling* againſt PHEBUS; *Diſturbing* the *Peace*; and *Diſquieting* the whole *Little world*; His Majeſtie was petitioned, the Name of MARS might no longer endure in the *Court of Heaven*. Yet, that all His Former *Tenures* might ſtill remaine; But only as *Eternall Memorials* of the Goodneſſe of PHEBUS, and His Royall PHEBE. So, that *Heaven* ſhould no longer mention the *Houſe of* MARS *or* MARS' *Ioy*: But for all Theſe (in Their Places reſpective) The GLORY of PHEBUS [2]: And that the Place where MARS Fell a *Captive* to His Majeſtie, ſhould for ever, be called in *Heaven*, The TRIUMPH of PHEBUS and His ROYALL PHEBE [3].

And becauſe in all the late Commotions; It was much ſuſpected, MARS had been too much Beckt, and abetted, by His old Friend VENUS (who yet, for ſome *Cauſes*, was not actually excluded from the Seeming Deities) his Majeſty was moved, that the Place where MARS releaſed, had plotted with Venus to incenſe SATURN; might no more be called (as it was before) the Houſe of VENUS; But, the Honour of SATURN [4].

The Firſt of theſe Petitions was ſoone Granted by PHEBUS; But the other, not without earneſt ſolicitation of all the *Petitioners*: For ſuch is Royall Goodneſſe, much more prone to *Smile* then *Frowne*; yet yeelding to Both in fitteſt ſeaſons: Knowing, there is a Time when Publique Good, calling for Juſtice, leaves no Rome, or Place for any *Mercy*, but That only, which ſome miſſ-call *Severity*.

Heere

1 This was preſhadowed in the *Antimaſque* of *Night* and *Day Dawing*: where, after Night was chaſed away, yet SILENCE and OBLIVION, (among Her Attendants) were ſtill detained as *Foyles* to grace the following *Scene* of *Glorious Brigtneſſe*: This alludes alſo to the old *Athenian* AMNHΣTIA, of which before in the marginall notes, *pag.* 4.

2 ARIES, MARS *Houſe*, is by all Aſtrologers called the SVN'S *Glory* or *Exaltation*.

3 CANCER where MARS Fell *Combuſt*, *pag.* 13. (and ſo a *Captive* to the SVN) is the MOONS *Houſe*, and the SVNS *Aux* or *Triumph*.

4 LIBRA, VENVS *Houſe*, (which MARS Entred after His Releaſe, and thence Incenſed SATVRN, *pag.* 13) is by all Aſtrologers called SATVRN'S *Exaltation* or *Honour*: as appeares by the Scheam annexed to the end of the Maſque, *pag.* 19.

Heere a *Transparent* Cloud of thinne *exhalations* op'ned itselfe, and disappeared *. After which PHEBUS is seene, Resting with His Royall PHEBE, under the *State*; to the Greatest content and Joy of All. Witnessed by a *Generall Applause* first began among the *Deities* in *Heaven*, and being thence reflected through the whole *Scene*, is againe Counter-echoed by all the *Sphears*.

Which, for a while seemed to *Stand still* [1], as Ravisht with admiration at so Happy a *Peace* through the *Little world*: Then, as *Rapt* out of a *Pause*; broke out at once, into most harmonious soul-ravishing Musick; first heard at distance, as began among the Sphears, (melodiously Tun'd like choysest *Voyces*, into sweetest Consort in severall *Parts*) then Waved neerer and neerer, till it was artificially Caught, and continued by a *Celestiall Chorus*; which Entred the Scene *Singing*, to Congratulate PHEBUS most happy Return, and Rest with His Deareſt PHEBE, after the *Peace* so well concluded by Their Royall Goodnesse. The Close of the Song was This:

You Sacred Fires, *no lesse Divine then Bright,*
Who Dazle Heaven When You Rise,
With Luster farr more glorious then Its *Light,*
Which yet doth more *then Blesse our eyes.*

Your Beauty's *more Divine, your* Light *more Pure,*
Your Virtue's *Purer then your Light:*
Eternall Luster! *This shall* Bright *indure,*
When other Brightnesse *shall be* Night.

When all the Sphears *at once agree,*
To make one Tune, One Harmonie;
'Tis not so Good, *'Tis not so* Sweet,
As Yours, *When* You *in Consort meet.*

What was too Harsh, what was too Lowd,
To Concord now is sweetly Bowd:
Such is Your Musick, *Such your Skill,*
All Notes are Tuned to Your Will.

While Iarring Tones did grate our Eares;
We fear'd a Discord; But our Fears
Are Tun'd to Joyes: *On Their* Bass *Part,*
The Meane *and* Treble *were Your Art.*

Strike That againe: againe: That Note is sweet;
A Melting, *not a* Dying *Tone;*
Your Sweetnesse cannot Dye: *then* Living *meet,*
Us, in your Sphear, Your Highest Throne.

Nay, now we wrong *the* World; *All Loyall Soules,*
Each moment Kneele, and Vow, and Pray,
Your Long abode *on Earth: This, This controules*
Our wish; and makes Us wish Your Stay.

* *Erit Nubecula forsan, non Nubes.*

[1] *This alludes to* the Winter Solstice, *in which* Heaven *seems to* Stand Still *awhile, while the dayes neither* increase *nor* decrease *Sensibly: Hence it is called the* Solstice, *or* Sun's Standing Still.

Be long *expected in your* Higheſt Sphear;
And long *give Light to* Mortal's *eyes*:
For, All the Beauty *which* They *Worſhip Heere,*
Is but refracted *from* Yours *Rayes.*

And When You Leaving Earth, *ſhall* Heaven *chuſe,*
Behinde You leave Poſterity,
Like Flow'rs *to gemm and ſprout with Heav'nly Dewes,*
While You *Enjoy* Eternity,
Eternity,
Eternity.

Heere the Song *waved* away, Rapt into Lowd; yet, moſt melodious Harmony: into which as *Melting* themſelves the *Celeſtiall Chorus* diſ-appeared. Then, as Animate by ſome New *Genius*, began a moſt Sprightly Dance to the *Violins*; which ending in Single Paſſages, The *Ladies* Riſe to Dance the Revels with the *Lords.*

HEERE THE MASQUE ENDS.

THE SCHEME OF HEAVEN,
(Repreſented in This *Celeſtiall* MASQUE)
Drawne according to the Minde
of all *Aſtrologers* [1].

NORTH SIGNES.
ARIES, The *Sun's* Exaltation: *Mars'* Houſe.
TAURUS, *Venus'* Night Houſe: *Mars'* Detriment.
GEMINI, *Mercuries* Day Houſe, &c.
CANCER, *Moons* Houſe: *Mars'* Fall. *Iupiters* Exaltation.
LEO, The *Suns* Royall Palace.
VIRGO, *Mercuries* Night Houſe, Joy, &c.

SOUTH SIGNES.
LIBRA [2], *Venus'* Day Houſe: *Saturns* Exaltation.
SCORPIO, *Mars'* Houſe and Joy.
SAGITARIUS, *Iupiter's* Houſe and Joy.
CAPRICORN, *Saturn's* Night Houſe.
AQUARIUS [3], *Saturn's* Day Houſe and Joy.
PISCES, *Mercury's* Detriment, Fall, &c.

To This SCHEME, *moſt of the* Maſque Unmaskt, *referrs.*

1 Campanell. *Aſtrol.* cap. 7: Origan. *De Effectib. Aſtr.* Iunctin. *Iſag. Aſtrol.* cap. 9. Magin. *Prol. Ephem.* cap. 21. Pitat. *Introduct. Aſtr.* pag. 14. with many more.

2 The latter degrees of LIBRA are called *Termini Martis*; and therefore in the *Maſque, Areopagus* or *Mars' Hill.* pag. 14.

3 On earth THVLE, as appeares in the following Notes, pag. 22.

NOTES on SATURN, and MERCURIES Quarrell, about THULE: with a Curtain Drawn, Veyled from the Great Queene.

SATURN and MERCURY, in this *Masque of Heaven*, are sometime *Poëticall*, somtime *Platonicall*, yea *Chymicall* sometime; but usually *Celestiall*; though shadowed upon *Earth* also, I suppose, were the *Terrestriall* or *Historicall Map* to be seen abroad. Their *Quarrell* about THULE occasioned PHEBUS' First and Second *North* Progresse Thitherward.

THULE (with Poets, *Ultima Thule*) is a cold *North* Isle; most probably That, now called SCHETLAND, which the *Inhabitants* yet call *Thyleusall*, if *Peucer* deceive us not. If *This* be not the True THULE, we yet understand not *Ptolomy*, *Pomponius Mela*, with divers other old Geographers. However, Almost all Modern Writers 1 now agree, It must be some one or other Isle belonging to the Crown of SCOTLAND: And some think the old Poëts, by their *Thule*, meant but SCOTLAND (the Remotest Part of the *British Isle*) For This, was to Them, as *Theseus* to *Plutarch*, The Utmost *Horizon* in Their Map of *Terra Cognita*.

Their *Quarrell* about THULE, is First preshadow'd in an *Antimasque* of *Night-worke*, or *Scene* of *Darknesse*, inscribed in a strange Dialect, ΣΚΟΤΟΣ: And no wonder; For, even among the Ancients, SATURN (for the Dusky colour of That Planet) was usually an *Hyeroglyphick* of *Darknesse* 2. Yea, some will have SATURN come from the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* word *Satar*, to *Hide* and be *Hid* as in *Darknesse*: which well agrees with the old Poëts Fables of SATURNS *Hiding* Himself (when JUPITER pursude Him) in *Italy*; which was thence, They say 3, first called LATIUM, from *Lateo*, to be *Hid*.

This QUARRELL, sprung *Partly* from an *Old Antipathy* between Those Two (among the Poëts) ever since MERCURY, (on his Birth-day,) before all the *Gods*, So sorely Foyled CUPID, 4 SATURNS Son, or Nephew, as They say: (And *Plato's Phedrus* is the Best Paraphrase on This Fable:) *Partly* also from a New Occasion which did anew actuate Their *Old Antipathy*. This *New Occasion* was MERCURIES *New Patent*, or *Deputation* unto THULE; where SATURN had *Prepossession*, and Claimes much *Right* from an old *Charter*-patent under PHEBUS' Broad Seale, on which NATURE had stampt the *Armes* of *Heaven*. 5

SATURNS *Possession* of THULE is a Noted *Story* among the old *Poets* and Poeticall Writers: Who had a *Tradition* that SATURN lay asleep in a Golden *Pumice*, in the bottom of the *North* Sea, about THULE: Which Sea is therefore called, by many Writers, The *Chronian Ocean*, or Sea of *Saturn*. Of this Poeticall Tradition *Eusebius* speaks 6, *Plutarch* also in divers Places; in one of which He tels us of an Island in the *North* Sea, called *Saturns Isle*; which probably may be this THULE. His

1 *Mercator* with *Hond.* Cambdens *Brit.* in His *North Isles.*

2 *Ficin.* Prolog. *in Plotin. Enead.* 2. *l.* 3.

3 *Ovid.* Fast. 1. *Virg.* Ænead 8.

4 *Lucian Dialog. Apoll. & Vulcan.*

5 Of which, see in the *Masque*, pag. 8.

6 Euseb. *Prep. lib.* 1. *cap.* 17. *Plutarch.* Defect. Oracl. & *of the* Face *in the* Moone. *Cambden*, Brit. Pompon, Mel.

His *Right* to THULE (beſides Preſent *Poſſeſſion*) He grounds upon an old *Charter:* In which The *For as much*, or *Conſiderations moving*, ſeem Such as Theſe; *(For the* Charter *is not much ſeen abroad.)*

Firſt, as, in *Heaven*, The *Remoteſt Planet* from the SUN; and ſo fitteſt Viceroy in Climats *Remoteſt* from the *Suns Reſidence*, now (for the moſt part) *Southern.*

2do. As *Coldeſt Planet*, and ſo Lord of *Cold Regions*; ſpecially Thoſe, which being *Northern*, are moſt diſtant from the Suns Heat, and ſo *moſt Cold.*

3tio. As Lord of *Aquarius* (by all Aſtrologers) and by conſequence Lord of all *Iſlands*; which the *Poets* place under *Aquarius*; ſpecially *Cold Iſlands*, and ſuch are all *Northern*, in the *Suns* Abſence

4to. As in ſpeciall, Lord of the *North Sea*, or *Chronian Ocean* (as was ſaid before) and ſo Lord of all Iſlands in *That* Sea; of which THULE muſt be one.

MERCURIES New Patent, or *Deputation* to This THULE (notwithſtanding SATURNS *Poſſeſſion* and *Charter*) ſeems ſomwhat abſtruce; yet wants not ſome Faire Conſiderations moving.

MERCVRIE'S NEW COMMISSION for THVLE.

For, of all the *Planets*, MERCURY hath Greateſt *Latitude* from the *Ecliptick*, which is the SUNS conſtant *Reſidence*; and ſo ſeemes a fit Viceroy for thoſe *Climes*, which are moſt *Remote* and diſtant from the SUN; and ſuch is THULE.

Alſo, *Aſtronomers* finde MERCURY (of all the *Planets*) oftneſt *Septentrionall*, or *Northern*, in one or other of his *Orbs*: For his Great *Latitude* gaines him one *Proper Orbe*, unknown to the reſt, which They call *Eccentrum Eccentri*; which makes Him moſt *Excentricall*, and oftest *Septentrionall*. Which Great *Excentricity* & *Latitude* make ſuch *Spirall Labyrinths* in all his Motions; That the Beſt *Aſtronomers* (*Ticho, Kepler, Longomont* and *Lansbergius*) confeſs, They can not be well Salved, Till his former Motions be *corrected*, with New and more Exact Calculations.

With *Aſtrologers* alſo, *Both His Houſes* have *Northern Declination*; and *Gemini* is as much *Northern* as any one Part of all the *Zodiack*: Under *Gemini* alſo, Doth *Schoner*, *Pitatus*, and others, place the *Northern Iſles*; and by Conſequent under MERCURY, Lord of *Geminy* by all *Aſtrologers.*

But the Greateſt *Conſideration* in That New Patent or *Deputation* of MERCURY, ſeemes His Great Favour with PHEBUS; which All have ſtill obſerved: Hence with *Aſtronomers*, His ſtile is *Apollinis Sidus, Solis Cancelarius*, &c. Yea They ſay, His *Longitude* now differs from the *Suns*, But in ſome few *Punctillo's*, for, he ſeems to go His Pace, and ſtep His ſtep: inſomuch that He is ſeldome ſeen abroad, But Lies Hid under the *Suns* Rayes (which makes him moſt *Looks after*, but Leaſt *ſeene.*) And no Planet is *more* with the *Sun*, But the *Moon*; nor is She *more*, but *of iner.*

Aſtrologers alſo find Him the Greateſt *Courtier* in Heaven, *Favorite* to Both the *King* and *Queene*, (They meane the *Sunne* and *Moon*) alſo to VENUS: from Whoſe three *Characters* mixed together, He gets *His* with *Them* 1. Hence alſo They place the *Sun*, and *Moon's Palaces*, (*Leo* and *Cancer*) in the Midſt betweene *Mercurie's Houſes* (*Gemini* and *Virgo*) on either ſide of which, are *Venus Houſes*, *Taurus* and *Libra*.

With *Chymiſts*, MERCURY is *Cold* and *Moyſt*; and ſo fitteſt to reſide, in *Cold Moyſt Ilands*; Such as THULE. Theſe alſo perceive his Great Favours with, and neere approach to, the *Sun* and *Moon*, *King* and *Queen* of *Mettals*, *Gold*, and *Silver*. Hence they ſay, *Silver commes neereſt to Gold*, in *Forme* and *Purity*; *but Mercury* (Quickſilver 2) in *Matter* and *Gravity*: though, of all *Mettals*, He be moſt *Crude* and *Indigeſted*.

From this neere Approach of *Quickſilver* to *Gold* (in Matter and Gravity) Some *Sublimate Roſy-Crucian Alchymiſts*, have made deep Plots with *Sulphur*, to make Their *Mercury* become *Sol*, of a *Subject* a *King* (in Mettals) of *Quickſilver Gold*. But True *Mercury* cannot harbour Trayterous Inclinations: Hence Their *Sulphureous Devices*, vaniſh like *Powder Plots*: And by Beſt Philoſophers 3, 'tis now concluded, that though the True *Elixar* might or could be found (4 the Art of which, was long among the *Arabi*, *Ægyptians* alſo, till *Diocletian* burnt Their books) yet *Mercury* could never make Good *Gold* (King of Mettals) becauſe They ſay 3, He cannot indure the Tryall of fire (*Chymicall*, ſure they meane, and not the old Saxon *Ordeire per fire* 5, which Tryed Good *Emma*) Becauſe He hath ſtill had as much Antypathy to VULCAN, as Sympathy to VENUS.

But, becauſe This is a Maſque of *Heaven*, and SATURN and MERCURY, *Heavenly Bodies*: It will not bee amiſſe to ſeeke out ſome place in *Heaven*, that may parallell THULE upon *Earth*. And no Place, in all the *Zodiack*, ſeems ſo fit, as AQUARIUS; a moſt Cold, Moyſt *Signe*; under which, alſo, the Poets place all Cold Ilands; and *Manilius*, in ſpeciall ſeemes to place THULE 6. Now, as the *Poets* make SATURNS cheife Reſidence, in the *Chronian* Sea, about THULE; ſo do all *Aſtrologers* make it, in AQUARIUS: which is, with them, *Saturns Houſe* and *Joy*. And This AQUARIUS (The Celeſtiall THULE) may well be the *Celeſtiall Scene* of SATURN and MERCURIES *Quarrell*, as THULE was the *Terreſtriall*. For, of all Places in the *Zodiack*, AQUARIUS ſeems moſt *Ominous* to MERCURY; Who can never ſtay Long *there*, but is either driven Back (becomming *Retrograde*) or elſe Forced into PISCES; which, with all *Aſtrologers*, is called MERCURIE'S FALL 7.

Now,

1 ☉ The Sun: ☽ The Moon: ☿ Venus: ☿ Mercury.

2 This is *Mercurius Principiatus* (as they call it) For *Mercurius Principians* is one of thoſe *Three Active Principles* in each Body; which are SAL, SVLPHVR, and MERCVRY. SAL (whence comes *Taſte*) repreſents *Earth* in the *Great World*. SVLPHVR, *Fire*, (hence *Smell*); and from SAL and SVLPHVR, ſo or ſo mixt, comes ſuch or ſuch a *Colour*. MERCVRY, like *Ayre* and *Water* (moyſt and cold) muſt ſtill bedew the SAL and SVLPHVR, elſe they crumble into *Atoms*: for, Naturall Heat muſt have *Foment* from *Radicall Moyſture*; to ſupply which, ſome ſeeke to finde an *Artificiall Balſome of Nature*.

3 Sr. Fr. *Bacon*, *Nat. Hiſt. Cent.* 4. *Exp.* 327. Fernel. *de abdit. Rerum Cauſis*.

4 Geber Arabs: Raymund: Lull: &c.

5 Verſteg: Antiquit. Cambd. &c.

6 See *Scaliger* on *Manil.*

7 *As appeares by the* Scheame *of* Heaven, *annext to the end of the* Maſque, pag. 19.

Now although This Constant Antipathy, between These Two in Heaven, hath still been observed by all *Astrologers*, in all Ages; yet, it was never so strong, or strongly actuate, as through the *Stadium* of *This Masque*, *viz.* from 1637, &c 1.

THE CAUSES OF WHICH, SEEM THESE.

First, MERCURIES Great *Irritation* of SATURN, by his New Patent, or *Deputation*, into *His* THULE, or AQUARIUS. The Date of which New *Commission*, seemes to be about the end of 1637: for a little before That Time, MERCURY was (*Meridionall*) and waited on the SUN, with more than usuall Favour: and there seemed to receive a *New Commission*, to enter SATURN's THULE, with more than usuall Authority. For, presently on this, He enters AQUARIUS (*Saturns Possession*) and in it, is very Quick and Active (*Videant Astronomi.*) But ere long, SATURN, bestirs himselfe; and without long dispute (be it Right or Wrong;) Drives his New Guest out, and forceth him to *Fall* into PISCES. And, though MERCURY did oft *assay* to enter again, yet, SATURN as oft Drove him out 2: (*There is no Disputing with a crooked Sithe:*) till at length being quite driven out, and Hopelesse, Hee make his addresse to the SUN, seeming to implore His help; at which the SUN left the *Southern Signes*, and advanced *Northward* in the *Ecliptick*, in *Warlick* manner; Entring ARIES, the First of *Northern Signes*, and House of MARS and so of *War*, (MARS being the God of *War*, with all the Poets.) And Here begins PHEBUS' First *North Progresse* 3; with all the *Scenes* and *Entries* following, in *This Masque of Heaven.*

The *Second* Cause, may seem, MERCURIE's most Unfortunat Debility, and Extraordinay Weaknes, in Heaven; by so frequent Retrogradations, Detriments, Peregrinations, Fals, *&c.* (never more.) through all This Time; but specially *Anni*, 1640. and 1641. Which is like to produce Those effects, which (for about These yeares) were long since, foretold by the best *Astronomers*, *France* ever had 4. Which is yet more remarkable, and seemes more Ominous, in that, there are so many, and Great Meetings of the Heavenly Bodies (through this Stadium) in PISCES 5, which was still accounted the FALL of MERCURY.

A *Third* Cause, may be, SATURNS Extraordinary Strength, Vigour, and Activity, which hath been in *Heaven* all this Time. For *First*, for 30 years last past, SATURN was not so well setled in his own possession, as he began to be about the end of 1637. For, till that Time, He came not to his House and Joy AQUARIUS; in which, when he came, he found MERCURY, Acting his New *Commission*; and no sooner saw him, but he drives him out (even the next day) and forceth him to Fall into PISCES 6, as was said before.

1 *To that Great Coniunction of* SATVRN *and* IVPITER, (*with the rest of the Planets, but* MARS) *in* PISCES *Feb.* 1643. *of which, before in the* Masque Vnmaskt, *pag* 16. *&* 24.

2 *See the place and motions of these Planets, in Ianuary* 1638. *also Ianuary and March*, 1639.

3 *In March*, 1639. *see the* Masque *pag.* 8, *&* 9.

4 See Predict. *Par Iean Petit, pour l'Annee Mil six cens quarante, & quarante & un: Imprimé à Troyes* 1623. *& Predictions Admirables de Michel Nostradamus.* Centur. XI. *Imprimé à Paris*, 1605.

5 *See Ian. Feb.* { 1640. 1641. 1642. 1643.

This last, viz. Feb. 1643 *is the most notable Conjunction, yet ever was.*

6 *Let Astronomers examine the Motions of these two Planets, through December* 1637. *and Ianuary* 1638.

Againe, at his comming Home then, He was in his *Aux*; being in the *Apex* or *Apogeum* of his *Epicycle*, and very neere the *Apex* of his *Eccentrick*; Which (as ſtill hath been obſerved) makes him more Swift in his Motions, and more Active in all his Actions.

Thirdly, for all this Time, He hath been much ſtrengthned by divers good *Aſpects* from ſome of the Chief Heavenly Bodies. For, beſides many good Fixt Stars (both in AQUARIUS; and in *Trine* or *Sextile*, to AQUARIUS;) He was well aſpected by JUPITER moſt of all this time: Which is more *Prevalent*, becauſe JUPITER hath been much in his own *Houſe* and *Joy* SAGITARIUS; which of it ſelfe, alſo, ſmiles on AQUARIUS in a friendly *Sextile*. And all *Aſtrologers* ſay, SATURN being well aſpected by JUPITER (ſpecially from SAGITARIUS) makes great *Councellors*. Whence come ſo many Great events upon JUPITER's Conjunction with SATURN. Of which Conjunctions, the greateſt and moſt remarkable, (for *Europe*) that yet ever was, will be in *February* 1643, but in PISCES, as was ſaid before.

Againe, He hath of late, been much, and oft, aſpected by MARS. in it ſelfe no good aſpect, I confeſſe; yet ſuch as (joyned with MERCURIE's Former Irritation) muſt needs much inrage SATURN; and ſo (by a kind of *Antiperiſtaſis*) muſt needs make him much more Vigorous and Active: for Such is *Nature* ſtill, when provoked by ſome Oppoſite. Hence *Aſtrologers* ſay, MARS with SATURN makes moſt fierce and deſperate *Souldiers*.

But, though SATURN hath been very well ſetled in his own AQUARIUS, or THULE; and there, hath beene very Strong and Active, ever ſince the end of 1637: Yet is his Strength never like to appeare more, than in the latter halfe of 1640, and great part of 1641. For, beſides his Conſtant good Aſpect with JUPITER, (either in a *Sextile*; or mutuall reception, all that Time) He will alſo be a great *Significator* through all the *Summer*, and *Dominus Autumni* (as *Aſtrologers* ſpeak) for 1640. in 1641 alſo, there's ſcarce a Quarter, or a New *Moon*, in which SATURN is not one great *Significator*, if not *Dominus Aſcendentis*: Which makes it very probable, he will be very Active, and Prevalent, for that Time alſo.

Another Argument of This, is the Good Aſpects, which SATURN is like to have (at leaſt for ſome of That Time) from the SUN and MOONE, *King* and *Queene* of *Heaven*. For, though the SUN be directly *Oppoſite* to SATURN (with MARS) in *Auguſt* 1640; and continues *Frowning* moſt of that yeare; yet, in the beginning of *December*, He begins to *Smile* on him in a gracious *Sextile*, (while the MOON alſo is very neere.) And in *February* 1641, The SUN and SATURN meet, (The MOON being alſo in a *Trine* with SATURN:) which is like to produce ſome notable Event (but 'tis in PISCES) for, ſuch Meetings and Aſpects of the SUN and SATURN ſtill cauſe *Apertiones maximas*.

* *Apertio Portarum* (of which Aſtrologers ſpeake ſo much) is a great *Criſis* of Heaven, attended with ſome notable *Alterations* of Ayre &c. by ſome great Aſpect betweene Planets of *Contrary* Houſes: Chiefly betweene the *Sun*, *Moone*, and *Saturn*; whoſe *Houſes* in Heaven are *oppoſite* to the *Sun* and *Moones*.

Such a Great Aperſion *will be in Feb.* 1641. *but a* Greater *in* 1643.

A *Third* Probability of This, may be the extraordinary great and frequent Aſpects of MARS on SATURN, (never more, than) through that Time. which is more *Prevalent*, becauſe MARS is (for the moſt part) *Dominus Anni* 1640; Receiving his Commiſſion from a great *Meeting of Heavenly Bodies* in SATURN's *Houſes*, at the beginning of that yeere: alſo, though SATURN be *Dominus Autumni*, yet MARS is with him in *Aſcendente*. But JUPITER aſpecting and tempring MARS, makes him leſſe Formidable.

Three or *Foure* times in the SUMMER of 1640, MARS being with SATURN, will joyntly *oppoſe* the SUN and MERCURY. The laſt time, is about the *Meeting* of the *Deities* in *Areopagus*: and this laſt is like much to *hinder* the *Pacification*; but that MARS is preſently diſpoyled of all power to hurt, as is ſaid before, *pag.* 14. And though MARS do oft *Frown* on MERCURY, through 1641; yet, being much in his *Detriment* and *Fall*, and Tempered alſo by JUPITER; All is like to End well.

But, ſetting aſide *This Preſent Quarrell: Their Conſtant Antipathy* wants neither *Symptomes* nor *Cauſes*; as many appeare in all their *Theory*. SATURN's *Motion* very Slow, except in his *Aux*: His *Influence* very Cold; melancholy alſo and flegmatick (except tempred with JUPITER or MARS;) Being Remoteſt from this Earth, and from the SUN (the *King of Heaven*) and ſo of a Cold Temper, and Dusky *Leaden Colour*: Whence not only *Chymiſts*, but *Aſtrologers*, are even forced to call him *Lord of Lead*, and ſuch like Dark, Black, *Coaly* Subſtances, dugg out of the Earth: ſpecially in *North* Climats.

MERCURIE's Theory, is (of all the Planets) moſt abſtruce, perplext and intricat. Though He be Leaſt in Body (but the *Moon*) yet not ſo in *Influence*: For, in this, He yelds to none but the SUN and MOON (*King and Queen of Heaven*:) Aſpecting Theſe, His Influence is Good to whome *Horoſcopall*; For Theſe He makes Schollers, *Eccleſiaſticall* Men; yea oft They ſay, Biſhops and Prelats. Yet His Influence is moſt inconſtant; Whence His Epithets not only with *Poets*, but *Aſtrologers*, are *Anceps*, *Verſatilis*, *Verſipellis*, &c. Yea the *Chameleon of Heaven*, at which *Plotinus* could laugh, when moſt ſerious *.

Aſpecting SATURN Hee uſeth to *Frown*; Being as Swift, Active, and uſually Hot, as SATURN is Slow and Cold. Hence Their Aſpects raiſe Great Stormes, Wind, Thunder, &c *. Great alterations in the Ayre, in Mens bodies. Yea, in whole States, &c. if *Aſtrologers* deceive us not. For, from his ſwift motion and ſudden mutations in Site and Place, They uſe to aſcribe to Him, (I know not why) moſt of the changes in Wind and Weather; Temper in Mans Body; Policy in each State; Religion in each Church; &c. but ſpecially if *Dominus Anni*; as he was of late.

Yet

* *Ficin.* Prolog. in *Plotin*, Enead. 2. lib. 3. cap. 1.

* Sufficient inſtance of this may be the ſtormes &c. like to attend the *Oppoſition* of *Mercury*, by *Saturn* (with *Mars*) about *Aug.* 1640.

Yet *Aſtrologers* (though *Picus* 1 laugh them to ſcorn) make him a Conſtant Friend to the Xn Religion; which yet *Bacon* ſaith 1 he makes as Abſtruce, Perplext and Intricate, as his Motions are in all his Epicycles. In this alſo, he is Contrary to SATURN; who ſome ſay 1, uſeth to *Patronize* the *Jewiſh Religion*; Becauſe, forſooth, their Sabbath was on His Day (with us now called *Saturday*, or SATURN's *Day*, though ſome derive it otherwiſe 2) which Reaſon of *Bacons* is of kin to that of *Plutarch* 3, who will needs have The Jews Sabbath a Feaſt to *Bacchus*, who was (ſaith he) ſirnamed *Sabbazios*; But I know not where; For *Ariſtophanes* 4 will have *Sabbazios* Baniſht as a *Strange* (un-heard-of) *God*; except he could find ſhelter in *Athens*, no leſſe *Superſtitious* to *ſtrange* Gods 5, than *Courteous* to *ſtrange* Men *.

SUCH is the *Celeſtiall* THEORY of SATURN and MERCURY: and *ſuch*, in part, the *Chymicall*: the *Poeticall* may be next; and then *Platonicall*. With *Poets* (and all *Poeticall* Writters) Each of theſe *Hero's* was Τρις-μέγιστος (tho one more ſpecially) which I may tranſlate (though others will not) A *Man*, A *Star*, A *God*: But *how*, or *why*, is worth inquiry.

Whether *Multiplicity of Gods*, came *firſt* from old *Phœnicians* (as *Sanchun*, from him *Philo Biblius*, & from Both *Euſebius* 6) or elſe from *Ægypt Firſt*, thence to the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*, to *Chaldee* by *Belus*, to *Greece* by *Orpheus*, (as *Diodorus* oft affirmes. 7) Or *firſt* from *Chaldeans* by *Belus*, and from him to All other *Colonies*, (*Belus, & omnes à Belo*) as ſome maintaine 8 (Confounding *Gods*, *Idols*, and *Images*.) I now Diſpute not.

THIS the *Beſt* of *Heathens*, Uncompell'd confeſs 9; *Men*, in the World they knew not *how*, (except like the New *Sun-borne Mice* on *Nilus Banks* 9,) by *Nature* ſoon *wanting*, and by *Inſtinct* as ſoon *ſeeking* ſome *God*; out of all *Entities*, choſe to *Deifie* the *Beſt to Senſe* (inſted of Better:) *Heaven* firſt, and *Heavenly Bodies*: of which to *Males*, they ſuited *Females* out of *Earth* (This Lower World:) coupling *Celeſtials* to *Terreſtrials*, to make compleat Generations: the *Mother* EARTH, and HEAVEN the *Father*; whoſe *Influence*, in ſweet Showers, and Heavenly Dews; They thought the beſt *Gonorrhea* 10.

Thus, the *Starry Heaven* (The *Higheſt Sphear*, then known,) was but *Huſband* to this *Loweſt Earth* (*Celius* to *Veſta*:) the next *Sphear* of SATURN, to *Rhea* (for ſo they call the *Element* of *Water* 11) JUPITER to JUNO (the Spheare of *Ayre*) the SUN was *Huſband* to the MOONE, which they thought but the Beſt and *Higheſt* EARTH, or *Earthly World* 12.

THESE, were awhile ſo Happy to be *Gods alone*, (But without *Temples*, *Altars*, *Images*, til *Belus'* time 13) Yet ſo, that Wiſe men were not ſo Sottiſh, as to Deifie *Dead* lumps of *Earth*, or *Fire*, (or

1 Pic.Mirand. *in Aſtrol. lib.* 17.*cap.*5.

2 Verſtegan. *Antiquit.*

3 Plutarch *Symp.*L4.*qu.*5.

4 Ariſtoph, *Aves*. Tull. *2d Leg.*

5 *Hence came Thoſe* Altars *to* Strang Gods: *of which* Pauſan, *Atticks*, Laert. *Epimenid.* Philoſtrat, *Apolon*, &c.

* Xenoph. *de Polit, Athen.*

6 *Preparat. lib.* 1.

7 Diodor, *lib.*1.*cap.*1.2.&. *& lib.*5.*cap.*1.

8 *Sr*, W. Ral. *Purchas. Genebrard* &c.

9 Died *lib.*1. *pt.* 1.*cap.*2. Plat, *Chratyl.* Plutarch. *Philoſ. Opin* as among the *Iewes*, Maimonid. *Mor Neb.lib.*3.*c.*30. *and This* Ranck of Gods *the* Iewes *called* The Hoſt of Heaven.

10 Plutarch, *as before.*

11 From the *Greek* χέω to *Flow.*

12 Plutarch, *of the Moones Spots.*

13 Euſeb *prep.lib.*1.*cap.*9.

(or any *senſleſs* Body, Heaven or Earth affordeth;) But, They thought, *All theſe* were *Animate*; at leaſt *Actuate* by ſome *Living Genius*; Which they called the *Soule*, or *Intelligence* of HEAVEN, SATURN, JUPITER, &c. And to *Theſe* was given *Deity* and *Worſhip*; Yet under the Names of the *Spheares*, *Globes*, *Elements*, and *Bodies*, Which each *Genius* was thought either to *Informe*, as a *Soule*, or *Aſſiſt* and *Actuate*, as a *Separate Intelligence* 1.

But ere long, Fond *Superſtition* (*borne* long before, but now) *Creeping* out of its *Cradle*, began to *View*, think *Faire*, call *Good*, *Admire*, *Deifie* and *Worſhip*, each *Mortall*, which in *Virtue* (I meane *Vice*) hath ſtept but halfe a ſtep *above*, *beyond*, the *Loweſt* dregs of *Baſeſt* Vulgars 2.

This *Apotheoſis* (or *Art* of *Godding Men*) grew at length ſo *Rife*, that *Embryons* could no ſooner *Breath* (nay, even in their *Firſt Grave* or *Winding ſheet* of *Wombe*;) much leſſe be *Borne* (I meane *Buried* in this great *Tombe*, which we call *This World*) but they were ſtreight forc'd to *heare* (though not to *anſwer*) the *Vows* and *Prayers* of ſome *Sottiſh Prieſt*, ready to proclaime them *Gods*. Yet, at firſt, (while *Madneſſe* was yet *content* to be an *Infant*) *Dead Men*, were only made, (*as only able*) to *beare* that *Heavy Name* of *Deity* 3.

4 Hence we finde, *Two Ranks of Gods*, in all Heathen Divines; *Immortall*, *Mortall*; ſo *Biblius*: *Naturall*, *Politick*; ſo *Tully*: *Celeſtiall*, *Terreſtriall*; ſo *Diodorus* (in the places prais'd before:) to which *Varro* addes a *third*, *Poeticall*; But *Theſe* were but *Pictures* or *Shadows* of the former *Reals*.

When *Art* had thus learn'd to *Make* more *Gods* then *Nature* could *invent*: while *Men*, *Horſes*, *Dogs* 5, did *long* to *Die*, and ſo be *Deified*: Leſt the World ſhould be *confounded* in its Vows to *Nameleſſe Gods*; (and *Diſtinct Names*, would quickly *Fayle* to ſo *Numberleſſe* a *Number*.) Theſe *Second Gods* were wiſely made to Share in *Name* 6, as well as *Nature*, with the *Firſt*, which were *Naturall*, *Immortall*, *Celeſtiall Bodies*, as was ſaid before.

Hence ſtart up ſo many *Celii*, *Saturns*, *Jupiters*, *Mercuries*, &c. as were *Infamous Famous* men in *Ægypt*, *Greece*, or any Country elſe. Yet uſually with this *Decorum*, (*firſt* obſerv'd in *Heaven*;) the *Firſt Founder* of any Family of Note, was forc'd a *Name-ſake* upon *Celius*: The *Next Heire* on *Saturn*: the *Third*, on *Jupter*: and ſo on, in *Order* of *Heavenly Bodies*.

Nay yet more, Theſe *Men-Gods* were, as the World was taught, at Death Tranſlated to the *Spheares* of Thoſe *Starrs*, whoſe *Name* they bore, or *Nature* moſt reſembled, while here they lived 7: *Iſis' Epitaph in Diodorus is not the Thouſand inſtance might be given; yet prove enough.* Being Tranſlated to *Heaven*, They were thought by ſome to commence *Severall Degrees*; Firſt *Heroes*, and then *Damons* 8: Though ſome, more nicely diſtinguiſh thus;

1 The *Platoniſts* rather thought theſe *Genii* of the *Spheares* &c. *Informing Souls*; but the *Peripateticks*, & ſome others, would have them *Seperate Intelligences*.

2 *Belus* is thought to bee the Firſt of theſe *Men-Gods*; whence the *Iewes* called all ſuch *Baalim*, from *Belus* the firſt *Baal*.

3 Yet at death ſo uſuall, that τελευτᾶν and ἀφιερῶθαι, to *Die*, and to be conſecrate or made a God, are Terms almoſt Synonymous in old Greeks: *Philo Byb. Diodor. Porphyr. Lucian*, &c.

4 This ſecond rank of *Men-Gods* was derided by all the world almoſt; yea by thoſe that could well digeſt the Former Naturall *Gods* or *Armies* of Heaven. Xenophon *de Dictis Socratis*: and the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes Nubes*.

5 *Euſeb. Prep. lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

6 *Diodor. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1, 2. Tull. *de Nat. Deorum* &c. Plutarch *Defect. Oracl.*

7 Hence moſt Emphatically were theſe *Dii minorum Gentium* called DEASTRI GOD-STARS (men deified into Stars) and hence perhaps came *Aſter* to bee *Terminus minuens*, as in *Philoſophaſter*, *Grammaticaſter*, &c.

8 Plutarch { *Defect. Oracl.* / *Placit. Philoſ. lib.* 8. }
Heſiod *Op. Di. l.* 1. *verſ.* 121.

Damons, were properly *Naturall Intelligences*, the True *Genii* of the *Spheares* and *Starrs*, never Tainted with *Fleshy Bodies*: But *Hero's*, were These *Artificiall Deities*, Snatcht up to *Heaven* out of *Dead Bodies* 1. And from This doubtlesse sprang the Fables of so many *Metamorphiz'd* into *Starrs* and *Heavenly Constellations*; which are more, then are leaves in *Ovids Metamorphosis*.

1 And for this were they called *Dii Animales*, *Manii*, &c. Tull. *de Legib.* & Servius *in Indice*. Turnebus *in Adversar. lib.* 19. *cap.* 29.

Yea, so *Deeply Rooted* in *Earth* (though their *Tops* were in *Heaven*) were These *Deastri*; that when *Other* better *Deities*, came to be known in the World; Yet *Superstition* could not part with so *Faire* and Numerous an *Off-spring*: to detaine which, was at length Invented This *Plot*: that though *These* might not be made *Termini Cultus*: Yet they should still remaine as *Media*: *Mediators* 2 forsooth, between poore Living *Men*, and the Great Celestiall *Gods*; that were too High, and Farr from any *Familiar* converse with *Men*.

2 Plato *in Cratyl*: Apul: *de Dæmon*, Socrat. Rossel. *in Pimand*: *lib.* 2. *com*: 9. *qu*: 1. Plutarch *as before*.

To These DEASTERS were made the First *Images*, *Columns*, *Temples*, and *Idoll Altars* 3. All which were but as *Traps* to catch and hold some *Godded-Soule* (for more familiar converse on Earth) *Charmed* from *Heaven* 4: For The *Supream Celestiall Gods*, neither *could* nor *would*, be so *intrapt*, as *These* good *Godded-Soules*; that once knew how *sweet* it was, to play, and roule themselves in *Earthly Bodies*; and so were kept in *Heaven*, Much against their wils: which in their wonted Liberty, much rather would have *chanted* to an *Organ* here below, then be ravisht with the *Harmony* of all the *Spheares* above. For (besides the old Sweet Musick they were wont to have on *Earth*;) They found *Heaven* at length so *crowded*; that (though content to Sweat) yet stay they could not, unless so *contract*, that a Milion might stand on the *point* of a *Needle*. Yea, and so, could scarce any place be left in *Heaven*, for Better (I meane Worse) *Deasters*, *which* in following Ages, came Thither, Hoping to find as much Ease and Rome in *Heaven*, as They had found or made in *Earth*.

3 Hermes Asclepiad. Euseb. *Prep. l.* 5. *cap.* 2. 8, 9. Herodot: Clio.

4 For, *Carmina de Cælo possunt deducere Lunam*.

One of the *First* DEASTERS was MERCURY: Not that Late *Grecian Boy* of yesterday; But an *Old Ægyptian* as *Diodorus*; or a *Phenician Philistine*, or *Chananite*, as *Sanchun* 5, will have him. And if we place him first in *Palestina*, we doubt not but the *Mediterranean Stream* might with ease bring him thence, not only down the *Ostia Nili*, and *Ostia Tibridis*; but also to most places of *Europe*, specially to *Ilands*, whose Seas are continued to the *Mediterraneam*.

5 Euseb. *Prep. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10.

Many *Mercuries* we find in old *Historians*; and what was done by All, the *Poets* in a *Rapsody*, ascribe to One: thereby making him a most *prodigious Monster*, no *Man*; much lesse a *God*: yet good enough for a *Deaster*.

Of Five (or more) *Mercuries*, The most famous was the *Ægyptian* THEUT or THEOT, (for so they write him;) whence came the Month THOTH; and whence perhaps came θεὸς, to be the

6 The First *Ægyptian* Month.

commune

commune Name of *God*, with *Greeks (whoſe Divinity was firſt Ægyptian:)* though I know both *Plutarch* and *Plato* too 1 otherwiſe derive the Greek θεὸς.

A Great God to all *Ægyptians*, was this THEOT, whom old Greeks call Τααῦτος (and by this Name often named in *Euſebius* 2:) Taught perhaps by *Pythagoras*, who (alluding, as it may be, to this *Great Ægyptian God*) was wont to call *God* Ταῦτος: which name of God, *Plato* could well Etymologiſe, when in the Great God he could find nothing but Ἓν καὶ τ'αὐτο, *Unum & Idem*: While in *Materials*, ſcarce ought but ἕτερον; and in the beſt *Spirituals elſe*, much ἕτερον and but a little ταὐτο. Whence he came to know *Parmenides'* meaning (at which he ſtartled ſo, when young) who was wont to ſay, *One was all*, and *all One*; meaning there was but *One True Entity* 3, (*One*, becauſe *Infinite*;) *All elſe*, were but *ſhadows* of *This One*; but in themſelves ὄντως μὴ ὄντα, Not *True Beings*, as *Plato* often ſpeakes.

Moſt think this *Ægyptian* THEUT, or Firſt *Mercury*, the Firſt *Lawgiver* 4. Which may be true if taken *cum grano ſalis*; For Tutor he was to *Iſis*, who firſt governed by *Written Laws*, if *Diodorus* deceive us not. Hence is that in Her *Epitaph*, WHAT I BOUND, NONE COULD LOOSE 5.

This *Mercury* (they ſay) Firſt Founded *Schooles*, Compos'd an *Alphabet*, and taught to ſpeak with *Grace*, and *Accent* right; Which *Art* he preſcribed by Rules of *Muſick*; whoſe ſeverall *Tones* (the *Three Beſt* at leaſt 6,) He found by comparing *Summer* with *Winter* in a meane *proportion* of *Spring* 7: Which way I more admire then that of *Pythagoras*, who found all *Muſicall Proportions*, by weighing the *Smiths Hammers*, which he heard make ſweet conſort, by knapping on the Anvill 8.

From his teaching to *ſpeak* well, he was called *Hermes*; becauſe ἑρμηνεὺς: (which Etymology *Plato* 9 might learne in every leafe almoſt of *Homer*.) Hence in each Sacrifice, were *Tongues ſacred to Mercury*; While the *Præco* cryed, *Favete linguis* 10: which with them was that Εὐφημία of which *Plato* diſcourſeth ſo Divinely.

Hence was *Mercury* ſtiled *God of Eloquence*, and all *Learning*; *Patron of Schollers*, and all *Eccleſiaſticall perſons*. Yea to make him *Eloquence* it ſelfe, ſeemed no Harſh *Trope*. And becauſe *Eloquence* can inſinuate it ſelfe into every man, and ſteale his Affections, his Heart, himſelfe: Hence *Mercury* with all the *Poets* hath ſtill *Heard*, *Vafer*, *Verſutus*, *Callidus*, *Fur*, &c. Yea ſo Notorious a *Theefe*, that no ſooner *Borne*, but in his *Cradle*, were found 11, *Mars Sword*, *Venus Girdle*, *Vulcans Tongs*, *Apollo's Harp*, *Jupiters Scepter*; Only He ſpared His *Thunderbolts*, becauſe ſo *Heavy* and *Hot*, would burn his fingers, (who ever dreaded *Fire*, as was ſaid before) and might roare ſo lowd, that all the Gods might wake, and ſo deſcry ſome of his Knaveries: For all could not be Seen or Known.

1 Plut. *Philoſ. Placit.* Plat. Cratyl.

2 *Prep. cap.* 10.

3 Plato *in his* Parmenid: Timeus; Chratylus, &c.

4 Plat. Minos with Ficin:

5 Diod: Sicul: *lib.* 1.

6 Diapaſon:
Diapente:
Epitrite.

7 Roſſell in Pimand.

8 Ficinus on Timeus.

9 Plat: Chratyl:

10 Scholiaſt: *in* Ariſtoph: Plut: & Nub.

11 Lucian *Dialog*: Apoll: Vulcan.

SATURN with Poets, was King of *Creet*; and being translated into Heaven; There became One of Their First *Deasters*. Yet I find a SATURN much Elder, then That *Cretian* was, or could be: of whom *Sanchun* at large [1].

There was of old (saith he) *in* Palestina, *One called* ELIOWN, *Sirnamed* Ὑψιστος [2] *Who, of his Wife* Berith, *begat* Heaven *and his Sister* Earth; *These Two begat* SATURN, *sirnamed* Ilus, *and* Israell; *with many mo, who were all called* Elohim, *because Companions to* SATURN *sirnamed* Ilus. *But This* SATURN *Rebelling against his Father; was at length so Straitned, that to make his Peace, He was forced to Sacrifice His own, and Only Son* [3]. *But after This Sacrifice, being translated into* SATURNS' *Sphear, He soone became a God*, &c.

Yet, it seemes Hee left his *Corps* behind him, here; to be imbalmed by the Poets; who, to preserve it incorrupt, corrupt it themselves, by stuffing it with Bitt'rest Spices [4]. Hence, with Them, He still smels of Rebellion against his owne Father, Whom, he bound; Cruelty against his owne Sonns, whom he devoured: Yet, could not digest; For, chancing at length to swallow a Great stone (in sted of JUPITER) He began to Vomit, and so was forc'd to cast up all his eaten sonns againe; but yet much mangled and broaken, for such was the Blessing of His Teeth.

To English This Poeticall Fable; All flie to Allegories: *Which indeed are a Panpharmacon, able to cure all Diseases; and sure All, if This One, The Poeticall Phrensy.* By SATURN, *Tully* will understand *Time* [5], Heavens Sonn, yet measuring (and so limiting or *binding*) Heaven it selfe; Devouring all his Sonns, being *Edax Rerum*; yet bringing up all againe; for, *Corruptio Unius est Generatio alterius*. [6].

But, of all Allegories in This, the *Platonick* seemes most Divine: Their Generall Rule, for *Poeticall Divinity*, is This; in Their *scholia's* on *Plato's Cratulus*. Poeticall Names of *Station* (such as *Vesta*) denote a *Permanence* of Essence in the True *God* (whom to be *One*, and *One only*, They all acknowledge, When they bee *serious* and not minded to laugh, as *Plato* Himselfe speakes [7];) Names of *Motion* (as *Rea*, Fluxus) denote Divine *Efflux ad Extra*: Names *Masculine*, Gods *Power* most Active. *Feminine*, His *Fecundity* to Others.

CELIUS, SATURN, and JUPITER (the Three *First* Great *Gods*, with *Poets*: the Three *Highest Planets* in *Heaven*) are with Platonists, the Three distinct *Hypostases* (or kinde of *Persons*) which they find in *All* (much more the *First* of *all*) *Intelligent* Entities. Which Three, They expresse by the *Sphears* of *Being* (or CELIUS;) of *Knowledge* (or SATURN;) of *Activity* or JUPITER. These three *Sphears* we finde in our owne *Soules* (as in all *Intelligent Beings*) and call them (to speake in Modern language, lest some should Understand me) *Essence*, *Understanding*, and *Will*.

For,

1 *Euseb. Prep. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. speaking of *Phenicia* Theolog.

2 *Most High*: which Phrase may occasion his Reader, to compare this History, with some of the Iews Records of their *Elohim*, and his *Berith*, whence came *Heaven* and *Earth*, *Israel*, &c.

3 Hence perhaps might come that Barbarous Sacrifice, of *Sonns* to *Saturn*: first began by *Phenicians*, thence continued by *Carthaginian Porni* (*Plat. in Minos*, & *Euseb. Prep.* l. 4. c. 16.) In which *Plutarch* could find the etymology of *Tophet*, while he observed Hideous Drummings, made by that which the *Iews* cald *Toph*, used to drown the sad yellings of *Molochs* bloody Sacrifice.

4 For, such would best imbalm: as *Aristot. Diodor.* and *Plutarch* observe.

5 Which *Tuly* learnt from *Plutarchs Poilos. quest.* where Κρονος & Χρονος are thought neare of Kin.

6 *Astrologers* salve all thus: with them *Saturn* is *Malignant*, and *bindes* or hinders *Heaven's* good influence; killing all his *Sons*, to whom he is *Horoscopall*: yet he is also *bound* or limited, by *Iupiter*, (the *next Planet below him*) whose good Rayes temper *Saturn*.

7 *Plat. Epist. ad Dionys.*

For, Will *With us, is with Them but* Activity; *the ſame*, in Re, *with* Underſtanding (*as ſhall appeare anon*) *and* Both, *the ſame with* Eſſence *in each Intelligent*, *much more the* Firſt, Entity. For, *if there be* Any *Entity*, *wee muſt grant there is ſome*, (*at leaſt* One) *Simple Entity*; *elſe there muſt bee* Infinite Compounds *actually co-exiſting* (*which the Maſters dare not yeeld.*) *That* Simple Entity *muſt be* Infinite; (*for*, all Limitation ſpeakes Compoſition;*) *Therefore but* One; *and yet This One, muſt be* All Entity (*poſſible*;) *elſe not* Infinite. Ergo, *the* Firſt Entity *muſt have* Knowledge *and Activity*, (*elſe He hath not* All Entity) *Yet in It*, Theſe Two *muſt be the Same*; *and* Both, *the ſame with* Entity *it ſelfe*; *elſe It is not* Simple Entity. *But of This perhaps more anon. I proceed:*

CELIUS, Their Firſt *Hypoſtaſis*, is the Sphear of *Being*; *Eſſence* in all *Second* Intelligents; but, in the *Firſt*, They chuſe to call it *Entity*, rather then *Eſſence*, (which, in the Schools, heares *Entity limited to ſuch or ſuch*, *a Species*; but the *Firſt Being* is *Entitas Simplex*, without any Reſtringent Eſſence 1.) Now, as the Higheſt Starry Sphear, is but *One*, and yet *All*; (a kinde of *Infinite*) Containing in it All inferiour Beings, not only *Locally*, but *Virtually* (if no more;) So, *ſilicet parvis* ——; for, *this Senſible World is but a Shadow of That Supream, Intellectuall, Infinite*) That *Firſt* Sphear of *Being* is *One*, yet truely *All*, becauſe Infinite; containing in it ſelf *All Entities* (poſſible) yet as in One Entire *Spheare*; and hence, ſay They, the Poets called it ὑψιστος, CELIUS, *Heaven*. Next within This *Infinite Spheare*, are circled τῶν θεῶν ψυχαι, as *Plotinus* ſpeaks 2. Thoſe *Second Gods* (ſure, he meanes) who with us are *Intelligentiæ*. Next (ſaith He) is circled Ἀπλανὴς ὁ πόλυς; conſiſting of Three Leſſer *Orbs*; νοῦς, λόγος, φαντασία; of Theſe, the Firſt and Beſt is ſtill *Concentricall* to *Celius*; but *Reaſon* and *Fancy* (the two lower Orbs) are, too too oft *Excentricall*. This he ſaw, who yet was but purblinde, and at beſt, but in Twilight, or Day-Dawning.

This CELIUS muſt have in himſelf *all Entity*; (elſe not *Infinite*) *all perfections*; Therefore *Knowledge*, He muſt be *Intelligent*. And Having *All* within himſelfe, Hee cannot but know all. For, I ſuppoſe ther's nothing required to perfect Knowledg, but *Preſentia* (*ſeu una*) *Objecti*, *ad Potentiam Scibilem*, (for I now will ſpeak in their Dialect:) and becauſe *Beings* themſelves are not in Us but by their *Species*; hence our knowledge is ſo weake, and Imperfect.

This Knowledge of himſelfe, They call *Reflectio in ſeipſum*, which is the very Flower and Top of all Knowledge. CELIUS then Reflecting on Himſelfe, Saw within Himſelfe, His Owne Image; Which Image ſo Begotten, Theſe call SATURN (and is uſually ſtiled by them ὁ λόγος 3,) on whom They ſay CELIUS is even Stampt, or Graven, as the Seale on the Signet; and Hence, the Poets ſaid, CELIUS *was bound and cut by His Son* SATURN.

* For, let us inquire why a *Man* is not alſo an abſtract *Intelligence*: yea why not *All Entity*? ſure either becauſe he *cannot*, or elſe becauſe he *will not*: (he will be a *Man*, and nothing elſe, nothing more.) Both theſe Reaſons imply *Compoſition* in *Man*: for, if *Mans Eſſence*, *Power*, and *will*, were *Prorſus Idem*; one of them could not bound or limit the other.

1 But all *Second Beings* are ſaid to bee compounded of *Eſſe* (Entity) and *Eſſentia*, which is ſuch or ſuch a *Reſtringent*, limiting to ſuch or ſuch a *Species*: only the *Firſt*, is purely *Tranſcendent*.

2 Enead, 6. *lib.* 9. *cap.* 8.

3 Inſomuch that a great *Platoniſt* reading that *Phraſe* in a *Divine* writer; ſaid, he ſtole it from his Maſter *Plato*: as *Euſebius* reports in his *Prep.*

In This SATURN (or Image of himself;) CELIUS Being *Infinite* (and so all) *Entity*; must (They say) needs See all severall *Ideahs*, or *Species*, which are possible in the Spheare of *Enity*: as *Intelligens*, *Volens*, *Amans*, *Videns*, *Vivens*, and the like; which yet were summd up all into *foure Generall Ideahs*, *Ens nudum*, *Vivens*, *Sentiens*, and *Intelligens* 1.

SATURN thus with Them is The *Sphear of Knowledge*, or the *Ideall World*: in Whom *Ideahs* have Their First place; and come thence, First into the SATURN (or *Understanding*) of *Created Spirits*; Then being Stampt on Severall Lumps of *Matter* (as on Wax) doe there beget the *Proles* of a *Forme* (answering to its *Idea* in SATURN, as the Picture on the wax, to its *Seale*.) This Forme was by *Philosophers*, well called a *Species* or Εἶδος, for 'twas but a *Second Species*, or *Ideah*, Resulting out of SATURN's *Ideahs*, as the Species results from the Face to the Chrystall Glasse.

But before These *Ideahs* (or Sonns of SATURN) came Thus out, on *Matter*; They were First (They say) by a Reflex Act of Understanding, as it were swallowed by SATURN Himselfe, (who looked on them all, as *One extire Ideah in Re*, Differing only *Formally* in His owne Understanding.) Then came out again as divided and broken 2; and so were stampt abroad on *Matter*, and there made, or begat *Formes*; of which came This Fabrick, which we call The WORLD.

This is the True *Platonick* Doctrine about *Ideahs*: which They never dreamt did Exist by themselves, *seperate* from *Matter*, (as some fondly or ignorantly wrangle;) Except only in some *Intelligent Spirit*, which they called SATURN or Spheare of *Understanding*; Divine first; and then Angelicall; lastly That of Men 3: For *Contarenus* (though a Learned man) is much deceiv'd, in saying, *Plato's First Ideall World*, was the *Angelicall Understanding*. In His *Prima Philosophia*.

To the Comming out of These *Ideahs* from SATURN to *Matter*, Concurr *Rhea* (Divine Efflux *ad Extra*) and JUPITER 4, Who is Their *Third Hypostasis*, *Activity*, or *Will*; comming from CELIUS (*Entity*;) But through SATURN also, who is ὁ λόγος *Understanding*. This JUPITER (Divine Will or Activity) with Them was He that Made the World; by stamping some of SATURNS *Ideahs* upon a rude indigested *Moles* of *Matter*, (which most of Them (also) think, He first made out of Nothing.) Hence all the *Platonists* use to call This Third *Hypostasis*, The *Spirit or Soule of the World*; That *Spirit* They meane, That first *Made*, and now doth *Actuate* and *Govern*; and (as They too grosly thought) *informe* and *Animate*, This Created World. So that SATURN, with Them was the *Ideall Cause* (the Sampler, or Pattern) *according to which*; But JUPITER The Immediate *Cause By whom*, the *World* was made 5. And Thus *Phenicians* *Egyptians*,

1 From these foure (or else from the foure Metaphy call Ideahs, *Ens*, *Unum*, *Verum*, *Bonum*) some Platonists think the *First Cause*, in all Languages, is stiled by a *Tetragramm* (or Name with *foure* Letters.) of which *Ficinus* oft discourseth, in Plato's *Chratylus* and other places.

2 Hence the Poets sai', *Saturn* first *Eat down* all His Sons: But cast them *up again*, yet much *broken* and *mang'ld*:

3 That *Plato* held *thus*, and but *thus*, of *Ideahs*; is cleere by his owne *Parmenides*, *Phedo*, *Phedrus* and *Timeus*: also by Plutarchs *Philos: Opin: lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. & *cap.* 10. who tels us *Aristotle* denied *Plato's Ideahs*; because, denying that the *World was created*: he knew not what *Ideahs* should or could doe in the *Divine Understanding*.

4 Hence the *Poets* say, IVPITER and RHEA, *Bound* and *cut* SATVRN, and forced him to bring up His Devoured and mangled Sons.

5 Thus they expresse themselves CELIVS made the World, *Like* SATVRN, But by IVPITER: They mean His *will* or *Activity* wrought according to the *Ideahs* Drawn in His *Understanding*.

Ægyptians, Grecians, Thuſcans, (all Nations) were taught to call JUPITER (the Third Hypoſtaſis, Divine Will or Activity) *The Spirit, that Made the World.* So, Speakes *Philo,* and *Porphyry,* of the *Phenicians,* and *Ægyptians* 1; ſo, *Diodorus* of *Ægyptians* and *Grecians* 2; and ſo, of the old *Thuſcans* (taught doubtleſſe by *Pythagoras*) *Sencca*; *They call* JUPITER (ſaith he) *Spiritum, Animum Mundi, Ejuſque Opificem, cui proprie convenit Nomen* ESSE 3. Hence came JUPITER to be more Known in the World, and more ſpoken of, by Poets, then either CELIUS or SATURN; Both whom yet, They granted before JUPITER, in Nature and Time.

Thus All Nations confeſſe, the *World* was *Made* by JUPITER (the *Third Divine Hypoſtaſis:*) and the *Platoniſts* ſay, 'Twas *Made* by chuſing Some (and but Some) *Ideahs* out of SATURN; and ſtamping Theſe upon the *Wax* of *Matter* (as *Timeus* ſpeakes.) *Some Ideahs*, and but *Some*: For, all could not come forth 4, They being *Infinite*: which I muſt confeſſe I underſtand not. For, how could there be *Infinite Indviduums* in Each *Species*, and yet alſo *Infinite Species* (For, of Theſe only are the *Divine Ideahs*, as all confeſſe;) and yet but *One Infinite?* And how *Infinite Species*, differing by *Degrees* of Entity, can be *Producible*, I yet could ne'r conceive: ſith the *Laſt Species* (if I may conceive a *Laſt* in *Infinite*) muſt needs, have in it, *Infinite degrees* of *Entity*; and ſo, indeed, be *Infinite*: And how Any *Infinite* may be, or conceiv'd to be, even in *Mente Divinâ, poſſible* to be *produced*; I yet ſee not.

But Whether *All* SATURN's *Ideahs* came abroad; or whether only *ſome* came out; and others not: alſo whether *thoſe* that yet *have not*, may come, or might have come *in infinitum*; I diſpute not. Only, I ſee 'tis a receiv'd Opinion among the *Platoniſts*, that JUPITER did ſome-how *limit* or binde SATURN, (ſo alſo the Poets ſpeake:) as if *Divine Will*, by its *Decree*, did as it were, *limit Divine Underſtanding*, or *Omniſcience*. So that More *Ideahs* were, and are, Known by *This, as Poſſible*; which yet *Decree* hath *limited*, and made non *Futura*.

Hence *Omniſcience*, or *Simplex Intelligentia*, of *all Poſſibles*; is with them called SATURNS LAW. But the *Fore-ſight* of Thoſe Things, which *Decree* hath choſen, out of that *Infinite* Sphear of *Poſſibles*, and made *Futura*; is the *Law* of JUPITER 5; Which to bee the True *Platonick Fate*, *Seneca* perſwades mee (in the Places cited before;) though ſome following *Stoicks*, much abuſde Themſelves, and all the world with This; becauſe They underſtood it not.

Any Materiall Thing of This *Platonick* Diſcourſe (or Paraphraſe on *Poeticall Divinity*) may cleerely be Found in *Plotinus* of the *Three Hypoſtaſes*: in Proclus on *Parmenid*, and *Timeus*; alſo His *Theologia Platonica*. Marſilius Ficin. on *Plato's Cratylus, Minos, Gorgias, & Politicus*: with Plato's *Epiſtles*. Mirandula *De Ente & Vno*. Ficin. *De Immortal*, Anim. *& on Plotinus*. Roſſell. *on Pymander*, &c.

Certainly

1 Euſeb. *Preparet.*

2 Diodor. *l.* 1. *cap.* 2.

3 Senec. *Nat. Quæſt. & De Benefic.*

4 Which the Poets intimated by ſaying SATVRNS Sonns came out cut, broken, and mangled.

5 Plat. *Min. Gorg. Polit.* with Ficin.

Certainly the *Greatest*, and the *Freest Liberty*, may well Consist with the *Greatest*, and *Straitest Necessity*: Not Coactive, at least not *Violent*; but that *Connate*, *Naturall* (I had almost said *Moral*) *Necessity*, *which each Being hath, to Act and Vent it selfe*. Which *Necessity* hath not place only in *Inanimats*, (Fire, Water, *&c.*) which we call *Naturall* Agents; but in *All*; in *Rationall* (I meane *Intelligent*,) even *Spirituall Entities*. Which will more cleerly appeare, by Examining, the Difference, Dependance, or other Relation, between the Platonick *Celius*, (or Sphear of *Being*) SATURN, or *Knowledge*; and IUPITER Their Sphear of *Activity*: or, to speak in Schoole Terms, between *Intelligent Essence*, *Understanding*, and *Will*; for so I doubt not to translate their *Iupiter*, or *Active Sphear*.

For, *Will* seemes nothing but *Activity*: A *Rationall Will* (may I so speak?) A *Rationall Activity*. *Action* is so necessary a Companion to *Entity*, that all things seeme to have as much *Activity*, as *Entity*. Every *Being* is *Active* in its kind; and in *Acting* seems ambitious to vent and inlarge it selfe. As the *Spring* in a *Watch* (newly wound up,) cannot but spin it selfe out, wider and wider, till it fill its whole *Ballance*: So, every *Being* hath its *Balance*, its *Spheare*, through which *Activity* (its *Spring*) must untwist it self, till the *Watch* be quite down, or the *String* snapt asunder.

Now, That Naturall Desire of *Action*, which we find in *all*, (and call *Instinct* in *some*, but *Naturall appetite*, or *Inclination*, in *Other Beings*) in *Rationals*, we call a *Will*: so that, the *Phrase* of *Will* is now restrict to *Rationals*, and These only, but not the *Thing*: for, might the Phrase *Commence*, I durst say, Every *Being* (even a Stone) hath as much *Will*, as *Entity*; as much *Desire*, I meane, or Will to *Act*, and Vent it selfe.

It would then be well discus'd, *How* or in *What*, the *Will* of *Rationals*, differs from the *Will* of *other Beings*; Sith These also *Will* as, and as much, as *Rationals*; except perchance, Having *lesse Entity*, they have also *lesse Will*, or *Activity*: for, *different Degrees of Activity*, *make me much suspect*, *There are also Different Degrees of Entity*; *even in those Individuums*, *or Species*, *which*, *the Masters teach us*, *to bee Equall*.

Is the Difference then in This? That, *Rationals*, and these only, have *Knowledge* also, to *Direct* and *Suspend* their *Will*, or *Activity*: which else, of it selfe is as Blind as a *Stones Will*, (or Appetite to move downward) and would perchance stumble as oft on *Evill* as *Good*, were it not *Directed* by some Seeing, *Knowing*, Eye: Yea would of it selfe, I suppose, ever act *ad idem*, *Eodem modo*, *ad extremum posse*; (even as the *Fires Will* in Burning) were it not as well *Suspended*, as *Directed*, by some *Knowing* Principle, or Act. And if so I cleerly see that *Rationals* are Free; But how their *Will*, of it selfe, is Freer then a Stones *Will*, *Videant alii*. Even Those I meane, who make the *Will* & *Understanding*, Two Faculties, Distinct *in Re*.

If

If They be ſo; how the *Will* can follow the *Underſtandings* directing, or ſuſpending Dictate; and yet be *Potentia, & Libera & Caca,* (as the Maſters teach,) I could yet never learn.

Violently Drawn, or Forc'd, it cannot be; and be it ſelfe, Free, at leaſt a Willing *Will*. Well then, It muſt Follow *Freely*, of it ſelfe (I mean) *nullo cogente:* and That *Either*, in a *Morall* Way; (as the Attentive Auditor to the perſwaſive Orator, Rapt with *Freeſt Violence:*) or *elſe Naturall*: either *Inſtinct* (for this is Higheſt) or ſome *tacite Sympathy, Occult* (yet Naturall) *appetite*; (for, *ſo we uſe to ſpeak, when we would not underſtand Our ſelves.*) Of Theſe, the *laſt* leaves the *Will*, no *Freer* then the *Stone* to its *Centre*, the *Iron* to the *Load-ſtone*; Goodly Liberty! the *Midle*, not Freer then the ſilly *Lamb* to its *Dam:* yea, & *Inſtinct* too, hath no place, but in *Senſitives*, at leaſt; (for, who ever ſaid, a *Stone* moves by *Inſtinct?*) and ſo much as *Senſe*, may not he granted to the *Will*, if it be *Potentia prorſus Caca*, as They teach.

Nor can it follow *Morally*, except it be more then *Senſitive*; even a *Knowing* Faculty: for elſe it cannot apprehend thoſe Morall arguments (by which the Underſtauding ſwayes it;) but would ſtand Still, as demurely as the *Will* of a *Stone*, when the Orator perſwades it to leap up, and become a *Star*, or Satr's *Intelligence*.

We conclude then, The *Will* cannot be *Compel'd* or Forc'd, with a *Lucretian Rape*; and be Free at all: Nor be led, or drawn, only by Naturall appetite, Occult *Sympathy*; and be Freer then a Stone: then a Lamb, a Calf, a Sparrow, if by bare *Inſtinct:* nor by *Morall perſwaſion* (which ſounds moſt of a *Rationall Agent, or Patient*;) but it alſo muſt be a *Knowing, Underſtanding* Faculty: The ſame (I meane) *cum Intellectu:* Except perchance the Tott'ring Ship of *Mans Soule*, need Two Aſſiſting *Underſtandings*, to one *Maſt*, (like the Two *Dioſcuri*,*) to prevent feare of a Tempeſtuous Shipwrack; which One of them, (if alone) might ſadly preominate.

* See on *Argonaut:* Apollo. the Scholiaſt, that is καθ' ἑξοχὴν ὁ Σχολιάσης.

Thus, while we muſt needs have the *Will* a *Blind Faculty*; yet *Free*; and *Free* in Following the *Underſtandings* Dictates; in *Suſpenſion*, and *Contradiction of Acts*; and yet a Faculty *really* Diſtinct from *Underſtanding*; we muſt provide room for two *Underſtandings*, (two Candles in One Lanthorn;) or elſe we ſweat in Vaine, we tire our ſelves; And yet (however) in the interim, we loſe our *Will*, (poore *Will!*) at leaſt our *Liberty*.

O Divine Liberty! How abſtruce is thy *Theory*; and yet thy *Practiſe* much more Difficult! How Hard it is to *Find* thee; yet much more Hard, to *Keep, Uſe*, and *Enjoy* thee!

What ſhall we ſay then? is *Will*, in all Agents, (*Naturall Animall, Rationall,*) Equall; at leaſt equally *Free?* for, in each, in all, 'tis but *Activity*; which muſt needs ſtill be *Active*, and Vent it ſelfe *ad ſummum poſſe*; even till it fill the whole *Area* of its *Sphear*, (or Balance) of Entity. May we alſo ſay, Suſpenſion, (with all Contradiction of Acts, &c.) which ſeemes an *Index* of more

then common Liberty in Rationals; Comes not from *Will* (ſtrictly ſo taken) Which of it ſelfe would ſtill Act *ad extremum*; as well to This as That, to Evill as well as Good; But from *Knowledge*, from *Underſtanding*, (I meane the *Whole Soule*) which by its light, ſees what is Good; what inconvenient; and ſo guides, quickens, or ſuſpends its Acts: Where as Fire, and ſuch like Agents, Act ſtill on, forward, without a ſtop, without breathing; becauſe they have not, as Rationals, *Oculatas Manus*.

For ſhall we ſay, Our *Soule* is, but as, a *Seeing Hand*, or *Doing Eye*? or like *Plato's Idea* of a Good Prince, *Philoſophus Regnans*, or *Rex Philoſophans*? While it ſeeth, perceiveth, (ſo *Philoſophus*) 'tis *Intellectus*; but while it *Doeth*, or Commandeth, (ſo *Rex*,) we call it *Will*. Its *Mediat* Acts, are *Imperat*: *Immediat*, We call *Elicite*. Not that *Underſtanding* and *Will*, are Two Things really Diſtinct; but *Both* make, *Both* are, but *One Soule*, under *Two* Notions. Thus One and the ſame Commander, *Sees* his Enemy's approach; *Deſires* and *Plots* their Overthrow; and *Commands* a *Charge*. In the Firſt, he is as *Intellectus Speculativus*; in the next *Practicus*, or perhaps *Voluntas Eliciens*; in the laſt, *Imperans*: in Both, in all, *Una eademque Anima, Intelligens Volens, (id eſt, Agens.)*

Yet, may the Names of *Underſtanding* and *Will*, be ſtill retain'd; if, but to parallell thoſe *Two Noble*, and *truly Vitall Acts*; which we find in that *Terreau Soule*, that lump of living (I had almoſt ſaid Spirituall) Fleſh, which we call our *Heart* 1. For, me thinks the *Underſtanding* may be fitly cald, *the Soule's Diaſtole*; by which it ſucks in, that pure *blood* of *Truth*; which is concocted in *Septo Anime*; till (being made true *Vitall Spirits*, of *Morall Goodneſſe*,) it be ſent out again, by the *Soule's Syſtole*, called *Will*: whence come all the Motions, or Pulſes, which we find in our *Morall Arteries*. Yet, Both Theſe *Sines*, ſhall make up but *One Heart*, *One Soule*.

On this Whole, *One*, Entire *Soule*; Rayes of Light, darted from the *Firſt Light*, (yet now ſo *Refracted*, that they only make, the *Soul's Galaxia*, Reaſon.) Compoſe Thoſe *Ideahs*; Which being *drawn a new*, by the *Pencell* of *Senſe*; and *Flowred* with *Diſcurſe*, (whence *Truth* reſults ſometimes, like *Sparks* by knocking *Flints*;) Make up Thoſe *Anima Sidera*, which we call *Habits*; *Morall*, if of *Doing*; *Virtues* if *Well*; but if *ill*, we call them *Vices*: But *Intellectuall*, and *Speculative*, if of bare *Knowing*; if of *Directing* (by *Knowledge*) towards *Action*, then we call them *Intellectuall Practicall*. Of Theſe laſt, *Prudence* directs the *Morall* part of Every Act, (in *Object*, *End* and *Morall Circumſtances*:) *Art* the *Naturall*. For, Both theſe Parts, have Place in *Every Action* (that is *Rationall*, *Humane*, as we call it, and not only *Hominis*:) and Both theſe, are directed by *Practicall Habits*. Whence *Arts* (*Gram. Rhet. Logick*:) and *Ethicks* (which is *Prudentia Doctrinalis*,) proceed by *Rules* and *Præcepts* (Directing to ſpeak well or do well) not by *Definitions*, *Diviſions*, &c. which belong, to *Sciences per ſe*, to *Arts*, but *per accid.*

1 Our *Heart* hath two *Sines*, and two chiefe *Acts* or *Motions*: at the *Right Sine* it ſucks from the *Liver* pure *Blood*, and *Naturall Spirits* (by its *Diaſtole*.) The *Bloud* and *Spirits* (ſo ſuckt in) ſtay a while in the middle *Valve*, which they call *Septum Cordis*; there meeting with pure aire (ſuckt in from the *Lungs*) are all concocted into *Vitall Spirits*; And Theſe are ſent out (through all the *Arteries*) by the *Hearts Syſtole*; whence comes our *Pulſe*.

2 All our Acts are λόγος or ἔργον. This is directed by *Mechanick Arts*; That by *Liberall*: which are only *Three*; Mathematicks being partly *Sciences*, partly *Mechanick Arts*.

All *Practicall Habits*, are both *Docentes & Utentes*; (*Speculative*, *Docentes* only:) while the Soule *Directs* by light, 'tis *Habitus Docens*; while it *Acteth*, what is directed, *Utens*: which laſt, if in the *Morall* part of any Act, ſeemes to me True *Morall Virtue*.

In This, in All, SATURN directs JUPITER; *Knowledg*, *Action*; *Underſtanding*, *Will*: or to ſpeak more properly, one and the ſame *Soule*, directs its own *Actrvity* (its JUPITER) by its own *Knowledge*, or Sphear of SATURN.

Our Diſcourſe on SATURN hath been ſlow and tedious: But ſuch is the *Motion* of this *Planet*. This may conclude All. Though SATURN and MERCURY could *in re*, never agree in *Heav'n* or *Earth*; yet, the *Platoniſts* found a way to *Reconcile* them in *Words* and *Shew*: For with Them, They *Both* are Λόγος. But SATURN is Λόγος ὁ ἐνδιαθέτος, ὁ ἔσω, *Ratio*: MERCURY Λόγος ὁ ἔξω, ὁ προφορικος *Oratio*. by which laſt, They meant much more, then we by *Speech*: For, they ſay, MERCURY to SATURN, is *Semen Ideale* [1]: That *Vis Prolifica*, by which *Ideahs* comming out of SATURN, and ſtampt by JUPITER, on *Matter*; do there beget the *Embryon* of a *Forme*; which *mature* becomes εἶδος; a *Second Species*; or *Ideah*. *Proles* to one of SATURNS Sons, which are the firſt *Ideahs*, as was ſaid before. So, that with Them the *Underſtanding* (whither *Divin* or *Humane*,) is SATURN; an *Ideall World*: *Concepts*, or *Ideahs*, (drawn in this *Underſtanding*) are SATURN's Sons: *Words*, *Syllables* and *Letters*, (by which Theſe *Concepts* or *Ideahs* come out, and are expreſt abroad;) belong all to MERCURY.

All this, They think ſtampt on the *Genius* of the *Planet* MERCURY; which well aſpected by SATURN, They ſay, gives *Contemplation*: by MARS, *Action*: with JUPITER, *Both*: But with VENUS *Eloquence and Wit*.

Thus from a *Man*, a *Philoſopher*, a *Prieſt*, a *God* [2]; we are come againe to MERCURY a *Wandring Star* or *Planet*; from whom, all *Mercuries* firſt came; into whom, They were all *Starriſi'd* again, When *Dead Men*, but *Living Deaſters*.

1 Plotin. Ennead 3. Lib. 8. with Ficinus.

2 Hor, *All Theſe*, He was: See *Roſſell*, on Pymand.

FINIS.

THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY.

* Innocuos *Cenſura poteſt permittere* Luſus;
——————Luſimus *Omnes*:
Et ſemel——————Riſit APOLLO.

* Martial. *Epigram.*

THE BROTHERS of the BLADE:

Answerable to

The Sifters of the *Seaberd.*

OR,

A Dialogue betweene two Hot-spurres of the Times, *Serjeant* SLICE-MAN, *alias* SMELL-SMOCK of *Coney-Court* in *Chick-lane*, and Corporall DAM-MEE of *Bell-alley* neere *Pick-hatch*.

At their first meeting in the walkes in *Moorefields*, upon the Returne of the one from the Leaguer in the *Low-Countries*, and the late comming to *London* of the other from the Campe in the *North*, at the disbanding of the Army.



Printed for *Thomas Bankes* and *John Thomas*, 1641.

THE BROTHERS of the *Blade*.

Serjeant.

DAmmee *Jack*, my brave Bilbo, and Brother of the *Blade*, well met.

Cor. What? Serjeant *Sliceman*, my *quondam* comrade, and old Smelsmock? By the blood of *Bacchus*, J joy to see thee, stab me, if your nimble servant corporall *Nim*, doth not earnestly desire to be incorporated into your firme friendship.

Ser. By *Styx* and *Acheron*, I embrace thee in the armes of my love and affection. But J prithee, what newes from the North? For J suppose thou camest lately from thence.

Cor. Faith, very little newes there, and that scarce worth relating: but the newest novelty to me is at this time & in this place here to see thee, I thought thou hadst bin dead 7. yeares agoe, either by the bullet or gullet, the lance or panch, the sword or surfet, or by some such disaster as the halter. *Serj.* Thankes to my starres, J have many a time escaped the former, and J must confesse ingenuosly, I have deserved the latter.

Cor. I make no question, but if thou hadst thy desert, thou hadst been nooz'd many yeares agoe at *Gregories* Plumtree in Judge *Richardsons* dayes: I remember his Lordship was on the bench at that time of thy triall (as he was alwaies) pleasantly dispos'd, and would have jeer'd thee to the gallowes: but thou mayst thanke that good man, first in giving thee not a choke-line (as he might) but the common *Psalme of mercy*, and next in saying for thee, *Legit, my Lord*, when thou readst no more a letter in the black booke, then J can now read *Hebrew*, and thats nere a whit.

Serj. J must acknowledge my selfe ever oblig'd to his goodnesse, having sent to him the night before a good Angell, by the meanes whereof and favour of him J had the law in my owne hand: and now since thou art a chip of the old block, a bird of the same feather, and one & the selfsame sneelegall as both, give me thy wrist, and let me shake thee by the hand, being the most remarkable place, where the Hangman hath long since mark'd us for sheepe for his owne slaughter.

Cor. Nay, hold there, my man of warre and son of *Mars*: I must confesse, thou and I have bin in times past as arrant Rogues as ever *Newgate* harbour'd, as daring in our attempts, & as desperate in our assaults, as the most resolute Rascall whatsoever under the cope; but for my part recolle-

collecting my self of late, and considering the viciſſitude and revolution of the ſtates and conditions of men in theſe laſt dayes of the world, *Ego non ſum ego, I am not the man I was*, but am now reclaimed.

Serj. The Divell thou art, 'tis impoſſible that *Damme Iack* the little *Furio*, & only *Orlando Furioſo* of his age, ſhould be metamorphos'd frō what he was, 'tis incredible, a paradox, and appeares to me very ſtrange.

Cor. Well, 'tis not ſo ſtrange as true, take it as you will. But what courſe doſt thou intend to take now thou art come over, at thy arrivall here.

Serj. Faith, if all ſtrings faile in the bow of my expectation, ile fall to my old trade, turne high-way *Lawyer*, or *Padman*.

Cor. Hang't, thats the way to be hanged indeed, to take a faire turne at the Triple-tre. Thou hadſt better turne Tapſter, or if (being a Gentleman) thou ſcornſt to be ſubject to the imperious check and command of every ſordid mechanick, I would wiſh thee to haunt Bowling-allyes, and frequent Gaming-houſes, where you may live all day long upon the rooke on the *Bankſide*, or to play at Nine-pins, or Pigeon-holes in *Lincolnes-Inne* fields; Theſe are ordinary exerciſes, and (in my opinion) farre better then your ſometimes walking in *Weſtminſter* Hall, from 7. of the clocke in the morning till 12. at noone in the Terme time.

Serj. Jack, thou art not of my mind: thoſe were my golden dayes, for in thoſe Terme times I could with dexterity in a crowd dive into a pocket, and fetch up with the ſlight and activity of my hand, twenty or thirty Peeces at a time. Indeed that way of getting money was more perilous, but moſt profitable; and yet I lye, for according to the old ſaying, *lightly come, lightly goe*; ſo it far'd with me, what I pickt reſolutely on a Munday morning from Country clyents, was ſpent diſſolutely before Sunday evening, among the Siſters of the *Scaberd*.

Cor. Thou ſayſt true in that, for gaines ſo unjuſtly gotten, ſeldome or never proſper, when did you ever know a Curpurſe or pickpocket grow rich? If at any time they get a booty, & are taken in the act, thē their long durance and captivity in the Jayle in a ſhort time exhauſts them of all.

Serj. Troth, thats the reaſon we two are ſuch poore rogues as we are. I prithee *Iack* how ſtrōg art thou? What munition haſt thou about thee? The weathers extreame hot, and my wind-pipes are ſo dry and duſty, having travail'd lately many a long mile, and made many a ſhort meale, that I begin to faint, and would very faine repoſe my ſelfe with thee a while under the next Ivie-buſh; or let's entrench our ſelves within the limits of ſome red-Lattice, where wee may ſquench our thirſt, drench our guts,

drinke one anothers healths, and diſcourſe of all our travailes. Therefore ſpeake, what caſh or ſtore of coyne haſt thou?

Cor. By Iove not a deneere, not ſo much as a ſingle croſſe to bleſſe me with. I have not ſeene the Kings picture in ſilver of my owne, never ſince his Majeſty (heaven bleſſe him) went into *Scotland*. At his departure, (halfe a dozen joviall blades of us, each one with his female peece of iniquity, feeding high, and drinking deepe) all my money departed from mee.

Serj. Alas poore *Iack*, I perceive thy penury now was long of thy prodigality upon the laſſes then, but let that paſſe. For the preſent I greeve as much for thee as I doe for my ſelfe, for by the beames of *Phœbus* I am in the ſame poore prædicament, pennileſſe as thou art: And without ſwearing, or lying i'le tell thee the true cauſe of my preſent indigency. On the ſecond day of this moneth of *Auguſt*, comming out of the *Boares-head*-Taverne neare *Fiſhſtreet*, as I was making water in *Doe-little-lane*, a brace of mercileſſe ſhoulder-clappers with their griping-clawes ſeized upon my body, diſarm'd me of my weapon (as *Iewes* piſſing) and forthwith drag'd me into the *Paltry* Counter.

Cor. But (by your favour, Serjeant *Sliceman*, were there no *Brothers of the Blade* in your Company to ſlice thoſe ſhoulder-clapping ſlaves to ſippets, for making ſuch a dangerous aſſault and battery upon your body?

Serj. By *Iuno*, not one. All our *Brothers of the Blade* went forth at the fore-doore, and I with my *madona* Mrs. *Luce Limetwigge* came out at the back doore into the Lane, where thoſe Tenter-hookes kept centry.

Cor. Doe you know the varlets names, that I may know 'em to evade 'em leſt I be at any time invaded by 'em.

Serj. The Yeoman, or younger inferior Rogue I am ignorant of, but the old curſed catchpole is ſufficiently knowne, an inveterate curre-dogge they call *Tripes*.

Cor. I have heard much of the Caterpiller: 'Tis reported hee's the archeſt Raſcall of the whole Tribe.

Serj. Hell take 'em all, and him eſpecially for me. But to be ſhort, 'tis but two dayes ſince I crept out of that hole, like a poore ſnake, all tottered and torne as you ſee; ſo that theſe 18. dayes have I lamentably ſung the Counter tenour, and am in farre worſe caſe now I am out, then when I firſt came in. *Cor.* But pray Serjeant *Sliceman*, let's know the cauſe of your firſt comming in, and you being ſo ſtay'd a man as you were, *Serj.* Pox on't, the cauſe of my lying in there ſo long, was

long

long of the pocky whore *Petronella Burmyard*, that insatiate sister of our *Scaband*: This bold *Bronstrops* then lay in, would have father'd her bastard upon me, and if I would have married her, I had bin the next day out. *Cor.* Who? not shee that lookes a squint, and makes strange faces when she complements with a gentleman, she that has an *Amazonian* Spirit, and is generally reputed the Metropolitan of all the *Fructifers* here about *London*? *Serj.* The same: Doe you know her that you so lively describe her. *Cor.* Yes faith, I have knowne her in my time, (I will not say carnally) and I well remember her, since the springs of her beautifull parts caught the Woodcocks of your affection, and the Sun-beames of her reciprocall affections did so reflect upon your abilities, that you melted in your own grease, till you were so basted & rosted, that every one that beheld you, tooke you for the two legg'd city Pigge.

Serj. Mum *Jack* mum, Rub not old soares, lest I harpe upon the same string, and touch you to the quick, you have forgot since the like Cocatrice of yours sent you to the *French* Doctors, where you lay so long in *Cornelius* his tub to pickle, that at last the hungry *Neopolitan* ate away a part of your right rubified rose.

Cor. I smell your meaning (Serjeant *Smell-smock*) and know what mutton you best affect by your gaping. But to returne to your *Lyndabrides*: As you have many a time and often conney catcht her, so she woo'd now in the conclusion conney-catch you. *Serj.* True, the old whore woo'd if she coo'd. *Cor.* But how got you cleere off from her?

Serj. By the strength of my owne *Minerva*: Indeed the old Justice laid the Law very shrowdly to me, which his worship as well understood, as a Country Major on the bench at an Assize. I thanke his worship, he menac'd me that I should lye a whole twelvemoneth by the heeles, or else allow the Tweake 5. pounds, then which summe he should sooner have had 5. of my teeth, toes or fingers. But i faith, I am much oblig'd to *Dapper* the Just asses Clerke, for if he had not stood my close friend, I had been still close enough to this houre.

Cor. Well, now thou hast thy heeles at liberty, what course dost thou intend to steere? *Serj.* Faith, even what the Fates please: And in my mind the old rode I have formerly trod is the most pleasing.

Cor. I but the end of that way will be death, an infamous death here, & without we mend our manners by a seasonable Repentance, Hell & damnation hereafter. Then, when you are come to your journeyes end, you will be forc'd to sing that dolefull ditty, *Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum Tendimus in Laqueum.*

Serj. Hang't, *Finis* and *Funis* are all one to mee. Hem, grasse, and

and hay, (as my hoſt in the merry Devill of *Edmonton* ſayes) we are all mortall, and ſince we muſt yeeld to nature, we know not the time when, nor the place where, for my part 'tis no matter the māner how I dye. Still let me ſing with the Epicure, *Ede, bibe, lude, poſt mortem nulla voluptas.*

Cor. I but there are intolerable torments to enſue an ill-lead-life: conſider of them to deterre thee from theſe lew'd wayes of wickedneſſe.

Serj. So I will, ſeaven yeares hence.

Cor. But if you perſiſt, *I* feare you'l be cut off by the Sword of Iuſtice before one yeare goes about.

Serj. If I be, Ile make thee my executor, and in the meane time, I pitty thy ignorance, then ſonne of ſimplicity, never endeavour to diſſwade me from which I am determin'd. 'Tis but labour in vaine, and therefore it is and ſhall be my reſolution.

Hang't, lets be joviall, revell whilſt wee can,
what's coyne ordain'd for, but the life of man?
Have I ſpent all my time in bloody warres?
Beene carbonado'd, and all-hackt to ſcarres,
Have I out-dar'd the Canons threatning death;
Beene bullet-branded, gap't and gaſp't for breath,
And others ſlept, have I watch't night by night,
Diſcharg'd from ſleepe, each minute for to fight;
Have I march't ore the hills, gone through the dirt,
Without either hat, or band, or ſhooe, or ſhirt:
And muſt I now be baſe; cringe, creepe, and trot,
Beg, and entreat of every Peaſant ſot;
No by this Martiall hand, I ſcorne it, I,
That man's not fit to live, that feares to dye:
To beg is baſer then to pick a purſe,
To cheate more baſe; of all thefts that is worſe:
Nor beg, nor cheate will I, I ſcorne the ſame,
But whil'ſt I live, maintaine a ſouldiers name,
Ile purſe it I, the high-way is my hope,
His heart's not great, that feares a little rope.

Cor. I but that little rope will in the end be the breaking of your great heart; For my owne part, I am as poore a rogue as thou art, and would be as glad to take any courſe of life, ſo I might put my ſelfe into preſent money; but I doe not approve of the High-way Law. Let me ſee, what meanes had I beſt to uſe to get a little meanes, if it were but ſo much as

to keepe life and soule together. I would I were in service (as I have been before I went into the Northerne parts) with some *Curtizan*, my mind gives me, and my mind prompts me, I could serve her turne well for a gentleman Usher, or at a shift upon occasion to be Pimpe for her Ladiship, I must confesse 'tis base, but 'tis a safer way of the two, and better and greater men then I or you doe daily use it, well to morrow morning I'le about it, for as I am, 'tis impossible I should long subsist, I have long enough serv'd under the colours of angry *Mars*, i'le now secure my selfe under the canopy of lovely *Venus*.

Serj. Well said *Jack*, ifaith: I commend thee for thy resolution, pursue it with endeavor, & let thy fancy's best effects follow with diligence. But all this while we want (that I lately propounded) the blood of the Grape, or the juyce of Barley, to water our dry plants, to refresh our dull sences, and to revive our decayed and stupid Spirits? Resolve, *Jack*, where shall's build a Sconce?

Cor. I woo'd I coo'd as easily effect it, as we both desire it, yet now I thinke on't, if you'l perambulate with me towards *Bishopf-gate*-street; there's an Uncle of mine this weeke come to Towne, who has more wealth then wit, in one word, to speake his Character, hee's a very gull, an essentiall Clowne, and simplicity in the Abstract: His Fathers a meere Coridon, and lives in *Essex*, a rich Crummuchion of a vast estate, which this Calfe and Cockaloach his sonne makes shift to consume as fast as the old foole scrapes. The young novice is so taken with the name of a Gentleman, that he will have it, though he buyes it, and it cost him dearely: He usually comes up to *London* every Terme to learne to take Tobacco, and now hee's come this weeke to see new motions and Puppit-playes in *Bartholemew* Fayre. He is in his Kingdome, when hee can but get into company, where (when he hath a cup in's pate) 'tis his pride and the hight of his ambition to pay whole reckonings, though he be sufficiently laught at for his courtesie. This wiseacres will we send for to the *mouth* Taverne, where before wee part from him, wee'le make a meere mouth of him.

Serj. I like the motion well, and the prosecution thereof better, but I thinke it best of all to catch this Gudgeon (for our own profit) at a more convenient time the next weeke then in the Fayre-time, we shall have the fairer opportunity to worke upon him; in the interim, let me intreate thee to walke along with me (whether I was intended before I met thee) to see our old acquaintance *Tom Stitch* the Taylor.

Cor. Why

Cor. Why, Dus Mr. *True-ſnip* live ſtill in *London*.

Serj. J was enform'd yeſterday by *Mat. Mulligrub* the *Vintner*, and *Dick Double-ſoule* the *Shoomaker*, that he inhabits in a houſe of his own in *Cloth-faire*. *Cor.* Dus the Buttock his wife beare up ſtill as ſhe did?

Serj. They ſay, ſhee's as blyth and buxome, as witty and wanton, and as plumpe and impudent as ever ſhe was. Fame is falſe, if you have not bin very inward with her. *Cor.* Indeed, I muſt confeſſe we have been often and familiarly in action together. The time was when I ſtruck fire in her tynder-boxe, and it has tooke; but it was in her former husbands dayes; yet J beleeve ſhee's never a whit alter'd, but is the ſame in diſpoſition, as ſhe vſ'd to be: I am confirm'd in this opinion, *ſemel & ſemper*, once a whore, and alwaies the ſame, J would either of us were Maſter of a quart of Canary, to beſtow upon her, at our firſt viſit of her. Shee'le take us for a couple of poore Rogues to come both to her houſe without a ſiver in our pockets. Prithee Serjeant *Smell-ſmock*, haſt any thing about thee to dip in *Barbican* or in *Long-lane* as we goe along.

Serj. Let not that trouble thee; for I doubt not but before we come to *Redcroſſe*-ſtreet we ſhall meet with ſome or other, whom formerly I have knowne, of whiom I will boldly take acquaintance, and (taking him or her aſide, be it Brother of the Blade, or ſiſter of the *Seabard*) take occaſion to borrow a ſhilling, or 6. d. till Doomeſ-day.

Cor. J woo'd I coo'd ſee it, quoth blind *Hugh*, and ſo ſay I.

Serj. Never feare it; beſides (as I underſtand) *Snips* wife has two or three tubs of Ale continually in her houſe, which ſhe drawes in blacke Rammallian pots for her friends and acquaintance that viſit her, (a pritty policy to firke out money of her cuſtomers) though ſhe pretends it is to keepe her husband at home from flying from his ſhop-board, and hunting after Ale-houſes.

Cor. Nay, then lets goe, and by the way (now it comes into my mind) ile call upon *Tim Trebble-gaine* the Broker, whom vveele take along with us living in *Long-lane*, and as he once gull'd me, ſoi'le try if with all my vvits J can feteh over him.

Serj. Godamercy for that *Iack*; hovvſoever if all our plots faile, and nothing take effect, weel'e make the Broker drunke, and then leave him for the reckoning. *Cor.* Agreed. He has had many a pavvne of thee, and now thou ſhalt pavvne him.

FINIS.

6

EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTED BY CHRIST,

And confirmed by cleere evidence of *Scripture*, and invincible *Reaſon*.

Collected by the pains of R. R. *Preacher of the Goſpell.*

DEVT. 4.2.

Yee ſhall not adde unto the Word which I command you, neither ſhall yee diminiſh ought from it, that yee may keep the Commandements of the Lord your God, which I command you.

REVEL. 22.18,19.

For I teſtifie unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecie of this booke, if any man ſhal adde unto theſe things, God ſhal adde unto him the plagues that are written in this booke. And if any man ſhall take away from the words of the book of this prophecie, God ſhall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy City, and from the things that are written in this booke.

LONDON,

Printed, *Anno Domini*, 1641.

EPISCOPAL
GOVERNMENT
INSTITUTED
BY
CHRIST
Undoctrined by clergie

LONDON,
Printed, Anno Domini, 1644.

Epiſcopall Government inſtituted by Chriſt.

The firſt Argument.

That whatſoever degrees of Church Governours, *as God eſtabliſhed under the* Law, *that* Chriſt *and his* Apoſtles *continued under the* Goſpel, *and that hath governed the Chriſtian Church ſince the days of* Chriſt *and his* Apoſtles, *They are and muſt be of* Divine Ordination.

But God eſtabliſhed three degrees of Church Governours *under the* Law, Chriſt *and his* Apoſtles *continued three degrees under the* Goſpell, *and three degrees hath governed the Chriſtian Church ſince the days of* Chriſt *and his* Apoſtles.

And therefore three degrees of Church Governours *are and muſt be of* Divine Ordination.

The *propoſition* I will take for granted, for I know no man will deny it. The *aſſumpsion* I muſt prove, which hath three branches: The firſt is, That God eſtabliſhed three *degrees* under the Law, the *High Prieſt*, *inferiour Prieſts*, and *Levits*; the High Prieſt to be in the firſt order, Inferiour Prieſts in the ſecond, and Levits in the third: and this I hope will be granted. The ſecond branch of the Propoſition, that *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles* continued *three degrees* under the Goſpell, I prove thus: *Chriſt* choſe *Apoſtles* for one order, and *Evangeliſts* for another, called at the firſt the *ſeventy Diſciples*, to diſtinguiſh them from the other *twelve*, who were alſo called *Diſciples*, as long as Chriſt lived (for they were ſeldome before *Chriſt* his Reſurrection diſtinguiſhed by their proper names) and *Chriſt* filled the room of the *high Prieſt* himſelf, as long as he ſerved in the Miniſtery of the Goſpell: And after his Aſcention immediatly, the *Apoſtles* by the direction of the Spirit made choice of a third Order of Churchmen, whom they called by the name of *Deacons*, *Act.6.* ſo that the *Apoſtles* were appointed to be of the firſt Order after *Chriſt* his Reſurrection, at which time they were only endued with

stolicall authoritie, being before *Christs* death in the order and rank of *Evangelists*, and the Evangelists inferiour to them, for the twelve were ever distinguished from the seventy, both in Place & Estimation, as any man may perceive that can read the Scriptures: but when *Christ* was to ascend up unto the Father, he made the Apostles chiefe Governours of the Church, and put them in his own place, and said to them, He that heareth you, heareth mee, and he that despiseth you, despiseth mee; after which time they were called by the name of *Apostles* ordinarily, and the other seventy got the name of *Evangelists*, and were the second order of Church Governours, & at all times remembred in the second place; howsoever, the twelve *Disciples* were called *Apostles*, as chiefly sent of God, although the other seventy were sent too, as wee read, *Luke* 10. yet they were not consecrate with so great solemnitie as the other twelve, nor got not so strict a charge, nor so great authoritie and power conferred upon them; the truth of all this you will finde in the last Chapter of Saint *Johns Gospel*, and the first of the *Acts*; so that since the twelve *Disciples* are thus advanced, and not the seventie, it is more then evident, that *Christ* would have the *Seventie* to be still inferiour to the *Twelve*.

And this also appears by the election of *Matthias*, who was taken out of the number of the seventie, and advanced to the *Apostolicall charge*; if the twelve had not been in degree above the seventy, to what end should this distinction have been made? no man will say I hope, that the Twelve would have advanced themselves, above the Seventy, if *Christ* himselfe had made no difference before; for *Christ* no question if they had beene wrong would have reproved their arrogancie; but on the contrary, *Christ* gives testimonie of his approbation of that which they did, by consenting to *Matthias* election, yea, it appeares that they had a commandement so to do, for *Peter* saith, *Acts* 1.22. that one (*must*) be ordained, to be a witnesse with us of the Resurrection; the word (δει,) in the 21 Verse is very emphaticall, so that it would seeme, that it was not left arbitrary to them, to doe it, or not to do it, at their pleasure; but of necessitie it behoved to be done, as being commanded by Christ their Master.

Moreover, it is evident by the words of the 25 Verse, where the Apostle makes a cleer distinction between Apostles and Evangelists: That he may take part (saith he) of this Ministery and Apostleship; now the Apostle could not call it this Ministery, except it had bin distinct from that

that which *Matthias* had before; hee was one of the Seventy Disciples before, and had power to preach the Gospell of Christ: so that it is most sure, if the calling of the twelve, had not beene particularly differenced by Christ, from the calling of the seventy, the Apostles would never have put a distinction between the one Ministerie, and the other. But the Apostle *Peter* adds yet a cleerer distinction, and hee cals the Ministery whereunto *Matthias* was advanced Apostleship (this Ministery, and Apostleship saith he) now the Ministerie of the seventy Disciples was never called Apostleship unto this day, as all men know.

Further this distinction appeareth, that the Apostle, with the consent of the rest of the twelve, would have the number made up before the comming of the Holy Ghost; for the Holy Ghost did not visibly descend upon any but upon the twelve; well, they did always attend his comming, they could not tell how soon, and therefore they thought it necessary, that *Matthias* should be elected withall expedition, so that any man may conceive, if there had not been a wide difference between the twelve Apostles and the seventy Disciples, the Apostle would never have made such haste.

By the former doctrine we finde, that our Saviour differenced the 12, from the seventy, thrice, in the time of his life once, for by taking the twelve to be of his counsell (as it were) and guard of his bodie, he made a manifest distinction, *Luke 6.* 13. Next after his *Resurrection* hee put a difference between them, in that hee enstalled them solemnly in their Apostolicall charge, which hee did not unto the seventy; and thirdly, after his *Ascention*, he sent the Holy Ghost chiefly to the twelve, and caused him to descend visibly even to the view of all the beholders upon their heads in the likenesse of cloven tongues of fire, which, for any thing we read, he did not to the seventy.

In the thirteenth of the *Acts*, Verse 1. we may behold this distinction, with our eyes; where *Barnabas*, *Simeon*, *Lucius*, *Manaen*, and *Saul*, are called *Prophets* and *Teachers*, and not *Apostles*, for I thinke as yet *Saul* was not joyned to the number of Apostles, at least hee was not accounted one: so *Paul* makes this distinction, when he takes to himself the honour to plant the Gospel, and to lay the foundation, and makes *Apollos* a waterer only, and a builder upon the foundation, Paul *plants*, saith hee, Apollo *waters, but God gives the increase*, 1 Cor. 2. 6.

Moreover, *Acts* 8. we see a manifest distinction, in *Philip* the Evangelist, who converted the *Samaritans*, and baptized them, but *Peter* and *John* behoved to be sent out of *Ierusalem*, to lay on hands and conferre the

the Holy Ghost; but my opponent may say, that *Philip* was a Deacon, and one of the seven mentioned, *Acts* 6. I answer, we read of *Philip* the Apostle, and of *Philip* the Deacon, and why not a third *Philip* an Evangelist? read *Acts* 21.8. he that was Deacon was there after advanced to be an Evangelist. Alwayes wee gaine thus much, that Deacons must preach and administer the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, and therefore they are not Lay-men.

That Deacons are not Lay-men, but Preachers, and a third order of Church Governours, it is evident, *Acts* 6. for as soon as there was any need of men of that office (that was, when the number of the Disciples was multiplied) they were chosen and elected by the Apostles, yea, they were elected too before the Apostles went out of *Jerusalem*, & separated themselves to preach the Gospell to all Nations; for they behoved to be helpers of the Apostles, and to assist them in the work of Ministery, to have a care of the poore under them, and to baptize new converts at their command; that so the Apostles might give themselves to prayer, and the Ministerie of the Word, *Acts* 6.4. The truth of this may be seen, *Acts* 10.48. where the Apostle *Peter* gives commandement (no question to the Deacons) to baptise *Cornelius*, and those who were with him; so we may see, 1 *Cor.* 1. that the Apostle *Paul* attributes the care of *Baptisme* to others then the *Apostles*, where he saith, that hee was not sent to Baptize, it being chiefly the charge of the Deacons, but to preach the Gospell; not that he might not baptise, for wee see the contrary in the words, but because the Apostles gave themselves chiefly to Prayer and the Ministery of the Word, and committed the care of Baptisme to the Deacons, and the administration of the Sacrament of the Supper to the Evangelists, called hereafter Elders, as may be gathered out of 1 *Cor.* 10.11.

We see also *Col.* 1.1. a manifest distinction between Bishops and Deacons; for the Apostle writes to them as their chiefe Bishop and Overseer, for as yet the Apostle reserved the chief care of that Church to himself, although some think, that *Epaphroditus* was chief Bishop of that place; howsoever, we see two Orders here of Church-men, and I hope none will deny but the Apostle was in order and degree above them; we see them also made mention of in the Epistles of *Paul* to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, over whom *Timothy* and *Titus* are placed as their chiefe Governours, so that it is more then evident that Christ and the Apostles con-

continued three Orders of Church Governours under the Goſpell.

But I know that it will be objected, that there ſhould be but two Orders of Church Governours now under the Goſpel, becauſe Chriſt himſelfe appointed but two, Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, both of them called at firſt Diſciples, only diſtinguiſhed by their number, twelve, and ſeventie.

Anſw. Chriſt appointed but two indeed, becauſe hee ſupplyed the room of the High Prieſt himſelf: neither would hee have any more during his own Miniſtery; he was chiefe Governour of the Church himſelfe, and hee would have no Suffragans as long as he lived. Where the King is preſent himſelf, he needs not a Commiſsioner, nor a Vice-roy. Again, had Chriſt choſen three Orders in his owne time, then there ſhould have been foure Orders of Church Governours, all the while of Chriſt his Miniſtery upon earth: Firſt Chriſt himſelfe (for I hope no man will refuſe Chriſt for one, and for the chief too) and the other 3 ordained by Chriſt. Now our bleſſed M. & Saviour, becauſe he would keep Analogie (ſo farre as I can conceive) with the number and degrees of Church Governours under the Law, he would chooſe but two, and leave the third to be added by the Apoſtles after his departure; which they did with all diligence, as we may ſee, *Acts 6.*

That our Saviour uſed this analogie in this, I will prove by other particulars, wherein he obſerved the like analogie, and firſt in the number of the *Sacraments*; as his Father appointed but two under the Law, *Circumciſion*, and the *Paſchall Lambe*, ſo hee appointed but two under the Goſpell, *Baptiſme* and the *Supper of the Lord*; the one to ſucceed in place of *Circumciſion*, the other in place of the *Paſchall Lambe*. And againe, as *Circumciſion* did repreſent unto us the guilt of ſin, ſo our Saviour would have *Baptiſme* to repreſent to us remiſsion of ſins; And as the *Paſſeover* repreſented to the people of *Iſrael* their bodily deliverance from the bondage of *Egypt*, ſo our Saviour would have his laſt *Supper* to repreſent to us our ſpirituall deliverance from the bondage of ſin and Satan.

When our Saviour inſtituted *Baptiſme* hee deviſed no new Ceremony, but took that Ceremony of *Waſhing* which the *Jews* uſed in their *Purification*, & appointed it to repreſent our ſpirituall waſhing from ſin. So likewiſe in the Inſtitution of the other *Sacrament* hee did not deviſe any new Ceremony to repreſent his Death and Paſsion, but took the laſt part of the Paſchall Supper, and appointed it for that uſe. The cuſtome-

stome of the *Iews* was, after the Supper was ended, and the Paschall Lambe eaten, hee that was Master of the Feast tooke as many pieces of bread as there were people present at the eating of the Lamb (and there behoved to be between the number of ten, and the number of twenty, for there might not be fewer then ten, nor more then twenty) and gave every one a piece, saying these words, *This is the bread of affliction, which your Fathers eat in the wilderneſſe*; and thereafter hee took the Cup, and gave it to them, saying, *This is the cup of affliction, which your Fahers dranke in the wilderneſſe.* Now our Saviour Christ reserved the same Ceremony; for the Text saith, that first he took bread, and after that *He had given thanks, he brake it*, and gave to every one a portion, and said, *This is my body which is broken for you, Doe this in remembrance of mee*; And in like manner, *He took the Cup*, saying, *this Cup is the new Testament and Covenant in my bloud, drinke yee all hereof*, and *as oft as you eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, you shew the Lords death till he come*, saith the Apostle *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 11.

Moreover, Christ chose twelve Apostles in Analogie to the twelve Patriarchs, that like as the whole people of God, under the Law, did proceed out of the loynes of the twelve Patriarchs, so also Gods children, under the Gospel, should be begotten by the Ministery of the twelve Apostles, and their Successors: Hee chose also seventy Disciples, in Analogie to the seventy Elders of the *Iews*, whom *Moses* elected, to govern the people of *Israel* under himselfe; so our Saviour would have those seventy Disciples, and their Successours, to be spirituall Governours of the people of God, under the Gospell. Moreover, Christ fasted forty days in the *wilderneſſe*, in reference to *Moses*, fasting forty days upon Mount *Sinai*. Christ entred into his Ministery, in the thirtieth yeare of his age, in similitude of the Priests and Levits entring in their severall Functions. So that there is nothing more probable in the Scriptures, then that as Christ, by way of Analogie, did imitate the *Iews* in many things, so also would hee have as many degrees of Church Governours under the Gospell, as there was under the Law, and that he would be chief Governour himselfe of both Churches.

But that ye may believe the truth of these things the better, I will let you see, that the Apostles also followed the example of their Master, in the imitation of the *Iews* in many things: As in the use of *Lots*, conforme to the ancient custome of the *Iews*, *Matthias* is chosen to be an Apostle, so also they continued the use of an holy *Kisse* at their meet-

ings

ings (yet if they had been as precise, as many people now adays, they would have abolished that Ceremony, because *Judas* betrayed his Master with a Kisse) and gave it in Commandement, Greet one another with an holy Kisse, saith the Apostle *Paul*: so also, the use of Love-feasts proceeded from the *Jews*, for, as after their Sacrifices, they feasted one another, so after the celebration of the Lords Supper, they had their *Agapæ*, and Love-feasts, which the Apostle *Paul* did not discharge, but forbad them in publike, and licentiates them in their own private families; Have yee not Houses to eat and drinke in, or despise yee the Church of God, saith he? The day of Celebration of the Sacrament of the Supper, was ever a Festivall day to them, but not a day of fasting, as it is with many now: So also, the Custome, of laying on of Hands, was borrowed from the *Jews*, *Numb.*8. in these, and some other formes and Ceremonies, the Apostle did imitate the Nation of the *Iews*, but let these serve for an example.

The Primitive Church also followed the example of Christ and his Apostles in this Analogizing, and in particular, as in the Consecration of Priests, some pieces of the Sacrifices were put in the Priests hands, *Exod.*29.9. Even so, they put the Bible in the hands of the Minister at his Ordination, this was done both by the Jewish Church, and the Christian; to teach both, That no man taketh this honour unto himselfe, but hee that is called of God: so also, they erected a Mother-church, wherever there was a Bishop, even as the *Iews* had but one Mother-church, the Temple of *Ierusalem*, because they had but one High Priest; and therefore in respect that Bishops succeeded in the room of the High Priest in the government of the Church, where ever there was a Bishop, there they built a Mother-church, and all the rest of the Churches of the Dioceese were but pendicles of her, as the *Jewish Synagogues* were to the Temple of *Ierusalem*: yea & these Mother-churches, they built them according to the similitude of the Temple of *Jerusalem*; for as the Temple had the Most holy Place, Holy place, and *atrium*, called the Court of the Temple, or *Sal.* porch, this for the people, the Holy place for the Priests, and the Most holy place for the Lord of Hosts, to be as it were, the place of his habitation, to dwell between the wings of the two Cherubims, there to give his Oracle; even so in the Christian Churches, there was a place appointed for the people, another for Churchmen, the third as the most holy place, where

the Sacrament of the Supper was celebrated, as the onely memoriall of his presence, left by himselfe under the new Testament, as the Arke of the Covenant was under the Old. So then, since both the Apostles and the Churches of Christ, in the Primitive Times, did imitate the *Iewish* formes by way of Analogie, it seemes to mee that in so doing, they followed the example of Christ, who kept an Analogie himselfe with the *Iewish* Church, in many things, but in speciall in the number and degrees of Church Governours.

Now I would ask my Authour, by what reason hee thinks Christ should have diminished the number of Church Governours? was the number of three Typicall, or was the Church Government Typicall? truly neither; the number of three is mysticall indeed, but not Typicall, neither was the Government Typicall, but as necessary now under the Gospel, as it was under the Law; for, as Christ did not governe his Church, immediatly by his spirit, under the Law, so no more doth he governe his Church, immediatly by his spirit, under the Gospel; but as he committed the government, to certain Governours, under the Law, so hath he committed it, to certain Governours, under the Gospel. But it may be answered, that he hath not committed it, to so many degrees of Church Governours, now under the Gospel, as he did under the Law; I perswade my self, that my opponent shall never be able to prove, that Christ behoved to doe this *de jure*, or shew mee a reason, why it behoved to be so: yes, hee will say, of necessity the first degree behoved to be taken away, because the High Priest was a type and figure of Christ; and all types and figures were abolished by Christs comming.

Reply, I grant all types and figures were abolished, by Christs comming; but I deny that the High Priest was a type and figure of Christ, as he was chiefe Governour of the Church: and that for these reasons.

First, because then, all Church Government should have beene abrogated by Christs comming, for if *Aarons* Government, was a type and figure of Christs Government, then it will follow, that Christ now under the Gospel, should governe his Ghurch, immediately by himselfe, without any subordinate Governours; for if Church Government, under the Law, was typicall, and all types abrogate, it follows necessarily that there should be no Church Government now, but Christs only.

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Secondly, If *Aaron*, as hee was chiefe Governour under the Law, was a type and figure of Chriſt, then it will follow, that Chriſt was not Supreame Governour of his Church under the Law: for Types are of things to come, and neither of things preſent, nor by-paſt.

Thirdly, the High Prieſt, as he was chiefe Governour, he could not be a type and figure of Chriſt, becauſe if there had been but two ranks of Church Governours, one of them behoved to be chiefe, and ſo ſtill there ſhould have been a chiefe Governour.

And laſtly, the order that was among Church Governours was not Ceremoniall but Morall, and as neceſſary for the Government of the Chriſtian Church, as the *Jewiſh*; for God is the God of Order now, I am ſure, as well as he was then: now nothing that was Morall, was typicall, and therefore *Aaron* was not a type and figure of Chriſt, as hee was chiefe Governour of the *Iews*.

Now I will ſhew you, in what reſpect hee was a type and figure of Chriſt. Firſt, as the High Prieſt was one man, he did typifie Chriſt as the one High Prieſt of our profeſſion, and therefore Chriſt would not commit the chief Government of the Church to one any more, but to many in one and the ſame rank and order. Next, the High Prieſt his offering of one Sacrifice, once in the yeere within the Veil, was a Type of that only one propitiatorie Sacrifice once offered up for the ſins of the quick and the dead, by our Saviour Chriſt: Thirdly, the High Prieſt his once in the yeere only entring within the Veil, was a type of our Saviour his once entring into Heaven, to make interceſsion for us: For theſe reſpects then, AARON was a type and figure of Chriſt, but no ways in relation to his Government, for the Reaſons before alleaged.

I have another Reaſon yet that moves mee to think that there can be no fewer then three Rankes of Church Governours now under the Goſpel: and it is this. The number of Three is myſticall, as is evident by many examples, both in Scripture, things above Nature, Naturall things, and Spirituall things. In Supernaturall things wee ſee the truth of this aſſertion, in the Divine Eſſence, which ſubſiſts in the number of three Perſons, which is the myſterie of all myſteries: in the Divine Eſſence alſo, there are three Communicable properties, Goodneſſe, Power, and Wiſdome, to theſe three all the reſt may

be referred, as Life, Love, Justice, &c. three incommunicable properties, Simplicitie, Eternitie, Ubiquitie, of These no creature is capable. According to this similitude, the faculties of the Soul were formed by God himselfe; for the Soule hath three chiefe faculties, Judgement, Memory, and Will, yea, the renewed minde consisteth of three Theologicall Vertues, Faith, Hope, and Charitie, which are the three dimensions of every Christian soule: the bodily Substences of all creatures are composed of Three, Longitude, Latitude, and Profunditie; without the which the Creatures can have no Subsistence: There are also three degrees of Life, Vegetative, Sensitive, and Rationall, and all these in analogie to the three Persons of the Godhead; it were easie to shew you divers resemblances between them, if it were necessary, and to the purpose. It was more then the light of Nature that taught *Aristotle* to esteeme the number of three to be the perfectest number of all numbers, yea to be all in all; *Qui dicit tria* (saith hee) *dicit omnia, & qui dicit ter, dicit omnifariam*; *He that saith three, saith all, and he that saith thrice, saith always.*

But to come to the Scriptures: saith not *Iohn* (1 *John* 5.7,8) that *there are three things that beare witnesse in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one*: and that *there are three things that beare witnesse on earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Bloud; and these three agree in one.* Christ loved three Disciples above all the rest, with whom he conversed most familiarly, *Peter, James*, and *Iohn*, to them he shewed himselfe in his glory, at the Transfiguration, and also in his greatest agonie and humiliation in the Garden of *Gethsemanie*. Our Saviour fulfilled his Ministery, in the space of three yeeres; hee lay three days in the Grave, three times appearred to the eleven, after his Resurrection; and many mo then these are to be found in the New Testament. In the Old Testament, you shall finde many numbers of three, wherein some mysterie may be found; wee read of three only that went to Heaven bodily, *Enoch*, *Elias*, and *Christ*: to teach us that salvation both in body and soule is obtained under all the three kinds of Church Government; for God hath governed his Church three severall wayes since the Creation, one way before the Law, another way under the Law, and a third way under the Gospell. The Worship of God hath been also of three severall formes, according to the severall ages of the

the World; Three men saved in the floud of *Noah*, of whom the World hath been replenished the second time, *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; Three great Patriarchs, out of whose loins the Church of God did spring; Three great Sabbaths, the seven dayes Sabbath, the seven yeers Sabbath, and the yeer of Jubilee; Three great Feasts, the Feast of *Tabernacles*, *Easter*, and *Pentecost*; Three ranks of Church Governours, the high Priest, inferiour Priests, and Levits, and a number more; so that I say, if there be any number mysticall, it is the number of *Three*, wee have not so great reason to call *Seven* Mysticall, as for *Nine*, it is only thought Mysticall, because it contains thrice three.

But here my opponents will reply, That they keep this analogie of three, for they also maintain three Degrees of Churchmen, preaching Elders, Lay-Elders, and Deacons, who are all Governours of the Church, and preaching Elders the chiefe Governours. I answer, if preaching Elders be the chiefe Governours, then according to the Replyers opinion (who maintains that the High Priest was a Type and figure of Christ, as he was chief Governour of the Church) they must be cashiered; for wee cannot have chiefe Governours now under the Gospel, according to my opposites tenet, and so it will follow, we must have no publike Ministery at all, nor no publike Government neither, but private in every man his own Family, or rather every man must doe according as hee is moved by the spirit. I answer further that those three Orders are neither Christs, nor his *Apostles* Ordinance, for any evidence that I can see in Scripture, no not so much as any shew, or appearance. As for Lay Elders, I can not find them once named in all the Scripture, although the Apostle *Paul* doth particularly make mention of all Church Governours, under the Apostolicall Order, in his *Epistles* to *Timothy* and *Titus* he particularly declares what preaching Elders and Deacons must be, how they must be qualified before they enter into holy Orders, but never one word of Lay Elders: Deacons indeed he nominates, but not Lay Deacons, but such as must preach the Gospel, and baptise, at their Superiours direction, and therefore the Apostle *Paul* requires that Deacons keep the mysterie of Faith, in a pure conscience, which cannot be required of Lay men; such a measure of knowledge as is understood by the mystery of Faith, is not requisite in these, to whom is only committed the over-sight of the poore.

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More yet, Lay Elders cannot answer to the Priests, because the Priests sacrificed as well as the High Priest; and there was no difference between them, in regard of their office of sacrificing, except that the High Priest was only appointed by God, to offer sacrifice within the Veile once in the yeere, for his owne sinnes, and the sinnes of the people; but the High Priest, and the inferiour Priests, agreed in these particulars, They both burnt Incense and offered Sacrifice, 1 *Chron.*6.49. They both sounded the Trumpets, *Numbers* 10, and they both slue the Sacrifices, 2 *Chron.*29.22. They both instructed the people, *Malachie* 2.5. They both judged of Leprosie, *Leviticus* 13.2. So that if Lay Elders will needs succeed in place of inferiour Priests, and be the second degree of Church Governours, they must preach and administer the Sacraments, and so turn Pastors and Doctors, and then the Preaching Elders must be Bishops, for they must be a degree above them.

Now follows to shew you the truth of the last branch of the Assumption, *That three Ranks of Church Governours have governed the Church of God, since the dayes of Christ and his Apostles*, but because it would take up much time and paper, and might be wearisome to the Reader, I referre him to the Writings of many learned Divines, who have proved that point to the full. I dare say, wee may as well deny all the humane Histories that ever were written, as deny the cleere evidence of so many Histories, whereby Episcopall Government is defended, and accounted by all the Ancients, except *Aerius* (who is enrolled among Heretikes, by *Augustine* and *Epiphanius*, for his pains) for the first order of Church Government, having alwayes two subordinate to it, inferiour Bishops and Deacons.

But here I know it will bee said, that I confound Apostles and the chiefe Bishops together, and Evangelists and Inferiour Bishops; whereas Apostles and Evangelists were extraordinary callings, and ceased with themselves.

Ans. Truly this mistake is the cause of all our dissenting one from another

another in this point; for if wee did hold the callings of Apostles and Evangelists, to be appoined by Christ, to continue in the Christian Church, for the Government thereof, untill the end of the World, as they are indeed, this division that is amongst us had never beene: And therefore I will endevour by Gods grace, to prove both by Reason and Scripture, that these callings are ordinary, and cannot without high sacriledge be cast out of Gods Church. I will shew you then in what respects their calling was ordinarie, and perpetually necessary for the Government of the Church, and for what respects it is called extraordinary. It is ordinary and perpetually necessary, in regard of that power which Christ conferred upon them, to preach the Word and Administer the Sacraments, and also in regard of the power of Absolution and Excommunication, Ordination, and Jurisdiction spirituall, which our Saviour also granted unto them, as all men confesse: and in regard of all those parts of the Episcopall Function to be continued untill the second comming of our Saviour, and I think no man should denie this neither. It is called extraordinary for these respects following; First, because they were extraordinarie persons, not being of the Tribe of *Levi*, who had only ordinary power in those days, to be instruments of Gods publike Worship, and to serve at the Altar. Next because their gifts were extraordinary: for Christ, who was anointed with the oile of gladnesse above his fellows, and had the spirit in super-abundance, hee gave his Apostles an abundant measure of the spirit; but to after-ages hee imparted only a certaine Sufficiencie, Grace for Grace. Thirdly, the extent of their charge was extraordinary, they were tyed to no setled Residence, but the whole World was their Dioceese: *Go ye unto all the World, saith our Saviour.* Fourthly, The manner of their calling was extraordinary, without Education, Tryall, or Ordination. Fifthly, they had the infallibilitie of the Spirit, in matters of Faith they could not erre. And lastly, their calling was extraordinary, *quo ad ante*, but not, *quo ad post*, even in respect of the ordinarie parts of the Ministeriall Function; *quo ad ante*, because the calling of Churchmen in those dayes, was to offer up Sacrifices unto God, of Bullocks, Rams and Lambs, and other Creatures, and to burne incense unto him; but so was not the calling of Apostles; Their calling was

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to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments, open the Gates of Heaven to the Penitent, and shut them upon the impenitent, &c. and so I may say, Their Calling in Analogie to the Priests calling under the Law, is to offer up the Sacrifice of Prayer, Prayse, and Thanksgiving to God, and to teach every man to present their bodies in a living, holy, and acceptable Sacrifice. *Quo ad post*, it was not extraordinarie, because Christ established that government for the Christian Church in all Ages to come, or else none at all, for other wee see not, but this is manifest: yea, our Saviour continued the Apostolicall and Episcopall calling in regard of the substance of it, in the full latitude of Apostolicall Authoritie; and all this I will prove after this manner: and first,

If the callings of the High Priest, Priests, and Levits, was not extraordinary quo ad post, *in the dayes of* Moses: *then the callings of Apostles, Evangelists, and Deacons, was not extraordinary* quo ad post, *in the dayes of* Christ.

But the first is true, and therefore the second.

The reason of the connexion of the Proposition is this, because those callings of Priests and Levits were newly established in the House of God, and the Church was not so governed before, and so although they were extraordinary, *quo ad ante*, in regard of the time by-past, yet not in regard of the time to come; so I thinke that these callings established by Christ, for the Government of the Church under the Gospel, although they were extraordinary in regard of the time past, yet not in regard of the time to come, more then the callings of the Priests and Levits under the Law. For why shall these Governours instituted by Christ in the infancie of the Church, cease to be of that Dignitie and Authoritie in after ages, that they were of in the first Constitution, more then those Governours which his Father appointed to rule the Church of the *Iews* at the first promulgation of the Law? I would faine have my opposite to shew mee a reason for the one more then the other, Truly those who took offence at the Superioritie of Church Governours under the Law, might have alleaged, that after the dayes of *Moses* and *Aaron*, Churchmen were all to be of equall Authoritie, because their calling was extraordinary in regard of the

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the time past. But I am confident, that as God the Father appointed the one government to remain untill his sonnes comming in the flesh, so God the Son appointed the other to continue until his second comming to judgement, and both to remaine in that same case, for Dignitie and Authoritie, wherein they were first established.

My second Argument is this.

If the callings of the Apostles, &c. cannot be called extraordinary, quo ad post, *neither in regard of their extraordinary gifts, nor extraordinary manner of calling, nor the extent of their charge, nor their infallibilitie of Spirit, then it is not extraordinary at all, in regard of the time to come.*

But for none of these foresaid respects, can their calling be called extraordinary, in regard of the time to come.

And therefore it was not extraordinary, in regard of the time to come.

I prove the Assumption, and first that their calling cannot be called extraordinary, in regard of their extraordinary gifts, the gift of Prophecie, and the gift of Miracles, &c. for then, if it shall please God to bestow extraordinary gifts upon ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, their calling should cease any longer to be ordinary, which is absurd to say; for it is evident in Scripture, That ordinary Ministers both of the Law & the Gospel have had extraordinary gifts: as *Samuel* who was a Priest, which was an ordinarie calling (for although *Samuel* was not of the Tribe of *Levi*, yet he was a *Nazarite*, who might by Gods own appointment serve at the Altar) and yet he had extraordinary gifts, 1 *Sam.* 1. 11. *Zachary* was a Priest, and yet he had the gift of Prophecie, *Iohn* 11. 50, 51. so the Apostle *Iames* saith, That *Elders* in his time had the gift of Healing, *Iam.* 5. 14, 15. and yet no man will say that the calling of an Elder was extraordinary other then are now: so the calling of a King is an ordinary calling, and yet *David* King of *Israel* was a Prophet as well as a King, and in a word, we read in ancient Histories, That many Churchmen have had extraordinary gifts, and yet their callings were ordinarie, and so I conclude, that extraordinary gifts doe not make an extraordinary calling.

Next the extent of their charge doth not make their calling extraordinary, because necessitie requireth that it should be so, untill the time that the Gospel should be propagate l to the ends of the earth, so that if there be any Nation yet unconverted (as without doubt, there are too many) the Governours of the Church are bound so far as they are able to labour their conversion to the faith of Jesus Christ; for I thinke no man will say, but that, that charge given to the Apostles (*goe teach all Nations, &c.*) remayns still in force.

Thirdly, as for the manner of their calling, being without Education, Triall, and Ordination, it makes it extraordinarie, in regard of the time past, but not in regard of the time to come; for the High Priest and Priests under the Law, the manner of their calling was extraordinary, in regard of the time past, and without both Triall and Education, and yet notwithstanding their calling was Ordinary in regard of the time to come, and to be continued in the Church untill Christ his comming in the flesh.

And lastly, infallibilitie of Spirit, which the Apostles had, makes not their calling extraordinary, for they behoved to be infallibly guided, because they were to lay the foundation whereupon others were to Build, they were to Plant, others only to Water that which they had planted, they were to establish the Faith, which all ages to come are bound to professe, and so it was most necessary, that they should be infallibly guided by the Spirit. Further Christs promise is, not only to be with his Apostles, but with them and their Successours untill the end of the World, *And loe, I am with you*, saith hee, *untill*, &c.

Now I will prove by evidence of Scripture, That the calling of the Apostles was an ordinary calling, and to be continued untill the second comming of our Saviour, with the same Power and Authoritie both for Ordination and Jurisdiction which they had themselves.

My first testimony is in *Mat.*28.19.out of which I form this argument.

They that were commanded to teach and baptize all Nations untill the end of the World, their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.

But the Apostles were commanded to teach and baptise all Nations, untill the end of the World.

And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.

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The reaſon of the Propoſition is this, becauſe the Apoſtles were not other wayes able to keepe this Commandement, but in their Succeſſors in the Generations to come: if it had pleaſed God by his Omnipotent Power to preſerve them alive, and keep them in health of bodie, and ſtrength of Minde, for that end, I thinke none would have been more able then they, but it pleaſed him not to doe ſo, and therefore it is moſt evident, that this Commandement muſt bee kept in their Succeſſours, and conſequently, *That the calling of the Apoſtles was ordinary*, in regard of the time to come.

My ſecond Teſtimonie is in *Marke* 16.15. The Argument is this.

They who were commanded by Chriſt to preach the Goſpel to every creature, that is to all men without exception, untill the end of the World, their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.

But the Apoſtles were commanded by Chriſt to preach the Goſpel to all men without exception, untill the end of the World.

And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.

This Argument is of that ſame force with the former, for if they to whom our Saviour gives this charge, were to preach the Goſpel to all and every man without exception, then the Apoſtles being not able to doe it themſelves, were bound to deliver that commandement to faithful men, and they again to others, and ſo from age to age to be traduced, as long as there is men upon earth, to whom the Goſpel muſt be preached; and ſo ſtill, *The calling of the Apoſtles muſt be ordinary, and to be continued untill the end of the World.*

The third Teſtimony is in *Matthew* 18.18. and *John* 20.23. The Argument is this.

They to whom our Saviour Chriſt gave the Keys of the Kingdome of Heaven, their calling was ordinarie, and to continue untill the end of the World.

But our Saviour Chriſt gave to his Apoſtles the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven.

And therefore their calling was ordinarie, and to continue untill the end of the World.

This has ever beene constantly maintained, *That our Saviour Christ gave the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to the Apostles and their Successors*, to this end, that as long as there were sinners upon earth, the gates of Heaven might be opened to the Penitent, and shut upon the impenitent: so as long as there is a Sinner upon earth to repent, or a penitent Sinner to be pardoned, as long must there be men endued with Apostolicall power, to preach Repentance to all Sinners, and pronounce Remission of Sins to all Penitent souls.

The fourth Testimony is in *Matth.*28.20. and *Iohn* 14.16. the Argument I frame thus.

They with whom Christ promised to be always, untill the end of the World, Their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.
But Christ promised to be with his Apostles alwayes, untill the end of the World.
And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.

Of necessity then, Christ his promise here, is not only made to his Apostles, because they were not to continue until the end of the world, but *to their Successors in all the Ages and Generations to come*, for *Iohn* saith, 14.16. *That the Comforter would abide with them for ever*, that is, *to the end of the world, and so with their successors aswell as themselves.*

The fift Testimonie is in Matth.5.14. *the Argument is this.*

They whom Christ appointed only to be the light of the World, their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.
But Christ appointed his Apostles to be the light of the World.
And therefore their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.

Although the Apostles themselves may in some respect be called, *the light of the World*, because by their Ministery chiefly the World was *first enlightned* with the light of the Gospel, yet in respect that this light might be in danger to go out, there behoved others to succeed the Apostles in the ages to come, to keep in this light, and still to hold it out as a Lanthorne, in the Ministery of the Word, and the exercise of the other

other parts of that Spirituall and Heavenly Function, that all men might see, how to walke in that narrow way that leads to life eternall: The fire in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, which the Priests were daily to attend, that it went not out, was a Type and figure of this spirituall and heavenly fire of Grace, which must be preserved by the Ministery and continuall attendance of the Apostles and their Successors.

The sixt Testimonie is in *Matth.* 10.40. and *Luke* 10.16. *The argument is this.*

Whomsoever all men are bound to heare and receive in Christs stead, their calling was ordinary, and to be continued untill the end of the World.
But to heare and receive the Apostles in Christs stead, all men are bound.
And therefore the calling of the Apostles was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.

By all men here we must not understand only all those men that lived in the Apostles times, but all men in all Ages following, and not *genera singulorum* neither, but *singula generum*; for as the Apostles were commanded to preach the Gospell to all and every man without exception, so all and every man is bound to heare them and receive them; now none could heare the Apostles but those that lived in their dayes, and therefore necessarily our Saviour did understand the Apostles and their Successors in all Ages and Generations following; for they that heare not the Successors of the Apostles, heare not Christ, and they that receive not them, neither doe they receive Christ, and they that heare them, and receive them, receive Christ.

The seventh testimonie is in Matth. 24.42. *and* Marke 13.35. *The Argument is this.*

They who are commanded by Watching and Prayer to attend the second comming of our Saviour, their calling was ordinary, and to continue untill the end of the World.
But the Apostles were commanded by Watching and Prayer to attend the second comming of our Saviour.
And therefore the Apostles calling was ordinarie, and to continne untill the end of the World.

No man will ſay that our Saviour did mean here, that the Apoſtles in their proper perſons behoved to attend his ſecond comming, for Chriſt knew well enough, that the Apoſtles were not to live untill that time, but his meaning is, that they and their Succeſſors in all Ages and Generations to come, and in generall all men, in all Ages following, ſhould thus attend their Maſters comming; and therefore Chriſt ſaith, *Marke* 13.37. *What I ſay unto you I ſay unto all men* (*watch*:) ſo that our Saviour ſpeaketh principally to the chiefe Governours of the Church, who ſhould ſtill be going about their Maſters buſineſſe, that when hee comes hee may finde them well employed: ſo that I may unanſwerably conclude by the cleer evidence of all theſe former Texts, and many more then theſe, regiſtred in the Book of God, *That the calling of the Apoſtles was ordinary, and to be continued untill the end of the world.*

Now for further ſtrengthening of this Doctrine, I will uſe two Arguments, which naturally flow from the former Doctrine.

By the firſt, I prove, *That theſe Commandements ſet down in theſe texts of Scripture, are not only given to the apoſtles.*

By the ſecond, I prove affirmatively, *That theſe directions are given to the apoſtles and their Succeſſors in all the following Generations.*

The firſt Argument is this.

That which the Apoſtles were not able to do by themſelves alone, Chriſt would not command them to do it by themſelves alone.

But the apoſtles were not able to keep theſe Cõmandements by themſelves alone.

And therefore Chriſt would not command them to keep them by themſelves alone.

I prove the Aſſumption, becauſe the Apoſtles could not live unto the end of the World, and ſo it was impoſſible to them to keep theſe Commandements by themſelves: They might keep them during their own life, but no longer, all that they were able to doe was, to commit them to other faithfull men, to be propagated unto the end of the World, and ſo my concluſion is good, *That theſe Commandements were not only given to the Apoſtles.*

The ſecond Argument is affirmative, and proves, *That theſe Commandements were given to the apoſtles and their Succeſſors in all ages and Generations to come.*

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That which Christ knew was only possible to the Apostles and their Successors, Christ gave it in Commandement to the Apostles and their Successors.

But Christ knew, that it was only possible to the Apostles and their Successors to keep these Commandements.

And therefore Christ gave these Commandements to the Apostles and their successors.

This argument is a plain demonstration *à causa ad effectum*, the strength whereof none that will oppose me shall ever be able to evade: for the cause why these Commandements are not only given to the Apostles, but to them and their Successors, is, because Christ knew that onely they and their Successors were able to keep them.

Now to end this point, I will here affirme, That I am so confident of the strength of these Reasons, that no Divine is able to answer, or rebate the force of them: their only *Refugium* must be this, That inferiour Bishops or Presbyters are the Apostles Successours, by which wee obtain at first, That the calling of the Apostles is an ordinary calling, & not extraordinary, which they before maintained; but I shall prove by Gods grace, That inferiour Bishops cannot be the Apostles Successors; first by Scripture, and next by demonstrative Reasons. Beside many other places of Scripture, read but *Acts* 15.2.4.6.22.23. where yee shall finde Apostles and Elders cleerly distinguished, I intreat you to see the places, and I doubt not but ye shall receive satisfaction: and farther I remember not that ever I heard any Divine affirme, *Elders and inferiour Bishops to be in rank and degree with the Apostles*, but that all Divines, ancient and moderne accounted Elders to bee inferiour in degree to the Apostles: but I will prove by three unanswerable Reasons, *That Presbyters did not succeed the Apostles.*

My first Reason, I will form thus.

They that were inferiour in degree to the apostles, were not the apostles successors in that same order and degree.

But Presbyters were inferiour in degree to the apostles.

And therefore Presbyters were not the apostles successors in that same order and degree.

The Proposition I take for granted, for I hope no man will deny it, I prove the assumption first by the cõsent of all the divines that ever were in this World, next by the cleer evidence of Scripture, throughout all the

the book of God, where the Apostles, who were chiefe Bishops and Over-seers both of the Pastors and the people are cleerly distinguished from inferiour Bishops, who only have the oversight of the people, as is evident by the Apostle *Paul* his directions to the Elders of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20.

My second Reason I will form thus.

If Elders be the Apostles Successors, then that same power and authoritie necessary for the government of the Church, is committed to them by the Apostles, as amply as they themselves had it.
But that same power and authoritie necessary for the government of the Church, is not committed unto Elders, as amply as the Apostles themselves had it.
And therefore Elders are not the Successors of the Apostles.

If any man deny the Proposition, I will aske him, how it can be possible that Elders can be the Apostles Successors, unlesse they succeed them in that same Power and Authoritie? Truly it is beyond my capacitie to conceive and understand it; I know they cannot succeed them in those things that are extraordinary, but in their ordinary power and authoritie, and that which is perpetually necessary for the Government of the Church of Christ under the Gospel, they must succeed them, and they be their successors.

I prove the Assumption. Any one of the Apostles might ordaine Elders, so *Paul* ordained twelve Elders at one time at *Ephesus*, *Acts* 19. any one might ordain Bishops, so *Paul* ordained *Timothy* and *Titus* Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Creet*, for *Timothy* it is cleer, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. any one of the Apostles might command Elders and Deacons to preach the Gospel any where, as is evident throughout all *Pauls* Epistles, and in the Acts of the Apostles, and which I think no Divine will deny; any one of them might prescribe Rules and Laws to inferiour Elders, so did the Apostle *Paul* to the Elders of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. to *Archippus*, *Col.* 4. 17. who by the declaration of all the Ancients was Bishop, and so superiour to an Elder; any one of Apostles might Command, Rebuke, Censure, and correct Elders, at their own pleasure, as is most evident in Scriptures, and in particular in Saint *Paul* his Epistles, now those things

things no Elder can do by himself, and therefore, *That same ordinary and necessary power which the Apostles had, is not committed to inferiour Bishops, but to Superiour.*

Here it may be objected, *That by this Reason*, Bishops *Superiour cannot be the Apostles Successors, because they doe not exercise their power and authoritie without the concurrence of the inferiour* Bishops, *they joyne with them in the Ordination of Ministers, so they should also in the exercise of Jurisdiction.*

Answer. There is no warrant for this in the Scripture; it is true, wee read the Apostles tooke the concurrence of Ministers in decision of doubts and controversies, and also in Ordination, so *Paul* saith that *Timothy* was ordained by the Presbyterie, but there was no direction from Christ for so doing, it pleased the Apostles to take their concurrence, which they needed not to have done, and therefore they did sometimes exercise their Episcopall power by themselves alone, as wee may see in the *Acts* of the Apostles, and 2 *Tim.* 1,6. and many other places of Scripture, and did very seldome crave the concurrence of Presbyters; so that Bishops do not exercise their power without the concurrence of Presbyters, it is not because they are commanded so to doe by Christ and his Apostles, but their own voluntary yielding of their right, and submitting of themselves to their own Ecclesiastick Laws, and Canons of ancient Councels; it is as cleer as the Sun, *That an Elder hath no power of Ordination or Jurisdiction granted to him in the Scriptures*, what he hath it is but by humane Ordination, and hee hath not in any ways Supreame Power granted him by any ancient Councell; This is most certaine, That a Bishops Ordination is valid and good without a Presbyter, and hath warrant from the example of the Apostles; but a Presbyter to ordain without the command of a Bishop, is not warranted by any example in Scripture, nor the Canon of any ancient Councell: and so my conclusion stands good, *That inferiour* Bishops *are not the Successors of the Apostles.*

My third Reason is this.

They who were inferiour to those in dignitie and degree, who were inferiour to the apostles in place and estimation, were not the apostles Successors in all the parts of the Ministeriall Function.

But Presbyters were inferiour in dignitie and degree to those who were inferiour to the apostles in place and estimation.

And therefore Presbyters were not Succeſſors to the Apoſtles in all the parts of the Miniſteriall Function.

The Propoſition I know will be granted; I prove the aſſumption, That Presbyters were inferiour in dignitie and degree to thoſe who were inferiour to the Apoſtles in place and eſtimation. *Timothy* and *Titus* were inferiour to the Apoſtles in place and eſtimation, ſo were all the Evangeliſts, as all Divines acknowledge, and yet thoſe were Superiour in dignitie and degree even in the judgment of thoſe who oppoſe the doctrine delivered in this Treatiſe. That *Timothy* and *Titus* were ſuperiour to Presbyters, I ſhall prove it by and by: but I will uſe one Argument yet for the ordinary callings of Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, and this it is briefly.

Either the callings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts were ordinary callings, or elſe we have no ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel by Chriſts inſtitution.
But this were abſurde to ſay, that we had not ordinary Miniſters of the Goſpel by Chriſts inſtitution.
And therefore it is as abſurd to ſay, that the callings of Apoſtles and Evangeliſts are not ordinary callings.

I deſire all thoſe who oppoſe this doctrine to looſe this knot. Now it remayneth to prove that the Biſhops ſucceeded in place of the Apoſtles, and in place of Evangeliſts inferiour Presbyters, and I will begin with this Argument.

Either Biſhops are the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtles have no Succeſſors at all.
But that the Apoſtles have no Succeſſors at all, it is falſe, as I have in my judgment unanſwerably proved.
And therefore Biſhops are their Succeſſors, for I have proved alſo that Presbyters cannot be their Succeſſors.

My next argument is this.
Timothy *and* Titus *were Biſhops.*
Timothy *and* Titus *ſucceeded unto the Apoſtles.*
And therefore Biſhops ſucceeded to the Apoſtles.

I prove the proposition by this argument, that is, That *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops.

They whose calling was ordinary, and had the power of Ordination and Iurisdiction over Presbyters, were Bishops.
But Timothy *and* Titus *their calling was ordinary, and had the power of Ordination and Iurisdiction over Presbyters.*
And therefore Timothy *and* Titus *were Bishops.*

The proposition will be granted, I prove the assumption, and first that *Timothy* and *Titus* Calling was ordinary.

They who had the only Ordinary parts of the Ministeriall Function, their Calling was ordinary.
But Timothy *and* Titus *had the only ordinary parts of the Ministeriall Function.*
And therefore the Calling of Timothy *and* Titus *was ordinary.*

The proposition will be granted, I prove the assumption.

They who had only power to preach the Word, and administer the Sacraments, &c. had only the ordinary parts of the Ministeriall Function.
But Timothy *and* Titus *had only power to preach the Word, and administer the Sacraments, &c.*
And therefore Timothy *and* Titus *had the only ordinary parts of the Ministeriall Function.*

I prove the assumption thus; *Tim.* & *Tit.* had neither the gift of Miracles, nor the gift of Prophecie, nor the gift of Tongues, nor the gift of Healing, nor any extraordinary gift at all for any thing we read; neither were they infallibly guided by the Spirit; for if they had had the infallible assistance of the Spirit, the Apostle *Paul* would not have bin so earnest to exhort them to do their dutie in their calling; *Timothy* is exhorted to war a good warfare, holding faith & a good conscience, 1 *Tim.* 1. 18, 19. & to be an example of Believers, in Word, in Conversation, in Charitie, in Spirit, in Faith, in Puritie, 1 *Tim.* 4. 12. and to give attendance to

Reading, to Exhortation, to Doctrine and Meditation, and not to neglect the gift that was given him by Prophecie, 1 *Tim.*4.13,14,15. *Titus* had also the like exhortations, so that it is most certain, neither of them had the spirit of infallibilitie, nor no extraordinary gift of the Spirit, but the only ordinary parts of the Ministerial Function, and consequently their calling was ordinary.

Next I prove their calling was ordinary by this argument.

They whose calling was by Education, Triall, and Ordination, their calling was ordinary.
But Timothy *and* Titus *their calling was by Education, Triall, and Ordination.*
And therefore their calling was ordinary.

The Proposition needs no probation, for they who are called to be Preachers of the Gospell, by ordinary means, without all question their calling was ordinary: for *Tim.* it is cleere, for he had his education under his Grandmother *Lois*, and his Mother *Eunice*, he was tryed by the Apostle, and he had the approbation and commendation of the Brethren who were at *Listra* and *Iconium*, before he would receive him in his companie, thereafter he had his breeding, for a greater progress in knowledge, under the Apostle *Paul*, before he was made a Presbyter, much more before he was made a Bishop, for this cause *Paul* saith to him, Hold fast the forme of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in Faith and Love which is in Christ Jesus; as for his ordination, it is without all question most cleere and evident; all this also may bee said of *Titus*, and therefore I conclude both their callings to bee ordinary, *Titus* his calling as well as *Timothies*.

Thirdly I prove their calling to be ordinary by this Argument.

That calling which was to continue unto the end of the World was an ordinary calling.
But Timothy *and* Titus *calling was to continue unto the end of the World,*
And therefore Timothy and Titus *calling was an ordinary Calling.*

I prove the Assumption.

That

That which was to bee propagated untill the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Persons of Tim. *and* Tit. *successors, was to continue unto the end of the World.*

But Timothy *and* Titus *calling was to be propagated in the persons of* Tim. *and* Titus *successors untill the appearing of our Lord Iesus Christ.*

And therefore Timothy *and* Titus *calling was to continue untill the end of the World.*

The Proposition will be granted, I prove the assumption.

That which must be kept untill the appearing of our Lord Iesus Christ, must be propagated by Timothy *and* Titus *successors untill his appearing.*

But the calling of Tim. *and* Tit. (*in all the particular parts of it*) *must be kept untill the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

And therefore their calling was to be propagated in the persons of their successors untill his appearing.

The Proposition is evident, because the parts of the Ministeriall function cannot be otherwise kept but by propagation; and for this cause, the Apostle commands *Timothy* to propagate 2 *Tim.* 2. 2. The things that thou hast heard of mee (saith he) before many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithfull men, who shall be able to teach others.

The Assumption is also manifest by that strict charge which he giveth unto *Timothy* in the latter end of the first Epistle *cap.* 6. 13. 14. I charge thee (saith he) in the sight of God, who quickneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before *Pontius Pilate* witnessed a good confession, that thou keepe this Commandement without spot, unrebukable, untill the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Now this Commandement that he would have *Timothy* to keepe doth comprehend all the particulars conteined in his Epistle, both concerning Doctrine and Government, and in particular the whole parts of the Episcopall function, which is most obvious to any reader, and so still my conclusion stands good, That the calling of *Timothy* and *Titus* is to bee propagated in the persons of their successors untill the second comming of our Saviour, and consequently their calling was an ordinary calling.

It rests to prove the second part of the assumption of the principall

argument, that *Tim.* and *Titus* had the power of ordination and jurisdiction over presbyters; and first I will use this argument *ad hominem*, for all the opposers of Episcopacie maintain That *Tim.* was an Evangelist, and that his power was Apostolicall, and so in order and degree above Presbyters; and thus upon these grounds I reason after this manner.

They whose function was Apostolicall *had the power of ordination and jurisdiction over Presbyters.*
But Tim. *and* Titus *function was Apostolicall.*
And therefore they had the power of ordination and jurisdiction over Presbyters.

Next I will prove *Timothy* and *Titus* to have the power of ordination of Presbyters; This is the Argument.

They who are commanded to ordaine Elders have the power of ordination.
Timothy *and* Titus *are commanded to Ordaine Elders.*
And therefore Tim. *and* Tit. *had the power of Ordination.*

The Proposition cannot in reason be denied, for *Paul* would never have commanded them to do that which they had not power to doe, yea the same power of ordination is a part of that Commandement which he is bidden commit to faithfull men, to be kept and propagated untill the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Assumption is manifest 1. *Tim.* 5. 22. and *Tit.* 1. 5.

That they had the power of jurisdiction is proved thus.

They who are commanded to rebuke, censure, and correct, with all authority, and not suffer themselves to be despised, to stay foolish questions and vain bablings, to excommunicate the obstinate, to try and prove those who desire the office of a Bishop, and either to admit or reject them according to their weakenesse or ability, have the power of jurisdiction spirituall.
But Timothy *and* Titus *are commanded to do all these things* 1 Timothy 4. 11,12. 1 Tim. 3. 9. 17. 19. 20. 1 Tim. 6. 17. Tit. 1. 11. 13. and Tit. 3. 10.
And therefore Timothy *and* Titus *have the power of jurisdiction spirituall.*

The strength of this Argument I refer to the consideration of the learned: for I hope no wise man will say, that these priviledges can bee divided from the power of jurisdiction. Now I will use one Argument yet

yet, to prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* had the power of ordination and jurisdiction jointly.

If those Bishops of whom the Apostle Paul *speaks in his Epistles to* Timothy *and* Titus *received the power of ordination and jurisdiction, by those instructions and precepts which the Apostle* Paul *sets downe in those Epistles, then* Timothy *and* Titus *much more received the power of ordination and jurisdiction by those instructions of the Apostle* Paul *set downe in those Epistles.*

But the first is true, and therefore the second is true also.

The connexion of the proposition is valid enough, for if inferiour Bishops (whom the Apostle calleth also Elders in that place) received the power of ordination and jurisdiction (as is asserted by all the opposers of Episcopacie) by the Apostles injunctions in those Epistles, much more have superiour Bishops (as *Timothy* and *Titus* were) this twofold power by those injunctions: this is an argument strong enough *ad hominem*, although I confesse, That properly *Timothy* and *Titus* have not this twofold power here by the Apostle *Paul*, but only are commanded to put that power in execution which the Apostle *Paul* before had conferr'd upon them at their ordination, which also they are commanded to propagate and transmit unto others, for the preservation of the calling, and propagation of the Gospell of Christ vntill his second comming to judgement.

Now for the better cleering of this Doctrine, I will prove, That Presbyters or inferior Bishops have no ways the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction. I desire any Opponent to shew mee the place where it is recorded in the Scripture: in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* they find it not; *Tim.* and *Tit.* are commanded to put all the parts of the Apostolicall power in execution, but not those Elders and Deacons of whom the Apostle speakes there, they get no Commandement to use that power; for it is more then evident, That all the injunctions set down in those Epistles are given to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and all those who were to succeed them in that same order and degree, yea to them as they are singular men, and as Superiour in Order and Degree to all those towards whom they are to exercise that power, and the reason is this, because one man in that same Order and Degree cannot have power over an other in that same rank and order, one Bishop cannot have power over an other, one Presbyter cannot have power over another

ther; That man that hath power over an other must be superior unto him in degree, or he can have no authority over him, that is his own properly, delegate he may have, but that is not his, it is his in whose name he exercises that power.

But it will be replied, That this power is given to a company of Presbyters, and not to one in particular. *Answer.* This power is given here to *Timothy* and *Titus* as singular persons, and therefore I will make the matter manifest by a formall argument.

That power which is committed to certain particular and singular men in the Ministery, is not committed to a representative body of Ministers.
But the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction is committed to certain particular and singular men in the Ministery.
And therefore it is not committed to a representative body of Ministers.

The proposition cannot be denied, for that which is committed to one singular man in a calling, cannot bee said to bee committed to the whole company and trade indefinitely: for example, that power which is commited to one Alderman in the Citie, to wit the Master, or Lord Major, is not committed to the whole councell of Aldermen, he hath a different and superiour power to all the rest.

As to the assumption, That this power was committed to certain singular men, as to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and all those who were to succeed them in the same ranke and order, it is more then evident. Now to note this by the way, since Presbyters doe not succeed to *Timothy* and *Titus*, in that same order and degree, the power of Ordination cannot be committed unto them.

Furthermore, If the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction be committed to Presbyters, as they are singular men, then every Presbyter hath alike power and authoritie within his own Charge, every one is Pope in his own Parish, and may command, rule, and governe as hee thinks good: for who can controll him? none of his brethren have any more power over him, then hee hath over them, for every one hath equall power and authoritie transmitted unto them, and this is downright Brownisme.

But it may be replyed, That the Presbytery hath power over all particular Ministers.

Answ.

Answ. Who hath given them this power? It is not given them by Christ, nor his Apostles.

If you reply, it is agreed upon by common consent. I *Answer.* Then at least, Presbyteriall Government is not of divine Ordination; But I would ask this question, what if I should refuse to give my consent to such a government, or to subject my self to it, how can I be forced to obey their Canons and Laws, by whose authoritie? the representative Church (such as the Presbytery is) cannot compell me, before I subject my selfe to her authoritie, the civill Magistrate cannot do it neither, by the doctrine of all my opposites; and some would say if any should usurpe authoritie, and compell by violence, it should be the destroying of our Christian Libertie, and tying us whom Christ hath made free, and in a word the demolishing of that platforme of government, which Christ himselfe did establish, any defender of Parochiall government may reason in this kind.

But it will be againe replyed, That this authoritie is given to a company of Presbyters, *Acts* 8.14. and 11.22. and 15.6,7,8. to the 30. and 1 *Cor.*5.3,4,5.

Answer. These things were done in the infancie of the Church, before the Government was established, and so can be no rule for after ages, some will so answer.

I answer further; there is not a word there that will confirme Presbyteriall government, for none of the meetings spoken of in those places consist of persons having the like and equall authoritie, but all that was done in them was done by Apostolicall power, by the power of the Apostles they were convened together, by the Apostles moderation those meetings were governed, by their authoritie all things were concluded, they had full and absolute power in their own hands, although it pleased them to do nothing without the consent of their Brethren of an inferiour Order; yee will find all that I have said true, if yee will be pleased to see the places.

But most cleerly it appeareth, 1 *Cor.*5.3,4,5. where the Apostle, by his power and authoritie, cõmandeth the *Corinthian* Ministers to *excommunicate the incestuous person in an open assembly*, or rather to intimate that excommunication which he had already pronounced, for thus he speaketh: *For I verily as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged alreadie, as though I were present, concerning him that hath done this deed; In the name of*

our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when ye are gathered together, and my ſpirit, with the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to deliver ſuch an one to Satan, for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus. I hope this meeting was enjoyned by the Apoſtle upon an extraordinary occaſion, & nothing was done but by his ſpeciall appointment. Here is nothing to warrant the authority of Presbyteriall Government, there ſeems ſomething to be in the words for Parochiall; If there had been Pariſhes, and Lay-elders in thoſe days, and truly, if I were not of that judgement, That the Calling of the Apoſtles were an ordinary Calling, and to be continued with the ſame latitude of power and authoritie in their Succeſſors untill the end of the World, I might eaſily be moved to approve of Parochiall Government, but never of Presbyteriall; and truly, if the Callings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts be not acknowledged to be inſtituted by Chriſt for the perpetuall Government of Gods Church, Parochiall Government is that which hath greateſt ſhew of warrant in the Scriptures; as for Presbyteriall, it hath not ſo much as any ſhew at all in the whole book of God.

Now follows, that I cleere the doubts, and firſt I know it will be objected, That by this doctrine I condemne all the Churches of Chriſt that are governed after that manner.

Anſ. I condemne not the Churches, but the Government. Some perhaps may reply, That ſince I make Epiſcopal government to be Chriſts inſtitution, I charge them with a very groſſe errour. I anſwer, Let them ſee to that, I cannot call evill good, nor good evill, unleſſe I make my ſelfe lyable to the curſe pronounced; neither will any thing excuſe them except neceſsity, for both Gods Law and mans Law doth diſpence with it, but becauſe there is no neceſsitie, let men beware, for, *Ego liberavi animam meam.*

Furthermore, it will be alleaged, That *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Biſhops of old, were not like our Biſhops, They had not that power and authoritie, nor that Lordly Government that Biſhops have now, They were not Barons, Lords, Earles, Princes, in ſuch kind as they are now, They had not power over the bodies and eſtates of offenders, as Biſhops have now, They might not puniſh with the Civill Sword as well as the Spirituall.

Anſ. In Epiſcopall Government there are two things, The one is *Spirituall*, and *de jure divino*, by divine right: The other is *Civill*, and *de dono humano*, of humane gift, and by the donation of Kings and Princes

ces, That is, their Civill Honour, their Civill Power, their Temporalities, their Revenues, as to be Barons in Parliament, to judge in causes Temporall, to inflict temporall punishment, all these they have by the free gift of Kings and Princes, and many Kings have been very liberall in this kind to Churchmen, and not without warrant from God neither, according to that of the Apostle, *The Elders that rule wel are worthy of double honour, and in speciall they that labour in the Word & Doctrine*, 1 Tim. 5.

And why should any man be offended to see Honor given to Churchmen? *May not Kings and Princes give honour to any subject they please? or are not Churchmen capable of Civill Honour and Power now under the Gospell, as well as they were under the Law?* As to the first, I think no man will deny but Kings and Princes may advance such of their Subjects as they please, it is their speciall prerogative, I make no question of it.

And truly I see no more reason that any man should make question of the other, but that Churchmen are as capable of Civill Honour and Power now under the Gospel, as they were under the Law, it is forbidden in no part of the New Testament I am sure: hath God forbidden Ministers to give their advice to Kings and Princes, for the better correcting of Vice and Sin, and for managing all things in the State, so that God thereby may be the more glorified, and the Kingdome of Jesus Christ advanced? or hath God forbidden Princes to crave their advice? It was well said of a Divive, *That it is well with the Church, when godly Prophets hang as precious Earings at the Princes eares. Erasmus* said well in an Epistle to *Iohn Alasco, If we had moe Bishops like* Ambrose, *we should have more Emperours like* Theodosius.

But I would aske any man this question, Have not Christian Kings as great need of the concurrent Counsell, and Assistance, of the Governours of the Church now, as the Kings of *Israel* had under the Law? and was there ever any religious King among the *Iews*, who had not continually the High priest to second him in all his affaires? was not *Aaron* next unto *Moses*? was not *Eleazar* next unto *Iosua*? Had not *David*, *Zador*, and *Abiather*, continually in his company? Was not *Azariah* next unto *Salomon*? and did not *Ioash* that which was right in the sight of the Lord, as long as *Iehoida* lived? and was not *Hilkia* chief Counsellour to *Iosia*, and *Amaria* chief Judge under *Jehosaphat*? Truly I hold this for a sure ground, That *what ever was done under the Law, not being*

commanded by God then, it is as lawfull for us now under the Gospell to doe the same except it be forbidden us, and wee need not doubt, but it will be as well approved by God now, as it was then.

But which is more yet, If any thing be commanded by God under the Law, which is not ceremoniall and typicall, it is then much more lawfull I think for us to do now. Did not the Lord himselfe command the people of *Israell Deut.* 17. to go to the Priests and Levits, and the Judge that shall be in those days, and aske, and they would shew them the sentence of judgement, yea did not both these Offices to be Judge and Priest jump in one man many times? before the Law we read that *Melchizedec* was both King and Priest, *Gen.* 14. *Heb.* 7. and it is constantly believed also that the eldest Sons of the Patriarks were both Kings and Priests; was not *Eli* both high Priest and Judge of the People for the space of 40. yeeres, and *Samuel* for the space of thirty yeeres, and it is well known that the *Macabees* after the captivity were Rulers both in Civill and Ecclesiasticall causes.

Truly I will say thus much, If the civill places of Church-men be unlawfull now, it is either because Princes now stand not in so much need of the counsell and advice of the Messengers of God as Princes did thē, or God doth not inable now his Embassadors with such a measure of wisdome and understanding as hee did the Priests under the Law: Truly to say the first, were to derogate from the wisdome and religion of the Godly and religious Kings in those dayes, and to say the second, were to derogate from the providence, favour, and goodnesse of God, most abundantly bestowed upon his servants under the Gospell.

There is but one place in all the new Testament that seemes to oppose the Doctrine I have delivered, *viz*, the words of our Saviour, *Mat.* 20. 25. *The Lords of the Gentiles* (*saith he*) *have dominion over them, and they that are great exercise Authority over them; but it shall not bee so among you, &c. Ans.* The best interpreters both ancient and moderne understand the words so as is forbidden all greedie desire of governing, and tyrannicall dominion, and the word κατακυριευουσιν signifies to bear rule Tyranically, according to the interpretation of most learned Divines, but al sort of power is not forbidden here, a paternall is not forbidden; the truth of this will appeare to any man that will but take a strict view of the words; for first ye see Christ forbids such domination as the

the Lords of the Gentiles exercised towards their inferiours, and not that moderate and lawfull power exercised by Church-men under the Law: for if Christ had meant of the Priestly jurisdiction, hee would have said out of all question, I will not have degrees and ranks among you, one above another, as it is betweene the High Priest, inferiour Priests, and Levits, no, I will have you all of alike power and authority.

Again, our Saviour saith, that *they that are great exercise authoritie over their subjects*, that is, great and mighty men, proud men, they domineere over their inferiours, and make slaves of them, but saith our Saviour, *It must not be so among you*, yee must not domineere in that kinde *but hee* (saith he) *that will be great among you, let him be servant to the rest*, that is, Let him so demean himself, that yee may be defended, maintained, protected, and cared for both in Soul and body, so that in my judgement, these words doe necessarily imply a *Superiority*, and that not in dignity, but in all Authority, Power, and Jurisdiction, lawfull and laudable; and therefore this text was never used by any Divine, but against the tyrannicall power of the Church of *Rome*, and the Popes usurped authority, who takes upon him to depose Kings, and translate Kingdomes, and tyrannize over mens consciences. Would to God that such doings might not also be laid to the charge of some others, who pretend greater humility and loyalty.

Moreover, we see in the New Testament, that the Apostles did not denude themselves of all civill employment, for the Scripture saith that many sold their Land and came and laid the monies downe at the Apostles feete, whereof no doubt they had a speciall care that it was well employed, and distributed according to every ones necessity; so that it would seeme that the civill power of Churchmen is not altogether unlawfull; truly in my judgement, it is as unlawfull for a Minister to take the charge of a House and Family, for it carrieth with it as great distraction, yea, more worldly incumbrances, more troubles and turmoyles, then to be a Counsellor of State. And so I may reason, If that charg which involves a man in infinit worldly cares, troubles, & perplexities, be no sin to a Minister to take upon him, then far lesse is it a sinne to a Minister to take upon him a charge and employment which doth not involve him in any intricate or distracting cares and businesses, as to be a Counsellor of State, a Justice of Peace, a Judge of Controversies

troverſies between brother and brother: Well, *Calvin* and *Beza* both thought it not unlawfull to be chief Counſellors of *Geneva*, & that mirrour of Religion & Learning S. *Aug.* many hundred yeers before them, thought it not unlawfull neither, yea, not to be burdened with civill incumbrances, heare what he ſaith, and I will end with it. *I call the Lord Jeſus to witneſſe* (ſaith he) *upon my ſoul, in whoſe name I boldly utter theſe words, that touching my own commoditie, I had much rather every day work ſomething with my own hands, as it is appointed in well governed Monaſteries, and to have the houres free to read and to pray, and to doe ſome exerciſe in the holy Scriptures, then to ſuffer the tumultuous perplexities of other mens cauſes, touching Secular affaires, either in determining them by judging, or in cutting them off by intreaties. To which moleſtations the Apoſtle tied us, not by his own judgment, but by his judgement who ſpake in him: which troubles for all that, himſelf did not undergo, becauſe his courſe Apoſtolicall had another reſpect: which labour, notwithſtanding, we endure with conſolation in the Lord, for the hope of eternall life, that wee may bring forth fruit with patience: for we are ſervants of the Church, & eſpecially to the weak members, how mean members ſoever we are in the ſame bodie.* I referre to the conſideration of the learned and religious Reader the weight and authority of this Fathers Teſtimony.

Further, if our Saviour Chriſt underſtands an equality of Churchmen in theſe words, It muſt be underſtood only to be among the Apoſtles, whom our Saviour Chriſt would have all of the ſame rank and degree, but they cannot be ſo underſtood as importing an equality betwixt them and the other 70. whom hee ſo manifeſtly diſtinguiſhed from the 12. as I have told you before. Laſtly, was not Chriſt himſelfe ſuperiour to the 12? and yet no man will ſay that Chriſt did tranſgreſſe that Commandement which he gave unto them. Chriſt did exerciſe paternall authority over them, and the ſame authority hee committed unto them over other inferiour Miniſters, yea, and the ſame alſo they exerciſed over them, for the which cauſe our Saviour Chriſt ſaid to them, *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me*; he committed to them his owne place in the chiefe government of the Church, and gave chiefly unto them the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, he ſaid not to the 70. *whoſe ſinnes yee remit ſhall be remitted*, and *whoſe ſinnes yee retain ſhall be retained*, but to the 12. They had all power granted them immediatly from Chriſt, and they committed that power to others according to their own pleaſure.

Now

Now I say no more, but these reasons have prevailed with mee, to sway and settle my judgment in the points before discussed, which I commend to the consideration of the judicious and imprejudicate reader, for no reason can prevaile against prejudice, and I pray God to enlighten the eys of our understanding, and to remove all prejudices of flesh and bloud, and of this deceitfull World, that we may more and more perceive the hidden truths of Scriptures, and Mysteries of the Kingdome of Heaven. *Amen, Amen.*

FINIS.

Iohn Taylors

MANIFESTATION,

AND

IVST VINDICATION

Against

IOSVA CHVRCH

HIS

Exclamation,

WITH A TRVE *RELATION* OF *Church* his *Generation*, with his foule *Combination*, with a pretence of *Reformation*, of his wrong'd *Occupation*, hath brought all out of *Fashion*.

LONDON
Printed by *Iohn Hammond*. 1642.

Iohn Taylors Manifestation

AND

Iust Vindication against *Iosua Church* his Exclamation, with a true Relation of *Church* his Generation, with his foule Combination, with pretence of Reformation, of his wrongful Occupation, hath brought all out of Fashion.

MAster *Church* (for I can give you no lesse stile) although I have ever hated to dip my pen in filth, and mud: for the Proverb saves, that whosoever wrastles with a sir-Reverence, that whether he give or take the fall, he shall be sure to foule his fingers; but the generall, many and mighty wrongs done by you Mr. *Church*, and your associates, whom you have seduced against the government of the Watermen, established by Acts of Parliament these 86 yeares: and Orders also made, approved and confirmed by the Rulers and Assistants of the Watermen, by the Lord Mayor of London, and Court of Aldermen, and by the Lords of the Right Honourable privie Councell, to five great Kings and Queenes (*videlicet*) to King *Philip*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *Iames*, and K. *Charles*, all these Lawes & Orders have been long withstood and opposed by you, and others whom you have mis-led, as shall be plainly proved by that which followeth. But first I will describe your person (and part of your invisible good qualities) and then I will proceed to your manner of Reformation.

First, it is well known, that you have ever led a constant course of life, you have from your beginning shewed your selfe your mothers son; and as you have her Baboon Monkeyfied visage, so she left you a large portion of cursings, imprecations, and some wicked oathes (of which rare parts she was well stored) and you have improved them so well, that you did dare to lend an oath against me at a triall ten yeares past in Guild-hall; and had I not beene interred by the Lord Mayor, I had gone neere to have made a match betwixt the pillory and your eares. And though your malice prevailed not then (for the cause went on my side) yet your spite is of that lasting

being metall, that it hath first and last continued these 18. yeares. But a word or two more of your mother is not unfitable.

It is further known, that in her widowhood you were bound Apprentice to her, and for the true deserving of your freedome, you oftentimes spent what you got, allowing her little or nothing, you most commonly mistaking the way, gave your gettings to the Ale-house in stead of your mother; by which service of yours, shee was beggerd, and glad to take the Almes of the Watermens Hall towards her relefe: your lodging was the most fitting for you in those dayes; for it was many times in the cold Winter at Summers Key in a dung boat, where you batned in the warme dung; and from the dung you had the name of *Vermin*, which name you have to this day. For your Summers recreation your lodging was under a Crane at the Custome-house; and in these kinde of courses you came to be a Waterman.

After your freedome, your mother hath many times asked you blessing upon her knees, most pittifully begging two tokens of you; which you uncharitably denying, she (well knowing you) would call you damn'd Rogue, and give you her blessing the cleane contrary way.

After this your behaviour was so meritorious, that upon complaints and proofes to our Hall (my selfe with my brethren being Masters of the Company) have divers times by fines and imprisonments justly punished you both in body and purse, although your demerits have deserved a censure often times more to be inflicted upon you. For these doings of mine, and other of our Rulers, Mr. *Church* hath been angry these eighteen yeares, and (to keep your anger still in motion) the Governours or Rulers have rub'd up your memory, either with a reproofe, a fine, or a layle, which you have deserved as due wages for your good conditions: And for these things you beare us bitter malice. It was once my fortune to see a Dogge hanged that had one quality very like a foolish tricke which you have, which was, that if a man had cast or hurld a stone at him, the Curre would runne and bite the said stone, and not meddle at all with the party that threw it: So you (Mr. *Vermin*) when you have been a little touch't for your Rogury, and for your debosh'd abuses, then you snarle, snap, bite and back-bite us that are the doers of Justice: but you never remember that your base misdemeanour which was the cause that call these grievances upon you.

In revenge of these parts of Justice you have (for many yeares) practised to overthrow all order, rule and government, you did eleven yeares past, raise many hundreds of Watermen in a combination for that wicked intent; yet all your knavery was covered with a cloake of Reformation: there you taxed me and all my brethren, with bribery, corruption, and many vile abuses, which the Lord Mayor then (being Sir *Robert Duny*) with the Court of Aldermen, did put to the examination of a Committee; which Committee did make report to the said Court, that wee the Rulers

were cleare of those scandals, and that all your prating was but lies and slanders; by which meanes we were free from your malice, till within these two yeare. In which time you have bestird your selfe as if the Divell were in you, having made a strong combination with many thousands of watermen, perswading them not to obey the Rulers, nor to come to their Hall upon their being warned thither for any wrongs which they shall commit: You have boasted that it was now Parliament time, and therefore you may doe what you list; and when the Master of his Majesties Barge told you, that if we did him or any other Water-man injury, that upon complaint made of it to the Lord Maior and proofes made of it, that then the Lord Maior had power to right him or them, and severely to punish us. To which you answered, that the Lord Maior was your slave, and that you would have the government shortly out of his hands. You at (another time) pointed with your finger to our Hall, and called it a Rookes Nest, and that you had one hand in the Nest already, and that shortlie you would pluck all the Rookes out: And we have since that time been three severall times assaulted in our Hall, so that we have at everie of those times been forced to call the Constables to defend us from violence, and the Constables will certifie that we have been abused.

You Mr. (*Church*) came latelie into our Hall, and in a pilfring manner you tooke close up out of an out of an outward Roome, a Table of Orders that hanged there, by the Lord Maiors command, that water-men might read and heare how they should be governed: for the which fact I had you with a warrant before a Iustice, who would not bind you over to the Assizes, because you sauld and lied to him, that our grievances were to bee heard by a Committee in Parliament, within fourteen dues after. I am sure you lied then: for it was much about Allhollowtide and we have no hearing yet, I would to God we had.

You and your Consorts have vowed to have me hanged, and *Goodale* swore hee would have my heart in his hand, and shake it, and one *Matthew Burton*, because he could not hang me, he went and hang'd himselfe upon a Sunday morning, being the first of August last; but by chance his wife and others came timelie and cut him downe; that being the first Sunday that hee made Holi-day: for he did formerlie use to worke on all other Sabbaths. Another that served but 4 years Apprentiship in all, for before 7 yeares were expired, he had two wives, he for preferment (hoping to bee Master of the *Queenes Barge*) turnd Recusant, and failing of his hopes, remaines an ordinary waterman; and he said lately, that there would be Roman Catholickes enough left as might drink a health to all our confusions; or else that there would be Irish enough to cut all our throats. These (and some other like these) are your Associates to reforme abuses, but you being their Leader, doe verifie the old Proverb, that it is a sweet Procession where the Divell carries the Crosse. You framed fifteene Articles against us in Parliament,

ment, which upon hearing, I doubt not but will gaine you your reward, for alledging so many lies against us in so honourable an Assembly.

By your doings and Rebellious courses you have made the Thames a wildernesse: for there is neither command nor obedience; but you have done reasonable well for your selfe, in collecting moneyes from many hundreds of watermen, promising them wondrous businesses to bee done; and with that moneyes you have well repaired your selfe with gold Bottons and Loops (if the suit be not pawned) but I wish that your Painter that can play the Kinde-Coale-solicitor so well, I would have him (or some other) to paint your comely Effigies in that suit, and hang it up for the picture of *Ill luck*.

You did doe your best the other day to draw mee in to as much danger as you deserved, by averring that I spake most wicked abusive words against some Parliament men; *I* would have you know (Mr. *Verimin*) that *I* was never such a Knave to speake such (or any bad words) to any private friend, where *I* thought my counsell would bee kept. But *I* were a Villaine, a Knive and a Foole, if *I* would have said any thing before you and your Com-Rogues, whom *I* knew to bee my mortall enemies, and such as would spread my words ten times broader then my meaning.

You have brought the River to that passe, that watermen doe ply how and where they list, that they abuse Fares, and exact upon them, that they fight, brawle, raile, revile, throw stones and Brick-bats, and for all this, there is no punishment: for you have told them that it is Parliament time.

For these sweet behaviours of yours you deserve to bee Knighted with a woodden Dagger, to bee made Knight of the Post (or whipped at a Post) and *I* doubt not but all the watermen whom you have mis-led, and taken their moneyes, will shortly say, that they have (by your perswasion) had a bad opinion of mee and the rest of my brethren, and assure your selfe, *I* feare you not, nor doe *I* hate any of you all; and whosoever hee be that either feares or hates you, must needs be guilty of some foule thing, which you charge him with. Wee have all too many faults, and he that desires not amendment, let the Divell have him: if you or any man can *Justly* taxe me, beshrew you, if you spare me: therefore *I* advise you, Mr. *Church*, not to dispaire because you have sold your Two VVise Acres of Thistle-ground, for when all trades faile, you may serve for a witnesse for any mans love or money, or else, if *I* doe grow rich (as it is not impossible) *I* will entertaine you to be my foole, and all this, Mr. *Church*, *I* hope, is no *Scandalla Magnatum*.

I

I know you are a merry fellow, for you had lately a Piper, a Fuller, you lacked but your Trumpeter at the *Blackfriers*, good Sack and Tobacco at a Taverne in *New-Fish-streete*, where you sung Old Rose, or John Dory, and cryed Hey the generallity payes for all.

And now to tell you a few words in sober sadnesse, me thinks you should know that I am not so bad as to be your Companion or to be thus abused by you, I have served seven times at sea in Queen *Elizabeths* servite, I have been a servant in in ordinary to King *Iames* & King *Charles* 27 yeers, I have been Ruler of my company 8 severall yeers, I have borne offices, and paid Subsidies, and all duties these 40. yeers, I have written 220. Books, wherein I have pleased both Kings, Princes, Peers and Commons (for I have neither written profanely, or obscenely, nor have I any hand at all in those Roguish Hellish Lies and Lybells that flutters daily about the streets. And therefore (Mr. *Church*) you that doe hardly pay one halfe penny a week to the poore, and never had any other office but a Box-keeper at the Temple, to the Gamesters in Christmas time; methinks you should have more manners than to abuse me thus without a cause, as you have done; and a little more discretion then to thinke your testimony or witnesse can stand against me; or you in any degree to be my companion.

With all these vertues of yours, you doe now seek and strive to be a Ruler or Governour of the Water-mens Company, for you would have 8. honest men to be sworne (I doubt not but you meane your selfe for one, but most (Worthy Sir) you must learne first how to obey, before you will know how to rule, and it is a plaine case, that if 8. such fellows as you were sworne Rulers, we were like to have a mad government: for you have brought the Riuer into that disorder, that whereas the Parliament with exceeding paines and charge, have sate long, whom (with the King, God continue in unity) these Worthies I say, sitting late about the great affaires of the Church and Kingdome, their Coaches that waited on them, have had their Axeltree pins stolen out by Watermen, on purpose to make the Gentlemen goe by water, or else if they went by Coach, the VVheles might flee off to the endangering of those that were in it; such Villany was never used till you overthrew our Government.

You tax us, that we give no account for all the moneys that wee receive at our Hall, either for Fines, or Quarteridge, or any thing else. Indeed we have been forgetfull to make account to you or your Companions: but when occasion shall serve, we will shew your betters Books of account, of 40 yeers continuance, with our Auditors hands at them, for the truth is, wee neither Receive nor disburse any moneys, but upon oath wee account for it yeerly.

You say that we have 5 or 6 servants apiece, and when that a presse is for men to serue the King at sea, then we doe spare our owne men, and presse others,

others, and that we doe presse the most Religious and honest men; to which Sir, I must answere, that I doe not know any VVatermen, that hath three men, and though the company be in Number 4000 at least, yet there are not above 50 of that number, that have Two men apiece, and the most of them are Auntient VVatermen, and past their labour, and some of them, not their servants doe never carry any passenger, but worke in Lighters to carry Coales and other goods: for mine owne part, I have but one servant, and if a presse doe come, I had Rather he should goe then stay at home, although I am sure that I doe never trouble any one of you to carry a Hire from you.

You likwise scandall me, with the Company, with a presse for men that went into Germany 10 yeers agoe, you slander me with buying and selling of men there, but the troath is, we were not Authors of that presse, nor had we power to denie the warrants which we have to shew, and as for any buying or selling, or any corruption that way, or any other, I Pray you take my word, I doe but laugh at your foolery.

I would wish as many of the generalitie as doe desire to bee more guild then they are, to gather more money, for you are lately fallen most wickedly out of reparations; and now you and some of your leading crew, seeing their cause is bad, they and you doe patch it up with railing and reviling. And so I take leave of you as you are, overwhelmed with ignorance and malice.

Your mischievous malice was apparantly seen on Thursday last the third of February 1641, For you knew that the Rulers of our Company were warned that day to appeare before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen (upon your complaint) and you knew further, that I being Clarke of the Company, was to bee the onely man to speake and shew writings in our defence against your slanders.

Then (Mr. *Church*) with a tricke that you had, you went or sent for a Deputy to a Serjeant at Armes, to attach me and bring mee before an Honorable Committee of the House of Commons. This you did on purpose to take me off suddenly, because our Company should bee unprovided to oppose your lies and slanders: But all your knavery would not serve; for I had that favour to stay and doe my service, and afterwards I went before the Committe, whom I found to bee Gentlemen of such wisedome and gravity, that I conceive that but little credit was given to your testimony: for if any bad speeches had proceeded from mee, you ought not to have concealed such things three weekes and more.

But you (in a triumphing manner) made haste towards the Thames, and told some Water-men, that you had layd mee fast, and that I was in layle, and to be hanged the next Munday, and that I was at twenty shillings charge every day to a Messenger.

All

All this, and a great deale more, you have done to uphold your credit with such men as have been deceived by your trolling tongue; but I hope that shortly you shall be kowne what you are: For there is not any thing that I have said or done in my life, to make me feare you or any others by your persuasions.

The Post-script.

IN imitation of your great Master (the Divell) you, with some others, did on wednesday last (before a right worshipfull Committee) at the Guild-Hall, London, with most odious lies and clamours, abuse and accuse my selfe and all others that ever have been Rulers, and so with noyse and multitude you did your best and worst to drowne all our just defences. But that Committee (*I* know) in their grave wisedomes, will consider of what my selfe with my Brethren and you are; to whose report *I* with all honest men doe humbly submit; but you with some others made haste to the Thames side, and at divers places you did bragge, that you had cast the Masters and old Assistants out from all manner of further government: And in so saying, you shewed your selfe a boasting, lying Rogue.

*I*ndeed you have gulld so many men of their monyes, that (to dawb up your ragged credit) you must stop their mouthes with somewhat, either bragging or lying; wherein the King himselfe hath not escaped your leering malice: for you in a scoffing manner, saie (on Sunday last, February 6. in an Ale-house, that if the King did stay but a little longer at Windsor, that they would make him Maior of the Town. Such a kinde of sawcinesse hath sometimes very well deserved a whip; to which *I* leave you, *Mr. Vermin.*

FINIS.

A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

The CROSSE in Cheap,

AND

Charing Crosse.

Comforting each other, as fearing their fall in these uncertaine times.

By Ryhen Pameach.



Printed *Anno* 1641.



A Dialogue betwene the Croſſe in Cheape, and Charing Croſſe.

Cheap.

AH deere Siſter of the Strand how doe you, I am ſo Croſs'd that I feare my utter ruine and deſtruction is at hand?

Char. Siſter of Weſt-cheape, Croſſes are incident to us, and all our kindred; the time hath beene when I have been Croſs'd too, but I have been free, without theſe foureſcore and odd yeares. *Cheap.* Happie are you, and long may you ſo continue. *Char.* But what's the greateſt Croſſe that hath befallen you?

Cheap. Nay Siſter if my Croſſe were fallen, I ſhould live at a great deale more hearts eaſe then I doe. *Char.* I beleeve it is the Croſſe upon your head, that hath brought you into this trouble, is it not?

Cheap. Yes indeed you are in the right. *Char.* How commeth this about?

Cheap. Truely I know not, except I ſhould be generally envied and hated, becauſe I carry ſo much gold about me, and there is ſo little to be had in the land. *Char.* Siſter like enough, I wonder in my heart you are not rob'd nor cheated. *Cheap.* A world of knaves and cheaters I confeſſe, paſſe along by me every day, but I am well look'd unto, and watch'd, by the Herbe-women on the one ſide of me, and the Coſtard-mongers and Tripe-wives on the other, that I can take no wrong; beſides the Serjants of Woodſtreet counter are not farre from me, whome they feare more then all the reſt.

Char. Had I been ſo back'd when time was I had fared the better, my enemies have ſearch'd and undermind me manie a time, but I was ever too hard for them. *Cheap.* Too hard for them? how? *Char.* I am made all of white Marble (which is not perceived of every one) and ſo cemented with morter made of the pureſt lime, Callis ſand, whites of egges and the ſtrongeſt wort, that I defie all hatchets and hammers whatſoever.

Cheap. Were you never begd? *Char.* For what, for a Foole?

Cheap. No, by ſome neceſſitous Courtier or other to ſupply his wants.

Char. Oh yes, firſt, in King *Henry* the eights daies I was begg'd and ſhould have beene degraded. *Cheap.* Why you never tooke any degrees in Scholes.

Char. No but you know I have a Stately aſſent of many ſteps, I ſhould have been taken off from them. *Cheap.* Why did they begge you?

Char. Faith, according to the courſe of the world, for that I had; then in *Edward* the ſixt when Summerſet houſe was in building, I was in danger: after that in the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, one of her footmen had like to have run away with me; but the greateſt danger of all I was in, when I quak'd

for feare, was in the time of King *James*, for I was eight times begg'd, yet ſtill I ſtand. *Cheap.* You are ſo weatherbeaten and torne that you are not worth the begging. I pray what would they have done with you?

Char. Part of me was beſpoken to make a kitchin chimney for a chiefe Conſtable in Shorditch; an Innekeeper in Holborne had bargained for as much of me as would make him two troughes, one to ſtand under a pumpe to water his gueſts horſes, and the other to give his ſwine their meate in; the reſt of my poore carcaſe ſhould have been carried I know not whither to the repaire of a decayed ſtone bridge (as I was told) on the top of Harrow hill: Our Roiall fore-father and founde King *Edward* the firſt you know built our Siſter Croſſes, Lincolne, Granthame, Woburne, Northampton, Stonie-ſtratford, Dunſtable, Saint Albanes, and our ſelves heere in London; in the 21. yeare of his Raigne, and in the yeare of our Lord 1289. in memory of that incomparable Lady, Queene *Eleanor* his wife who died at Hardby neere to Bullingbrooke in Lincolnſhire upon Saint *Andrewes* eve *Anno* 1288. *Cheap.* Siſter I have heard ſhe accompanied him in his journey to the holy land againſt the enemies of Chriſt. *Char.* Moſt true, and received a wound in his leg, by a poyſoned arrow, which poyſon this good Queene never ceaſed till ſhe had ſucked out the venome, by which meanes hewas recovered, in memory of whoſe deare love he built us all.

Cheap. Truly, I was at the firſt one of the ſame foundation, but have loſt the honor to be accounted one of thoſe, which indeed I am; our age is one and the ſame, alaſſe Siſter ſince my firſt foundation I have endured a world of miſery, as I ſhall relate unto you. *Char.* I pray doe.

Cheap. After this moſt valiant and excellent King had built me in forme anſwerable in beauty and proportion to the reſt, I fell to decay, at which time one *John Hatherley* Major of London, having firſt obtained a licence of King *Henry* the ſixt *Anno*, 1441. I was repaired in a beautifull manner. *John Fiſher* a Mercer after that gave 600. markes to my new erecting or building, which was finiſhed *Anno*, 1484. and after in the ſecond yeare of *Henry* the eighth I was guilded over, againſt the comming in of *Charles* the fift Emperor, and newly then guilded againſt the Coronation of King *Edward* the ſixt; and guilded againe *Anno*, 1554. againſt the Coronation of King *Phillip*; Lord! how often have I beene preſented by Iuries of the queſt for incombrance of the ſtreet, and hindring of Carts and Carriages, yet I have kept my ſtanding; I ſhall never forget how upon the 21. of *Iune*, *Anno* 1581. my lower ſtatues were in the night with ropes pulled and rent down, as the Reſurrection of Chriſt, the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, *Edward* the Confeſſor, and the reſt. *Char.* It ſeemes people in former times were as vehement againſt Croſſes as they are now, but how eſcaped you their furie?

Cheap. Then aroſe many diviſions and new ſects formerly unheard of, as *Martin Marprelate*, *alias Penrie*, *Browne* and ſundrie others, as the Chronicle will informe you?

Char. But I pray Siſter how came you to ſubſiſt untill this day?

Cheap. Truly my Croſſe ſhould have been taken quite away, and a Piramis

erected

erected in the place; but Queene *Elizabeth* (that Queen of blessed memory) commanded some of her privie Councell, in her Majesties name, to write unto Sir *Nicholas Moseley*, then Maior, to have me againe repaired with a Crosse; yet for all this, I stood bare for a yeare or two after: Her Highnes being very angry, sent expresse word she would not endure their contempt, but expresly commanded forthwith the Crosse should be set up, and sent a strict command to Sir *William Rider*, Lord Maior, and bad him to respect my antiquity: for that is the ancient Ensigne of Christianity, &c. This letter was dated Decemb. 24. *Anno* 1600. Last of all, I was was marvellously beautified and adorned against the comming in of King *James*, and fenced about with sharp pointed barres of Iron, against the rude and villanous hands of such as upon condition as they might have the pulling of mee downe, would bee bound to rifle all Cheapside.

Char. But sister, I wonder after so often guilding and beautifying, you commonly lose your lustre and glory in a small time.

Cheap. That is long of the Citie smoke, proceeding from Sea-cole, that is hourly burned in every house: if you walke but in Moore fields, you shall see of those trees, that part of the Bark next to the Citie, all blacke, and long of smoake. But sister, could I come and whisper you in the eare, I had somewhat else to tell you.

Char. Alas sister I *I* am like the belly, *I* have no eares, if it please you to send your minde in writing by a Curry-comb makers wife, that resorteth to the Kings Stables at the Mewes, and I *I* should take it very kindly; but it is no matter, tell me plainly the secret you would reveale, wee care not who heare us.

Cheap. Then, Sister, *I* must tell you, *I* am accused for a Papist, and not not thought fit to have my abiding in the heart of the Citie: *I* am called and preached against by the name of the Citie-*Idoll*. The Brownists spit at mee as they come along, the Familists hide their eyes with their fingers, the Anabaptist wishes me knocked into a thousand pieces, the sisters of the fraternity will not come neere me, but goe about by Watling-street, and come in againe by Bow-lane to buy their markets of the Countrey women.

Charing. *I*t may bee the bright lustre of your golden garment dazled their sight.

Cheap. No, it is the Crosse above that is such a Moat in their eyes; nay they doe not onely say *I* am an *I*doll, but they also say *I* am a supporter of *I*dols.

Char. That is, as we before discoursed, because you beare so many *I*mages about you.

Cheap. I wonder what offence they can take at my Crosse, it never did them hurt, there is no Image of Christ upon it, why doe they not as well goe tell his Majestie there is a Crosse standing above his Royall Crowne, and wish him to file it off, as they did in Boston the Crosse upon their Towne Mace (though it cost them the setting on againe.) Nay, sister of the Strand, so extreamly they hate the Crosse, that they abhorre every thing that maketh a shew, or carrieth

reeth but the reſemblance of a Croſſe? As this laſt weeke a Brokers wife in Houndſditch, beat her maid pittifully, for laying (as ſheemade her maſters bed) by chance, two bed-ſtaves a croſſe. And another, a Pariſh Clarke, a petty Schoolmaſter, would not ſuffer a Chriſt Croſſe in any Horne-booke, but cut them all out, and rub'd over the place where it ſtood, with Chalke, or butter. *Char.* Theſe fellowes ſeeme to me to agree much in one opinion with the Turkes, who becauſe they would not offend againſt the ſecond Commandement, will in their painrings and Carpets make not onely not the image of a man, but of no other living creature, be it Beaſt, Bird, Fiſh, Worme, or whatſoever, no not ſo much as the draught of a perfect Flower, becauſe they would avoid the note of Idolatry. *Cheap. Dum vitant vitium, ſtulti in contraria currunt.* Concerning our Croſſes, if our fanatick brethren had lived in the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, they would have attempted to have pluck'd that Croſſe from the sky which appeared unto him when hee got that great victory againſt his enemies, with, *In hoc ſigno vinces* in this ſigne thou ſhalt overcome. *Char.* That Croſſe indeed was but of their reach. *Cheap.* But if I goe downe, being the Metropolitan Croſſe of the land, what will become of our other ſiſters, Northampton, Weltham, S. Albanes, &c. beſide thoſe beautifull ones of Abington in Berkſhire, and of Coventry in Warwickſhire, Cheſter? &c. *Char.* They will finde friends I'le warrant you: I know Mr. Maior of Coventry will have a care of his, it being ſo faire an ornament of that ancient and well governed Citie, whoſe liberties and freedome were long ſince obtained by *Godiua*, wife as I take it, of *Leofricus* a Saxon Prince, who being incenſed againſt that Citie, ſhee procured their priviledges againe by riding (as was enjoyned by her husband) naked through the Citie at noon day; and her picture ſo riding, is ſet up in glaſſe in a window in St. *Michaels* Church in the ſame Citie. *Cheap.* I wonder that window is not beaten downe by the Browniſts in all this time! a womans picture riding naked ſet up in a Church window? *Char.* Why not as well as the Divels in many windowes?

Cheap. It is indeed not ſo decent, but in regard that act of hers gained them their liberties, they did it in a gratefull remembrance of her love. *Char.* It was the cuſtome of ancient times yea even from S. *Baſils* time, to paint the hiſtories of Martyrs, Confeſſors, and publick Benefactors in their Church windowes, as in Linne is artificially painted in glaſſe the whole hiſtory of the martyrdome of S. *Margaret* under *Dioceſian*. *Cheap.* But ſiſter, if all manner of Croſſes run the ſame fortune, my Lord Maior and the Aldermen his brethren, were beſt to look well to the Citie Armes, for that is a plaine Croſſe Gules in a field Silver, the ſword of S. *Paul* (not that of Sir *William Walworth* wherewith *Wat Tiler* was ſlaine) in the dexter point: All his Majeſties ſhips muſt take downe the red Croſſes from their main tops too, and the Croſſes in every Market Towne where the Countrey wenches ſit with their butter and cheeſe, muſt be aboliſhed for feare of giving offence to a Feltmaker and his fellowes! *Char.* Many a Coach have I obſerved paſſing by mee to our Engliſh Court, whoſe owners, Kings, Princes, Lords, &c. have borne Croſſes in their Armes, as K. *Edward* the Confeſſor, the King of Denmark in King *Iames* his time, Duke

Memorandis

Elizabeths in Queen *Elizabeths* time, Duke of Buckingham, the Earle of Bathe, the Earle of Southampton, Bishop of Durasme, Bishop of Carlile, Coventry and Lichfield, S. *Davids*. Of Lords, the Lords *Sandys*, *Shandos*, *Paget*. Of Knights, *Hussie*, *Shelton*, &c. Of Gentlemen *sans nombre*, *Copley*, *Hallam*, *Gourney*, *Morison*, &c. *Cheap*. I believe shortly Red-crosse and White-crosse streets must change their names too. *Char*. That were great pittie: for the Butchers of Creepiegate, when they have been buying of Swine at Barnet, or making merry at Islington, know not how to make the way home. But shall those new erected Crosses upon *Pauls* Church, bee allowed to stand there still?

Cheap. Yes without all doubt, what reason to the contrary? or who dares offer to take them downe? *Char*. *Pauls* Crosse the most famous preaching place is downe, and quite taken away. *Cheap*. It is true, but with an intent to be built fairer and bigger when the Church shall be finish'd. *Char*. It is a wonder *Pauls* it selfe is not quite pulld downe: for it is built (as all Cathedrall Churches are) in forme of a Crosse. *Cheap*. How? *Pauls* pulld downe, and cost so much onely the repairing? why, the building of such another, would almost undoe a whole Kingdome, as it hath lately all the dwellers about it. *Char*. Oh no sister, you deceive your selfe, it hath found very bountifull Benefactors. *Cheap*. It is true indeed, I remember one of the greatest Towns in Essex gave fifteen pence this last year toward the repaire of it. *Char*. Surely if Churches were to be built in these dayes, they would hardly bee raised up after that rate. *Cheap*. How should they when our Sectaries say, they may serve God as well in a Barn? *Char*. I cannot believe but some of those fellowes ancestors were threshers. *Cheap*. Yet, I believe such as *Henry* the fourth, the late French King meant when hee espied a Nunnery and a Friery hard one by another, said merrily to some about him: *Voila la grange ou sont les batteurs*. See, there's the barne, and there be the threshers, meaning the Friers.

Char. Have patience sister, it is hard if we finde no friends, let them but give us leave to stand out our times, and let the next age take all and pay all, as the saying is. *Cheap*. Why should we not finde so much respect in this age, as in former ages, and neere to the primitive times? *Char*. Truly sister, there is a distraction and giddines in profession of religion, that every one almost is led by his owne opinion. *Cheap*. That Embleme was a pretty one of the old woman who going to say her prayers in a Chappell that stood upon the top of an hill found a great many dead mens sculls scattered about, shee gathered as many as she could into her lap, with a devout intent to lay them up in a charnell house: As she was going, her apron slipt, and the sculls ran severall wayes; the old woman observing it, said, Goe whither you will; for when you were alive, every one differed in your opinions, and now dead you take your severall wayes likewise. *Char*. But to make short of our discourse, which concernes our selves, it is certaine that *Arcadius* the Emperour forbad that the Crosse should be engraven upon the ground, lest it might be trod upon by the people.

Cheap. It is true he did; but should he live in these times, he would be laught at; Nay, some thinke it very fitting that we and our children should be again baptized, becaus wee were signed with the signe of the Crosse. The is one

Crosse

Croſſe in London, a very honeſt man, by trade a Taylor, who verily feares he muſt change his name, and ſo make himſelfe no better then a Rogue by the Statute. *Char.* Two Brownists, as they came one day along by me, were overheard by a Drawer at the three Tunnes, to affirme the very name of Croſſe ought utterly to bee aboliſhed, nor ſo much as to bee named in or about any thing: as if your maid bee bid to mend the fire, you muſt not ſay to her, *Lay thoſe ſtickes acroſſe*, nor to a Carpenter, *place that beame acroſſe*, nor may a Dancer once mention the name of a *Croſs*-caper, nor the Wraſtler the *Croſs-lock*; or if any griefe or misfortune happen unto you, you muſt not ſay, *I am croſt in my minde*, but *I am bear-baited in minde*: nor muſt a Tradeſman ſay to his Prentice, Croſſe the Booke, but lattice the Booke (that is overthwart it, as Ale-houſe lattices are) nor muſt a countrey Taylor be ſaid to ſit Croſs-legg'd, but *Andrew*-wiſe. A Croſs bow muſt bee termed a Veniſon or Paſty bow: nor ought you ſay, I will croſſe the ſtreet, but overthwart it. *Cheap.* The Chronicles make mention of bloudy Croſſes which in a bloudy raine fell upon mens garments here in England in the reigne of *Edward* the firſt, how would they have called them if ſuch a fatall ſigne had appeared (which God avert) in our dayes? *Char.* Bloudy tokens no doubt of it. *Cheap.* And what name, I wonder, ſhall Tottenham High-croſs have? Plaine Tottenham I warrant you. But heare you me, ſiſter, let us make an end of this ſubject; for we might fare the worſe if we ſhould be over-heard; there be they that obſerve us, and whatſoever is ſaid; therefore, ſiſter, be rul'd by mee, wee will both ſtand ſtill hereafter where we did, and ſay nothing. *Char.* Siſter, agreed, they get not a word more of me as long as any Coach walkes the ſtreet. *Cheap.* Nor of me as long as my Herb-garden laſts. *Char.* No more therfore, but only let us referre our ſelves to the cenſure of this moſt juſt and honourable Parliament (for there is not a Parliament man but knowes me) whether we ſhall continue where we are, or no. What ſay you ſiſter? *Cheap.* I will know my Lord Maior and the Cities minde firſt, I dare not (as I live) doe any thing without them, though I doubt not but that they will ſtand my true friends, as I have ſtood for them theſe three hundred and odde yeares. And I doubt not of all lawfull favour from the moſt honourable Court of Parliament, ſince we both diſlavow Idolatry & are reſolved to ſtand faſt according to our degrees for the honour of both Cities, London and Weſtminſter, as long as we have one ſtone left upon another. *Char.* Siſter, I commend your reſolution; but ſince *Truth* is the daughter of *Time*, what wee ſhall all truſt to, wee ſhall know hereafter.

FINIS.

Gods Goodneſſe,

AND

Mans Ingratitude,

Illuſtrating each other:

The which (with bleſsing from above) is able to melt an heart of Stone.

Digeſted into a Divine Soliloquie, which may be of uſe in times of Humiliation.

Written by a choyce Author.

LONDON.

Printed in the yeare, 1641.

A Divine Soliloquie, or Gods goodneſſe, and Mans Ingratitude, illuſtrating each other.

O Eternall, Almighty and Incomprehenſible Lord God; who art Great and Terrible, of moſt glorious Majeſtie, and infinite puritie: Wee, the unworthieſt of all thy creatures, doe acknowledge, that thy mercies to us are ſo manifold, and thy Love is ſo boundleſſe, that the conſideration thereof alone were ſufficient to ſplit our Hearts, were they not harder then the nether Millſtone: How much more, if we conſider our owne deſervings? Yea, did we ſeriouſly thinke of thy *Love*, and our odious *Unthankfulneſſe*, and compare thy *Goodneſſe* with our *Ingratitude*; rightly weighing, how we have from time to time abuſed thy Mercy, and thoſe many meanes of Grace, which in thy long ſuffering, thou haſt afforded, for our reclaiming; it would not onely move wonder to aſtoniſhment, but make us even ſpeechleſſe (like him in the Goſpell) as neither expecting mercy, nor daring to aske it. For, whereas thy *Bleſſings* are without number, our *Sinnes* ſtrive with them, which ſhall be more. If we could count the numberleſſe number of thy creatures, they would not be anſwerable to the number of thy gifts: yet the number of our offences, which we returne in lieu of them, are not much inferiour thereunto.

As for the one, What couldeſt thou have done more for us, that thou haſt not done? Not to enter into particulars, which were endleſſe (the number of thy gifts being more then the haires of our head) the Lord *Chriſt* hath not onely ranſomed us from infinite evills here; and everlaſting torments hereafter; but alſo purchaſed for us every good thing we doe enjoy, whether for Soule or Body, even to the very Bread we eate; and that with the price of his precious Blood. And, as if all this were too little, thou reſerveſt for us ſuch pleaſures, at thy right hand, as never entred into the heart of man to conceive: and all this, to the end onely that we ſhould ſerve thee, and ſet forth the praiſe of thy Name, who haſt done all this for us.

Thou art our *Lord*, by a manifold right; and we thy ſervants, by all manner of Obligations. Firſt, thou art our Lord, by the Right of *Creation*; wee being thy workmanſhip, made by thee. Secondly, by the Right of *Redemption*; being thy purchaſe, bought by thee. Thirdly, of *Preſervation*; being kept, upheld, and maintained by thee. Fourthly, we are thine by *Vocation*; even of thy Family, having admitted us Members of thy viſible Church. Fiftly, thine alſo (if it be not our owne faults) by *Sanctification*; whereby thou poſſeſſeſt us. Laſtly, thou wouldeſt have us of thy Court, by *Glorification*, that thou mighteſt crowne us: ſo that we are every way thine.

What ſhould I ſay? Thou haſt of thy *Goodneſſe* beſtowed ſo many, and ſo great mercies upon us, that we know not how to expreſſe thy bounty herein: for, if we

looke inward, we find our Creators mercies: if we looke upward, thy mercy reacheth unto the Heavens: if downeward, the Earth is full of thy goodneſſe, and ſo is the broad Sea: if wee looke about us, What is it, that thou haſt not given us? Ayre, to breath in; Fire, to warme us; Water, to coole and cleanſe us; Cloaths, to cover us; Food, to nouriſh us; Fruits, to refreſh us; Yea, Delicates to pleaſe us; Beaſts, to ſerve us; Angels, to attend us; Heaven, to receive us; and which is above all, thy ſelfe, and thine owne Son, to be enjoyed of us. So that whither ſoever we turne our eyes, we cannot looke beſides thy bounty: yea, we can ſcarce think of any thing more to pray for, but that thou wouldeſt continue thoſe bleſſings, which thou haſt beſtowed on us already. Yet we covet ſtill, as though wee had nothing; and live, as if we knew nothing of all this thy Beneficence. Wee are bound to praiſe thee, above any Nation whatſoever: for, What Nation under Heaven enjoyes ſo much light, or ſo many bleſſings, as we? Above any Creature: for, all the creatures were ordained for our ſakes: and yet, Heaven, Earth, and Sea, all the Elements, all thy creatures obey thy Word, and ſerve thee, as they did at firſt; yea, call upon us to ſerve thee; onely Men, for whom they were all made, ingratefully rebell againſt thee.

Thou mighteſt have ſaid, before we were formed, Let them be toads, monſters, infidels, beggers, cripples, or bondſlaves, ſo long as they live; and after that, Caſtawaies for ever and ever; but thou haſt made us to the beſt likeneſſe, and nurſed us in the beſt Religion, and placed us in the beſt Land, and appointed us to the beſt and onely Inhetitance, even to remaine in bliſſe with thee for ever: ſo that thouſands would think themſelves happy if they had but a peece of our happineſſe: for, whereas ſome bleed, we ſleep in ſafety; others beg, we abound; others ſtarve we are full fed; others grope in the dark, our Sunne ſtill ſhines; we have eyes, eares, tongues, feet, hands, health, liberty, reaſon; others are blind, deafe, dumbe, are ſick, maimed, impriſoned, diſtracted, and the like. Yea, thou haſt removed ſo many evils from us; & conferred ſo many good things upon us, that they are beyond thought, or imagination: for, if the whole Heaven were turned into a Booke, and all the Angels deputed writers therein, they could not ſet downe all the good, which thy love in *Chriſt* hath done us.

Now what, O Lord our God, ſo good and gracious, ſhould we render unto thee, in way of thankfulneſſe, for all theſe thy mercies, but love thee our Creatour, and become new creatures? For favours beſtowed, and deliverances from danger bind to Gratitude; and the more bonds of duty, the more plagues for neglect. Neither could we poſſibly be unthankfull if we ſeriouſly thought upon what thou giveſt, and what thou forgiveſt. For, in reaſon, haſt thou contrived ſo many wayes to ſave us; and ſhould not we take all occaſions to glorifie thee? Haſt thou done ſo much for us, and ſhall we deny thee any thing, that thou requireſt of us, though it were our lives, yea, our ſoules, much more our luſts? We have exceeding hard hearts, if the blood of the Lambe cannot ſoften them; ſtony bowels, if ſo many mercies cannot melt them. Was *Chriſt* crucified for our ſinnes, and ſhould we, by our ſinnes crucifie him againe?

Yet, woe worth us (a people not worthy

thy the crummes of thy leaſt mercy) as if all this were nothing to move us, we are ſo farre from loving and ſerving thee, that commonly, we hate others that doe: for this is all the fruit of thy Beneficence, and our thankfulneſſe; we take thy wages, to doe thine enemie ſervice; and all our recompence of thy love, is, to doe that which thou hateſt, and hate thoſe whom thou loveſt.

Thou haſt not onely delivered our Nation from Paganiſme and Popery (and, even to be delivered from the ſting of thoſe Romiſh Scorpions alone, is a greater bleſſing, then we can ever be thankfull to thee for) but thou haſt continued thy Goſpell amongſt us, now above fourſcore yeares, with ſuch ſupply of able Miniſters, that no Nation under Heaven may compare with us. But, how have we profited, by all this abundance of meanes? (and we are ſo much the worſe, by how much we might have been better) We even tremble, to thinke of it. Thy ſeed is ſowen: but Satans fruit comes up: and, like the *Jewes*, we bring *Chriſt* Vinegar, when hee thirſts for Wine. Thou haſt ſent unto us all thy Servants, the Prophets, riſing up early; and they have bin inſtant in preaching thy Word, both in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon: but our carnall hearts have been Flint unto thee, Wax unto Satan: you ſhall dye, if you continue in the practice of ſinne, is heard; but you ſhall not dye, as ſaith the Devill, is beleeved. As it fared with our firſt Parents, when they eate the forbidden fruit; *Eve* beleeving the word of the Serpent; *Adam*, the word of *Eve*; but neither of them beleeving thy Word. Or, if we beleeve thy promiſes, that we ſhall obtaine them; we beleeve not thy precepts, ſo, as to doe them; nor the threatnings, that we ſhall ſuffer them, for our not beleeving and diſobedience; which ſhewes that we truly beleeve neither.

Indeed, if preſumption of mercy, and vaine confidence, of ſpeeding well, at the laſt, were true Faith; Faith were cummon among us: for, though we doe the Devils workes, yet we looke for thy wages: and, there is ſcarce a man on earth, but he thinkes to goe to Heaven: though none ſhall come there, nor once ſee thee, without holineſſe.

Or, if pride, covetouſneſſe, cruelty, damnable hypocriſie, prophaning of thy Sabbaths, curſed ſwearing, abominable, and worſe then beaſt-like drunkenneſſe, adultery, lying, ſlandering, perſecuting, contempt of Religion and all goodneſſe; if grinding of Faces, like edged tooles; ſpiling of blood, like water; racking of rents, detention of wages and workmens hire, incredible cruelty to ſervants, incloſing of Commons, ingroſſing of commodities griping exactions, with ſtraying the advantages of greatneſſe, unequall levies of legall payments, ſpitefull ſuites, griping Uſury, bribery, perjury, partiality, ſacrilledge, Simoniacall contracts, and ſoule murther, ſcurrility, and prophaneneſſe, cozening in bargains, breaking of promiſes, perfidious underminings, luxury, wantonneſſe, contempt of thy Meſſengers, neglect of thine Ordinances, violation of thy dayes, and the like, were fruits of Faith, and not of Atheiſme rather; then our Land were full of beleevers. But thy word makes it manifeſt, that true faith purifieth the heart, and worketh by love, conſumeth our corruptions, and ſanctifieth the whole man throughout: ſo that our faith to thee, is ſeen in our faithfulneſſe to men; our inviſible beleife, by our viſible life.

looke inward, we find our Creators mercies: if we looke upward, thy mercy reacheth unto the Heavens: if downeward, the Earth is full of thy goodneſſe, and ſo is the broad Sea: if wee looke about us, What is it, that thou haſt not given us? Ayre, to breath in; Fire, to warme us; Water, to coole and cleanſe us; Cloaths, to cover us; Food, to nouriſh us; Fruits, to refreſh us; Yea, Delicates to pleaſe us; Beaſts, to ſerve us; Angels, to attend us; Heaven, to receive us; and which is above all, thy ſelfe, and thine owne Son, to be enjoyed of us. So that whither ſoever we turne our eyes, we cannot looke beſides thy bounty: yea, we can ſcarce think of any thing more to pray for, but that thou wouldeſt continue thoſe bleſſings, which thou haſt beſtowed on us already. Yet we covet ſtill, as though wee had nothing; and live, as if we knew nothing of all this thy Beneficence. Wee are bound to praiſe thee, above any Nation whatſoever: for, What Nation under Heaven enjoyes ſo much light, or ſo many bleſſings, as we? Above any Creature: for, all the creatures were ordained for our ſakes: and yet, Heaven, Earth, and Sea, all the Elements, all thy creatures obey thy Word, and ſerve thee, as they did at firſt; yea, call upon us to ſerve thee; onely Men, for whom they were all made, ingratefully rebell againſt thee.

Thou mighteſt have ſaid, before we were formed, Let them be toads, monſters, infidels, beggers, cripples, or bondſlaves, ſo long as they live; and after that, Caſtawaies for ever and ever; but thou haſt made us to the beſt likeneſſe, and nurſed us in the beſt Religion, and placed us in the beſt Land, and appointed us to the beſt and onely Inhetitance, even to remaine in bliſſe with thee for ever: ſo that thouſands would think themſelves happy if they had but a peece of our happineſſe: for, whereas ſome bleed, we ſleep in ſafety; others beg, we abound; others ſtarve we are full fed; others grope in the dark, our Sunne ſtill ſhines; we have eyes, eares, tongues, feet, hands, health, liberty, reaſon; others are blind, deafe, dumbe, are ſick, maimed, impriſoned, diſtracted, and the like. Yea, thou haſt removed ſo many evils from us; & conferred ſo many good things upon us, that they are beyond thought, or imagination: for, if the whole Heaven were turned into a Booke, and all the Angels deputed writers therein, they could not ſet downe all the good, which thy love in *Chriſt* hath done us.

Now what, O Lord our God, ſo good and gracious, ſhould we render unto thee, in way of thankfulneſſe, for all theſe thy mercies, but love thee our Creatour, and become new creatures? For favours beſtowed, and deliverances from danger bind to Gratitude; and the more bonds of duty, the more plagues for neglect. Neither could we poſſibly be unthankfull if we ſeriouſly thought upon what thou giveſt, and what thou forgiveſt. For, in reaſon, haſt thou contrived ſo many wayes to ſave us; and ſhould not we take all occaſions to glorifie thee? Haſt thou done ſo much for us, and ſhall we deny thee any thing, that thou requireſt of us, though it were our lives, yea, our ſoules, much more our luſts? We have exceeding hard hearts, if the blood of the Lambe cannot ſoften them; ſtony bowels, if ſo many mercies cannot melt them. Was *Chriſt* crucified for our ſinnes, and ſhould we, by our ſinnes crucifie him againe?

Yet, woe worth us (a people not worthy

thy the crummes of thy leaſt mercy) as if all this were nothing to move us, we are ſo farre from loving and ſerving thee, that commonly, we hate others that doe: for this is all the fruit of thy Beneficence, and our thankfulneſſe; we take thy wages, to doe thine enemie ſervice; and all our recompence of thy love, is, to doe that which thou hateſt, and hate thoſe whom thou loveſt.

Thou haſt not onely delivered our Nation from Paganiſme and Popery (and, even to be delivered from the ſting of thoſe Romiſh Scorpions alone, is a greater bleſſing, then we can ever be thankfull to thee for) but thou haſt continued thy Goſpell amongſt us, now above fourſcore yeares, with ſuch ſupply of able Miniſters, that no Nation under Heaven may compare with us. But, how have we profited, by all this abundance of meanes? (and we are ſo much the worſe, by how much we might have been better) We even tremble, to thinke of it. Thy ſeed is ſowen: but Satans fruit comes up: and, like the *Jewes*, we bring *Chriſt* Vinegar, when hee thirſts for Wine. Thou haſt ſent unto us all thy Servants, the Prophets, riſing up early; and they have bin inſtant in preaching thy Word, both in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon: but our carnall hearts have been Flint unto thee, Wax unto Satan: you ſhall dye, if you continue in the practice of ſinne, is heard; but you ſhall not dye, as ſaith the Devill, is beleeved. As it fared with our firſt Parents, when they eate the forbidden fruit; *Eve* beleeving the word of the Serpent; *Adam*, the word of *Eve*; but neither of them beleeving thy Word. Or, if we beleeve thy promiſes, that we ſhall obtaine them; we beleeve not thy precepts, ſo, as to doe them; nor the threatnings, that we ſhall ſuffer them, for our not beleeving and diſobedience; which ſhewes that we truly beleeve neither.

Indeed, if preſumption of mercy, and vaine confidence, of ſpeeding well, at the laſt, were true Faith; Faith were common among us: for, though we doe the Devils workes, yet we looke for thy wages: and, there is ſcarce a man on earth, but he thinkes to goe to Heaven: though none ſhall come there, nor once ſee thee, without holineſſe.

Or, if pride, covetouſneſſe, cruelty, damnable hypocriſie, prophaning of thy Sabbaths, curſed ſwearing, abominable, and worſe then beaſt-like drunkenneſſe, adultery, lying, ſlandering, perſecuting, contempt of Religion and all goodneſſe; if grinding of Faces, like edged tooles; ſpiling of blood, like water; racking of rents, detention of wages and workmens hire, incredible cruelty to ſervants, incloſing of Commons, ingroſſing of commodities griping exactions, with ſtraining the advantages of greatneſſe, unequall levies of legall payments, ſpitefull ſuites, griping Uſury, bribery, perjury, partiality, ſacriledge, Simoniacall contracts, and ſoule-murther, ſcurrility, and prophaneneſſe, cozening in bargains, breaking of promiſes, perfidious underminings, luxury, wantonneſſe, contempt of thy Meſſengers, neglect of thine Ordinances, violation of thy dayes, and the like, were fruits of Faith, and not of Atheiſme rather; then our Land were full of beleevers. But thy word makes it manifeſt, that true faith purifieth the heart, and worketh by love, conſumeth our corruptions, and ſanctifieth the whole man throughout: ſo that our faith to thee, is ſeen in our faithfulneſſe to men; our inviſible beleife, by our viſible life.

We may ſay, we beleeve thy word, and think ſo to, becauſe it is hard for us, to beleeve our owne unbeleife: as they that are moſt dangerouſly ſick, are leaſt ſenſible of their owne ſickneſſe. But certainly wee would never ſpeake, as wee ſpeake; thinke as we thinke; doe as we doe; if we thought, that our Thoughts, Words, and Deedes ſhould ever come to judgement.

Did we beleeve, that neither Fornicators, nor Idolators, nor theeves, nor Covetous, nor Drunkards, nor Swearers, nor Raylers, nor the Fearefull, nor Unbeleeving, nor Murtherers, nor Sorcerers, nor Lyers, nor no unrighteous perſons ſhall inherite the Kingdome of Heaven (as the Scripture expreſly ſpeakes) but ſhall have their part, in the Lake which burneth with fire and Brimſtone, which is the ſecond death; wee durſt not continue in the practice of theſe ſinnes, without feare, or remorſe, or care of amendment. Or, did wee beleeve, that except our righteouſneſſe doe exceede the righteouſneſſe of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, we ſhall, in no caſe, enter into the Kingdome of Heaven; and that, without Holineſſe, no man ſhall ſee the Lord; with many the like; it were impoſſible we ſhould live as wee doe. But certainely, whatſoever we ſay, or think of our ſelves, we doe not in deed, and in truth, beleeve a Deitie: For, if we did, how durſt we exerciſe our ſawcy wits in prophane ſcoffes at Religion: and diſgrace that Blood, whereof, hereafter, wee would give a thouſand Worlds for one drop? How durſt we teare Heaven with our Blaſphemies, and bandy thy dreadfull Name in our impure mouthes, by our bloody Oathes and Execrations? How could we be ſuch witleſſe, graceleſſe, and ſhameleſſe miſcreants, as to ſweare and curſe, even as Dogges barke? Yea we have ſo, ſworne away all grace, that we count it a grace to ſweare: and are ſo far from beleeving, that thy Curſe ſhall never depart from the houſe of the Swearer; and, that thy ſelfe wilt bee a ſwift witneſſe againſt all ſuch, as the Scripture ſpeakes, that we thinke to be ſaved by the ſame wounds and blood, which we ſweare by, and ſo often ſweare away.

O the numberleſſe number of Oathes and Blaſphemies, that this Land groanes under, which are ſpit out, as it were in defiance of thee and all thy prohibitions to the contrary! And, leſt wee ſhould not, our ſelves, fill up the meaſure of our wickedneſſe; even Boyes in the Streets, have learned of us to rap out oathes, as frequently as we. Yea, through our frequent and accuſtomary ſwearing, our children learne to ſpeake Engliſh, and Oathes together; and ſo, to blaſpheme thee, almoſt as ſoone as thou haſt made them: ſo that wee may well wonder, that the Land ſinketh not under us, becauſe of Oathes.

And ſo much the rather, becauſe it is more inexcuſable, then any other ſinne; it being an evil, from which, of all evils, we have moſt power of abſtinence; and to which, of all other ſinnes, wee have the feweſt temptations: as having, neither pleaſure nor profit, nor credit with it, to provoke, or induce men thereunto; onely men love this ſinne, becauſe it is a great ſinne, and becauſe thou forbiddeſt it: which ſhewes it to have a more pure Venome in it, then any other ſinne, and that it muſt needs iſſue from meere malice to, and contempt of thy Majeſtie; as if we did it of ſet purpoſe to anger thee.

Againe,

Again, did we beleeve thine Omniſcien-cy, and that thou alwayes beholdeſt us, we durſt not ſinne as we doe. No theife was ever ſo impudent, as to ſteale in the very face of the Judge. O God, let us ſee our ſelves ſeene by thee, and we ſhall not dare to offend thee. Or, if we did beleeve, that there is a place of darkneſſe, we would feare the workes of darkneſſe. If we did beleeve an Hell, as wee confeſſe in our Creed, there would be more danger of our deſpaire, then of our ſecurity. Yea, if we did, in good earneſt, beleeve that there is either God or Devill, Heaven or Hell, or that we have immortall ſoules, which ſhall everlaſtingly live in Bliſſe, or woe; and that we ſhall receive, according to that we have done in our bodies, whether it be good, or evill; we could not but live thereafter, and make it our principall care how to be ſaved, whereas we minde onely our profits and pleaſures. Thus we ſell away, with *Eſau*, our birthright of grace here, and glory hereafter, for a meſſe of Pottage, and with *Adam*, part with our ſalvations for an Apple. So we preferre Hell before Heaven, a moment of time before Eternity, the body before the ſoule; yea, the ſatisfying of our luſts, before either ſoule or body: at leaſt, if we preferre not the pleaſing of our ſenſes, before the ſaving of our ſouls; yet will we venter to taſte the forbidden fruit, though at the price of death eternall; and account them fooles, that doe otherwiſe.

We beleeve what we ſee, and feele, and know: we beleeve the Lawes of the Land we live in; and that there are places, and kinds of puniſhment here below; and that we have bodies to ſuffer temporall ſmart, if we tranſgreſſe; and this makes us abſtaine from ſome ſinnes: but we beleeve not things inviſible and to come; for, if we did, we would as well, yea, much more feare thee, that haſt power to caſt both body and ſoule into Hell, then we doe the temporall Magiſtrate, who hath onely power to kill the body: we would thinke it a very hard Bargaine, to win the whole World, and loſe our owne ſoules. But the truth is, we are either Infidels, in our hearts, or in our lives, or in both. Neither will we beleeve what is written, till we feele what is written: nor thinke of Heaven, till, with the rich man in the Goſpell, we are tormented in the flames of Hell: for, nothing will confute us, but fire and Brimſtone. And this our unbeleife, makes us turne thy grace into wantonneſſe, and make a trade of ſinne; as though there were no God to judge; nor Hell to puniſh; nor Heaven to reward.

Indeed, we call our ſelves *Chriſtians*; yea, *Proteſtants*, as if we were of Chriſtians the prime; but we can be of any Religion, for a need; which ſhews, our hearts are truly of none. And, Lord, ſhould we be put to the hot fire, for the tryall of our Faith and love; How many of us would turne from *Chriſt*, rather then burne for him? So that the world onely is our god, and pleaſure alone our Religion.

Or, admit a tithe of us *Chriſtians*, who call our ſelves ſo; there are abundance of Chriſtians in Hell: for, let a very Heathen read the Goſpell, and compare the rules thereof with our lives; he muſt needs conclude, that either it is not *Chriſt's* Goſpell, or, we are not *Chriſtians*.

Nay, as if it were nothing, to doe the ſame things againſt knowledge and conſcience, which the Heathen doe ignorantly

ly (though the ſame ſinnes are far more damnable in us, then in them: and yet flaming fire will be their portion) it is our leaſt ill, to doe evill: For, behold wee ſpeake for it, joy in it, boaſt of it, tempt and enforce to it; yea, mocke them that diſlike it; as if we would ſend challenges into Heaven, and make love to Deſtruction.

True Lord, every one of us, in our Baptiſme, tooke Preſſe-money of thy *Chriſt*, to be his Souldier, and to ſerve him, in the Field of this World, againſt his, and our enemies: but, except ſome few among us, here and there one, like Timber-trees in a Wood, we not onely renounce our Vow, and fly from his ſtandard; but, contrarily, ſerve and fight for the World, the Fleſh, and the Devill; ſeeking to winne all we can from *Chriſt* unto Satan. And whereas few of us have the courage to ſpeake for thee, and thy worſhip; yea, we are aſhamed and afraid to be good, or ſeeme holy: Satans profeſt agents (who are even Pandors for ſinne, and factors for Hell) cannot be numbred: for, Where ſhall a man come, and not find a Seducer? And how is Satan beholding to them, for their induſtry in leading ſoules captive to ſinne, with Cords of Vanity, as with a Cart-rope?

Yea, as if it were too little to damne our owne ſoules; or, as if our owne ſins would not preſſe us deepe enough into Hell; we not onely polute our ſelves, ſtumble and infect others, by our evill example; but we ſeeke to entice, and enforce them, all we can unto evill: for, if any becomes religious and conſcionable, and will not, for company, grievouſly ſinne againſt thee, wrong their bodies, deſtroy their owne ſoules, and wilfully leap into Hell fire, with us; we envy, hate, cenſure, ſcoffe at, nickname, raile on, and ſlander them, that we may flout them out of their Faith, dampe, or quench the ſpirit, where we perceive it is kindled, diſcourage them in the way to Heaven, baffle them out, and make them aſhamed of their holy profeſſion, and religious courſe and conſequently, pull them backe to the World; that ſo we may have their company here in ſinne, and hereafter in torment: though, with many, there needs no more, to daſh all holineſſe and ſincerity out of countenance, and to pluck up all power of Religion by the rootes, then to faſten on them that infamous and ſtigmaticall name of *Puritane*; as Satan and his ſeed, who uſe it to that end, doe find: Yea, we are mockers of all, that march not under the pay of the Devill. And, which is moſt to be feared, the contempt of Religion and Piety (which formerly hath been held no meane ſigne of the ruine of a State) hath, by long cuſtome, taken ſuch deep root in mens hearts; and, by meanes thereof, Religion and goodneſſe is ſo deſpiſed, looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe ſo ſet by and defended; by ſome, ignorantly; by others, malicionſly, that if it be tolerated much longer, it will runne ſo deep and ſtrong, that we muſt never looke to ſee it mended, till *Chriſt* comes in the Clouds. What this ſinne may worke upon us, onely thou knoweſt, and knoweſt to prevent. But certainely, it hath already been ſo long neglected, that it hath almoſt overgrown both Corne and good Hearbs. Indeed, thine Apoſtle tels us, that their mouths ſhall be ſtopped; if not with the Word, nor by the hand of humane authority; yet,

yet, with the fire of Hell. And indeed, if Hell fire ſhall be their portion, that obey not the Goſpell; how can they looke to eſcape, that oppoſe it? Or, if at the great Day, we ſhall be bid, Depart into everlaſting torments, for not feeding, cloathing, viſiting; What ſhall become of thoſe, that maliciouſly ſcoffe at Religion, and perſecute *Chriſt*, in his members, which is the depth of ſinne? O that thou wouldeſt give them hearts to thinke of it, and how wee ſerve a Maſter, who knowes all things, can doe all things.

But, are thy profeſt enemies onely engaged in this ſinne? No Lord, it deeply concernes thine owne people alſo, whom thou haſt called out of that *Ægyptian* darkneſſe, and to whom thou haſt revealed thy ſelfe, in thy Sonne: For, even we, thy ſervants, ſo much and ſo many wayes obliged unto thee, are content to be ſcoft out of our goodneſſe, and chuſe to be miſled with the multitude, rather then be an object of their ſcorne and deriſion; and hold it the beſt and ſafeſt way, to doe as the moſt doe, without further queſtion; that ſo we may have the feweſt to find fault with us. And notwithſtanding thou haſt told us, and we know, that the greateſt number goe the broad way to deſtruction, and but a few the narrow way, which leadeth unto Life: yet cuſtome doth ſo bleere us, that we cannot diſtinguiſh, nor diſcerne the truth of things, from their outward ſhewes and ſemblances; for, opinion more governes us, then the things themſelves; and many of us, ſo blind our ſelves with our owne *Prejudice*, that we doe as we ſee others doe, without either conſcience of ſinne, or guidance of reaſon: For, alaſſe Lord! How doe we ſtifle our conſciences, and force our ſelves to beleeve, if it were poſſible, that in caſe men will not ſweare, drink drunk, conforme to lewd cuſtomes, and the like, he is over preciſe; and that thou wilt like a man the worſe, for his being the better, or for having a tender conſcience; and that thou lookeſt for leſſe feare, reverence and obedience from thy ſervants, then we doe from our ſervants; and yet hold, that a ſervant can never be too punctuall, in his obedience, to his Maſters lawfull commands.

And though we be convinced in our conſciences, that we ought to doe as thy Word preſcribes us; which is a certaine and infallible guid to direct us, and rule to walke by, and ſquare all our actions; and that it is the onely honour to ſerve thee, the great King of Heaven and earth; yet we eſteem even Religion ſuch a diſparagement to us, that we feare nothing more, then to have a name that we feare thee; which makes us many times, both to omit good actions, and commit evill alſo againſt conſcience, meerely out of feare, leſt lewd men ſhould laugh at us; not once laying to heart, nor conſidering with our ſelves, that if we be aſhamed of *Chriſt*, or deny him before ſinfull men, he will be aſhamed of us, and deny us, before thee, and thine holy Angells in Heaven.

And what, O Lord, is the reaſon of all this evill, but even a reprobate judgement in the greater part; and baſe cowardlineſſe in the better part? For, how many of us, notwithſtanding our great meanes of knowledge and grace, are of a reprobate judgement touching actions and perſons, counting and calling good evill, and evill good, darkneſſe light, and light darkneſſe,

neſſe, bitter ſweet, and ſweet bitter, commending what thou condemneſt and condemning what thou commendeſt? We even juſtifie the wicked, and take away the righteouſneſſe of the righteous from them, condemning all, that have more Religion then an Heathen; or more knowledge of heavenly things, then a Child in the Wombe hath of the things of this life; or more conſcience, then an Atheiſt; or care of his ſoule, then a beaſt; that live religiouſly, and will not revell it with them, in a ſhoareleſſe exceſſe, for *Puritanes*; a name ſo full of the Serpents Enmity, as the Egge of a Cockatrice is full of poyſon.

And is it not juſt with thee, holy Father, ſeeing we will not receive the Truth in love, that we might be ſaved, that thou ſhouldeſt give us up to ſtrong deluſions, to beleeve lyes; that ſo we might be damned, for not beleeving the Truth, but having pleaſure in unrighteouſneſſe?

And ſo much the rather, ſince that to all theſe our enormities we add a greater evill: for, whereas thou of thy free grace, haſt tendered us thine owne Sonne, in the Goſpell, to be a meanes of our reconciliation; which is ſuch a ſpectacle of unſpeakeable mercy, as might raviſh our ſoules with admiration; we are ſo farre from accepting him, upon thy conditions, that we abuſe even his paſſion, as a warrant for our licenciouſneſſe; and take his death, as a licence to ſinne; and his Croſſe, as Letters patents to doe miſchiefe: ſo turning thy grace into wantonneſſe; as if a condemned perſon ſhould lead his Drum of Rebellion with his pardon. And mayſt not thou juſtly, another day call Heaven and Earth to witneſſe against us, that thou wouldeſt have ſaved us; yea, didſt woo us to accept of ſalvation, but we would not be ſaved; ſince that we make thine holy Son *Jeſus* a bolſter for ſinne, and thy mercy a warrant for our wickednes, and therefore reſolve to be evill, becauſe thou art good? For, what is this, but to ſin with an high hand, or, with a witneſſe, as we ſay, and to make our ſelves uncapable of forgiveneſſe? Can the Croſſe of *Chriſt* be a friend to them, that are enemies to his Croſſe, and trample upon him with their feet, becauſe hitherto he hath borne the contumelies of their tongues, and exceſſes of their lives? O what a blaſphemous imagination is this againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*, to live ſo, as if the practiſe of the Goſpell were quite contrary to the Rule of the Law? to thinke that *Chriſt* came into the World, to be a Patron, and an Abbettor of vice and wickedneſſe, and not rather to deſtroy the workes of the Devill?

We need not, O Lord, tell thee (to whom all hearts are open) how there is a reprobate, and yet common errour amongſt us, of onely *Beleeve and thou ſhalt be ſaved*; of thinking that faith, without workes will ſerve; and that Heaven will meet us at the laſt houre, when all our life long we have galloped on, in the beaten Road towards Hell; that we ſhall have part in that Merit, which in every part we ſo preſumptuouſly abuſe; and be purged by that Blood, which now we take all occaſions to diſgrace; and to have *Chriſt* an Advocate for us, in the next life, when we are advocates againſt *Chriſt* in this.

And what is the iſſue of all, but this? Our wickednes hath brought ſuch a ſcandall upon our Religion and the Goſpell, that it is even abhorred of the Heathen, and

and thy great Name blaſphemed. Yea, what elſe, but the unchriſtian-like behaviour of Chriſtians, hath cauſed even the *Turkes* and *Jewes* to proteſt againſt their owne converſion? Or, what elſe hath alienated the *Indians* from the Chriſtian Religion, making them refuſe the Goſpell, but this, that they ſaw our lives more ſalvage then thoſe Salvages themſelves? Yea, it hath made thoſe poore ſoules reſolve, that whatſoever Religion the Chriſtians were of, they would be of the contrary; thinking it impoſſible, that ſuch cruell and bloody deeds, could proceed from any true Religion; or, that he could be a good God, who had ſuch evill Sons. Whereas in the Primitive times, more of them were won to the Faith, by the holy lives of Chriſtians, then by the Doctrine, which they taught: For, it cauſed them to ſay, This is a good God, whoſe ſervants are ſo good. Yea, their ſincerity to men, and devotion to thee, was the wonder of the World.

Thus Lord, according to our capacities, we have laid open our ſinnes, before thee, though thou (who ſearcheſt the Heart, and tryeſt the Reynes) knoweſt infinitely more by us, and ſeeſt what ſtrange monſters, what ugly, odious, hideous Fiends, what ſwarmes, what litters, what legions of noyſome luſts, are couched in the ſtinking ſties of every one of our deceitfull hearts; and findeſt, that if all our thoughts, did but breake forth into action, we ſhould not come farre ſhort of the Devils themſelves. Now, what remaines, but that thou ſhouldeſt take this our confeſſion, and accordingly adjudge us to the very loweſt place in that bottomleſſe pit, which is prepared for the Devill and his angels? Neither could we have any thing to ſay for our ſelves, ſeeing thou haſt offered us a pardon, and we refuſeit; yea, contemne, & in a manner deride the offer. No, we could not have a word to anſwer, except it were to juſtifie thy juſtice. Yea, O Lord, it is thine unſpeakable mercy, that our Land hath not long ſince, ſpued us out, and that we are not at this preſent, frying in Hell. For, if we ſhall compare the numberleſſe number of our great and greivous abominations, wherewith our Land is filled, from corner to corner, with the many meanes, which thou haſt uſed to reclaime us; it will be found, that no Nation under Heaven did ever more provoke thee; nor haſt thou ever ſtrove more with any Nation, to reclaime them, then thou haſt done with us: for, when neither mercies, nor any ordinary meanes would ſerve the turne; thou haſt at ſeverall times, viſited us with ſeverall judgements, to try what they would doe; but we have been ſo little moved therewith, that in ſtead of becomming better, we have beene the worſe for them, and more audacious in declaring our ſinnes, as if with *Sodome*, we took a pride in them; to the great diſhonour of thy Name and Goſpell, and to the hardening of all that heare of it: ſo that our iniquities are increaſed over our heads, and our treſpaſſes are growne up unto Heaven; in regard whereof, we may juſtly be confounded, and aſhamed to lift up our eyes unto thee, who art a Lord, great and terrible, of moſt glorious Majeſty, and of infinite purity.

Onely this can we ſay, If it ſhall pleaſe thee to pardon and ſave ſuch mighty ſinners, who *Manaſſes*-like, have multiplyed our offences, above the number of the ſand of the Sea, and are bound downe

with many iron bands, and ſhalt ſay unto our ſoules, *Live*; it will make much for the glory of thy great name, and of thy marveilous mercy. Neither is it hard for thee to take away our ſtony hearts, and give us hearts of fleſh: for they are ſo in thine hand, that by thy gracious worke, and change wrought in us, of perſecuting *Sauls*, we may become pious and penitent Chriſtians. Yea, it is as eaſie with thee, to make us righteous and holy, as to bid us be ſuch: and there is no ſinne we have yet comitted, but thou haſt reclaimed others from it; which yet gives us ſome hope.

Againe, ſay our ſins be great, as we acknowledge them to be, yet thy mercy is greater then our ſins, either are, or can be. We cannot be ſo bad, as thou art good; nor ſo infinite in ſinning, as thou art in pardoning, if we repent. O that we could repent. O that thou wouldeſt give us repentance; for we are weak, O Lord, & can no more turn our ſelves, than we could at firſt make our ſelves: but convert thou us, and we ſhall be converted. We are altogether unable to reſiſt the force of our mighty adverſaries; but doe thou free our Wils, and ſet to thy helping hand, in caſting down by thy ſpirit, our raging Luſts: and by thy grace, ſubdue our untamed affections; and the work will be moſt eaſie.

Wherefore ſend downe helpe, we beſeech thee, from above, and ſave us out of the jawes of that cruell Lion. Thou haſt yet delivered us out of the mouth of Hell: O let not the gates thereof any more prevaile againſt us.

And although we have ſinned, and have committed iniquity, and done wickedly, departing from thy precepts: albeit we have rebelled againſt thee, and have not obeyed the voyce of the Lord our God, to walk in his Lawes, but have turned back from all thy holy commandements, which thou haſt ſet before us, by the Miniſtery of thy ſervants, the Prophets, riſing early and ſending them; all which teſtifie againſt us, that we are not worthy to be called after thy name: yet compaſſion and forgivenes belong unto thee, and thy mercy is above all thy attributes. Have mercy therefore upon us, O thou Father of mercies, & God of forgiveneſſes, according to thy loving kindneſſe, and according to the multitude of thy tender compaſſions, put away all our iniquities.

Yea, deale with us, we beſeech thee, according to thy name; for, we do not, nor dare not preſent our ſupplications before thee, as truſting in our own righteouſnes, but in thy great and tender mercies. Righteouſnes, we acknowledg, belongeth unto thee; but nothing but ſhame and confuſion unto us: yet, for thine own ſake, we entreat thee be favourable. O be favourable to thy people, whom thou haſt ſo honoured with thy Goſpel, & the profeſſion of thy truth, leſt thine adverſaries take occaſion to inſult. Wherfore ſhould thine enemies ſay, that thy Religion, profeſſed by us, is not the true Religion; nor thou our God, the true God, and the glory of thy great name be thereby impeached, among the ſons of men? Thou haſt proclaimed thy ſelfe, a Lord God, mercifull and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſſe and truth, keeping mercy for thouſands, forgiving iniquity, tranſgreſſion and ſin, be it unto us, according to thy word, and fulfill thy mercifull promiſe in pardoning our manifold miſdeeds: yea, let the power of our Lord be great, according as thou haſt ſpoken; and be mercifull unto the iniquity of thy people, according to thy

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great & abundant goodnes. O Lord, heare; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, consider; and behold our misery. Defer not to fetch home thy baniſhed, who otherwiſe, will be as water ſpilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up againe. Yea, purge us with Hyſop, and we ſhall be cleane; waſh us in thy Sons blood, and we ſhall be whiter then Snow. It is true, thine angry threatning, and heavy wrath againſt ſin, is importable, and unconceivable: but thy gracious goodnes, and mercy is likewiſe no leſſe unmeaſurable, and unſearchable. Thou therefore, that art able to quicken the dead, and make, even of ſtones, children to *Abraham* vouchſafe to molifie our Adamantine hearts with the blood of the Lambe, and make of us, who are by nature the children of the Devill, members of thy Son *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Yet, that our Petitions may be agreeable to thy revealed will (for otherwiſe thou wilt not heare us) and becauſe thou haſt therein declared, that except we forſake our ſins, thou wilt never forgive them; yea thou haſt ſworn, by an oath, that whomſoever thou redeemeſt out of the hands of their ſpirituall enemies, ſhall ſerve thee in holines and righteouſnes, all the dayes of their lives; and becauſe it cannot conſiſt with thy juſtice, to pardon ſuch, as continue in an evill courſe of life; neither was it ever heard, that any aſcended into Heaven, without going up the ſtaires of obedience and good Workes; that any have attained unto everlaſting life, without faith, repentance, & ſanctification of ſpirit; for, even the Theife upon the Croſſe, beleeved in thy *Chriſt*, and ſhewed the fruits of his faith, in acknowledging his own ſin, in reproving his fellow, in confeſſing his Saviour, even when all denyed & forſook him, in calling upon his name, and deſiring, by his meanes, everlaſting life; and we cannot expect, that thou ſhouldeſt deale after a new and extraordinary way with us, than thou haſt with all others, and ſo break the courſe of thy ſo juſt, and ſo long continued proceedings: and laſtly, becauſe *Chriſts* blood was ſhed, as well for ablution, as for abſolution; to cleanſe away the ſoyle and filth of ſin, as to clear and aſſoile from the guilt of ſin; neither doth he ſave any with his blood, whom he doth not alſo ſanctifie with his ſpirit; whence all the promiſes are tyed and entailed only unto beleevers, who repent & turn from all their ſins, to ſerve thee in holineſſe: Therefore we entreat thee, that thou wouldeſt, in the firſt place, give unto us broken and contrite hearts, that we may truly bewaile theſe our manifold and grievous abominations, which cry mightily unto thee for vengeance; that we may break off our ſins by repentance, and oppoſe the good no longer; yea, that we may repent what we have done and never more do what we have once repented, not foſtering any one ſinne in our ſoules.

And, ſeeing that ignorance and infidelity are the maine rootes, from which they ſpring; and thy word is the only ordinary meanes, to root them up; even the Sword of the ſpirit, that killeth our corruptions, and that unreſiſtable Cannon-ſhot, which battereth and beateth down all the ſtrong holds of ſin and Satan: Good Lord, ſend unto thy people every where, a faithfull, able and powerfull Miniſtery.

Faithfull, ſuch as may divide the Word aright, and neither juſtifie the wicked, nor condemne the Juſt; not make the hearts of the righteous ſad, whom thou haſt not made ſad; nor ſtrengthen the hands of

the wicked, that he ſhould not turn from his wicked way, by promiſing him life; ſo handling thy Word deceitfully; that may neither extenuate what thou doeſt aggravate; nor bind, where thou looſeſt; nor looſe, where thou bindeſt; nor open, where thou ſhutteſt; nor ſhut where thou openeſt; ſince curſed is that Mercy, which oppoſeth thee, the GOD of Mercy.

Able, ſuch as may miniſter matter of inſtruction, to the ignorant; of reprehenſion, to the ſinnefull; of exhortation, to the faithfull; of conſolation, to the deſpairing ſoule, and drouping ſpirit: not Goſpell without Law, leſt it ſhould lift men up to preſumption; nor Law without Goſpell, leſt it ſhould ſink them downe to deſperation [illegible] poſition of Severity: in Law and Goſpell and *Chriſt* met upon t to direct our obedie anſwer for our diſob ſerious repentance, to thee; with ſuch C on, as may argue zea and deſire to winne ſo them.

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[illegible] they may not labour [illegible] nothing, nor caſt their Seed upon the Water; we beſeech thee, fit and prepare thy peoples hearts, to receive, with meekneſſe, the ingrafted Word, which is able to ſave their ſoules: for unleſſe Lord, thou be pleaſed to afford this thy gracious aſſiſtance, they were as good ſpeake to liveleſſe ſtones, or ſenſeleſſe plants, or witleſſe Beaſts, as to Men for any thing we ſhall profit by it. For alaſſe! Lord, how many of us have heard

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thy Word, twenty, thirty, or fourty yeares, and yet know no more, savingly, than the child in the Wombe? Neither, O Lord, will it, nor can it be otherwise, so long as we are in our originall condition; since that the naturall Man understandeth not the things of the spirit, neither can he know them; because they are spiritually discerned. Besides, Lord, we are tyed and bound with the chaines of our sinnes, through long custome: yea, we have been too long sick of sinne, to bee recovered; if thou set not to thy mighty hand. And great need is there, of a powerfull worke upon us; for, we have brazen browes, stiffe necks, uncircumcised eares, blinded eyes, fat and heavy hearts, obdurate soules as strong as a stone, and as hard as a nether Milstone: by reason whereof, it comes to passe, that those which are filthy, will bee filthy still, in spite both of Law and Gospell: yea, we are starke dead to all ordinary meanes.

Now Lord, since this is our case, To what end will it be, for thy Messengers to lift up their voice, or strive to make dead Carkasses move? Alasse! we cannot stirre the least joynt; no, not so much as feele our deadnesse, nor desire life, except thou be pleased to raise and restore our soules: for, as thou didst, at first, make us; so, thou must new make us, or we shall everlastingly perish. Wherefore vouchsafe we beseech thee, to looke upon us, thy poore creatures, in much compassion, and breath thy spirit of life into our hearts; so shall we become living soules, and in some measure, capable of divine Mysteries. O quicken thou us, who art the Fountaine of life, and call thou to us, out of Heaven, thy dwelling place; that our wandring soules may heare the voyce of their Shepheard, and follow thee, whersoever thou leadest.

And in the first place, Lord, convince us throughly, of the necessity of hearing thy Word, and submitting thereunto; since, if we heare not *Moses* and the Prophets; if neither the Menaces and terrours of thy Law; nor the precepts and sweet promises of thy Gospell, are able to prevaile with us; we shall neither be softened with thy benefits, nor broken with thy punishments; thy severity will not terrifie us, nor thy kindnesse mollifie us: No, shouldest thou send an Angell, from the living in Heaven; or a Messenger, from the dead in Hell, to warne us; all perswasions would be in vaine; and it would but fare with us, as it did with *Pharaoh*, whom those nine Plagues could do no good upon: or, as with the Scribes and Elders; whom, neither the Graves opening, nor the dead arising, nor the Veile of the Temple renting, nor the light of the Sunne fayling, nor the Centurions Confessing could perswade, or moue in the least measure.

Againe, give us, we entreate thee, to know, that thy Word onely makes wise to Salvation, and that we cannot profit thereby, except the Holy Ghost become our teacher; and that he will not reveale thy saving Truths unto us, except we resolve to make it the Rule of all our actions; that we know no more truly, than what we practise; that thou regardest not lip-learning, nor tongue-wisdome, nor brain-knowledge, while the heart is empty of grace; but accountest him the best Scholar that learnes of *Christ*, Obedience, Humility, and the like; that can adde

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Powerfull, ſince there is no thawing an obdurate heart, with the Sun-ſhine of ſweet words; nor can thoſe, that are in a deepe and dead ſleepe, be awakened, without a lowd call; nor will an eaſie voice ſerve to raiſe a ſoule from the death of ſinne, and grave of long cuſtome to the life of grace. Yea, O Lord, thy ſtrongeſt commands, thy lowdeſt denunciations of Judgement, the ſhrilleſt and ſweeteſt promulgations of thy mercies, are but enough. Open and notorious wickedneſſe is too ſtubborne, to be chidd out of countenance. Yea, let the Adamantine hearts of habituated ſinners heare of never ſo many judgements; except thou, O Lord, boare their eares, and breake in upon their conſciences, by the irreſiſtable power of thy Spirit, they tremble and relent no more, than the ſeats they ſit on, or the ſtones they tread on; even declaration of ſinnes, denunciation of judgements, deſcription of torments, and the like, no more ſtirre them, then a Tale moves one in a dreame; their ſupine ſtupidity is no more capable of excitation, then the Sea Rocks are of motion, or the Billowes of compaſſion.

Neverthleſſe, ſeeing the ſight of our filthineſſe, is the firſt ſtep toward cleaneneſſe; and becauſe it is the right method of Preaching, that humiliation ſhould goe before comfort, and ſorrow prepare us for joy; and experience teacheth, That cold Preachers make bold ſinners: Vouchſafe to ſend ſuch, as may deliver thy Word with power and efficacy: that ſo, by their ſharp medicines, and bitter Potions, they may (through thy bleſſing upon their laboures) make ſhort Diſeaſes, and procure ſound health, to thy people.

And, to the end, they may not labour in vaine, and for nothing, nor caſt their Seed upon the Water; we beſeech thee, fit and prepare thy peoples hearts, to receive, with meekneſſe, the ingrafted Word, which is able to ſave their ſoules: for unleſſe Lord, thou be pleaſed to afford this thy gracious aſſiſtance, they were as good ſpeake to liveleſſe ſtones, or ſenſleſſe plants, or witleſſe Beaſts, as to Men, for any thing we ſhall profit by it. For alaſſe! Lord, how many of us have heard

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thy Word, twenty, thirty, or fourty yeares, and yet know no more, savingly, than the child in the Wombe? Neither, O Lord, will it, nor can it be otherwise, so long as we are in our originall condition; since that the naturall Man understandeth not the things of the spirit, neither can he know them; because they are spiritually discerned. Besides, Lord, we are tyed and bound with the chaines of our sinnes, through long custome: yea, we have been too long sick of sinne, to bee recovered; if thou set not to thy mighty hand. And great need is there, of a powerfull worke upon us; for, we have brazen browes, stiffe necks, uncircumcised eares, blinded eyes, fat and heavy hearts, obdurate soules as strong as a stone, and as hard as a nether Milstone: by reason whereof, it comes to passe, that those which are filthy, will bee filthy still, in spite both of Law and Gospell: yea, we are starke dead to all ordinary meanes.

Now Lord, since this is our case, To what end will it be, for thy Messengers to lift up their voice, or strive to make dead Carkasses move? Alasse! we cannot stirre the least joynt; no, not so much as feele our deadnesse, nor desire life, except thou be pleased to raise and restore our soules: for, as thou didst, at first, make us; so, thou must new make us, or we shall everlastingly perish. Wherefore vouchsafe we beseech thee, to looke upon us, thy poore creatures, in much compassion, and breath thy spirit of life into our hearts; so shall we become living soules, and in some measure, capable of divine Mysteries. O quicken thou us, who art the Fountaine of life, and call thou to us, out of Heaven, thy dwelling place; that our wandring soules may heare the voyce of their Shepheard, and follow thee, whereſoever thou leadest.

And in the first place, Lord, convince us throughly, of the necessity of hearing thy Word, and submitting thereunto; since, if we heare not *Moses* and the Prophets; if neither the Menaces and terrours of thy Law; nor the precepts and sweet promises of thy Gospell, are able to prevaile with us; we shall neither be softened with thy benefits, nor broken with thy punishments; thy severity will not terrifie us, nor thy kindnesse mollifie us: No, shouldest thou send an Angell, from the living in Heaven; or a Messenger, from the dead in Hell, to warne us; all perswasions would be in vaine; and it would but fare with us, as it did with *Pharaoh*, whom those nine Plagues could do no good upon: or, as with the Scribes and Elders; whom, neither the Graves opening, nor the dead arising, nor the Veile of the Temple renting, nor the light of the Sunne fayling, nor the Centurions Confessing could perswade, or moue in the least measure.

Againe, give us, we entreate thee, to know, that thy Word onely makes wise to Salvation, and that we cannot profit thereby, except the Holy Ghost become our teacher; and that he will not reveale thy saving Truths unto us, except we resolve to make it the Rule of all our actions; that we know no more truly, than what we practise; that thou regardest not lip-learning, nor tongue-wisdome, nor brain-knowledge, while the heart is empty of grace; but accountest him the best Scholar that learnes of *Christ*, Obedience, Humility, and the like; that can aske

grace

grace to grace; and him moſt learned, who knowes how to be ſaved; and that knowledge, without grace, will but ſinke us lower in Hell. And that thy word may take the deeper impreſſion with us; root out of our hearts all ſecret Atheiſme, and ſo convince us of our unbeliefe, that we may no longer credit Satan, nor our owne deceitfull hearts, which prophecie proſperity to ſinne; but beleeve thy word, which expreſly affirmes, that every man ſhall be rewarded according to his works, whether they be good, or evill; and that if thy bountifulneſſe and long ſuffering doe not lead us to repentance, it will increaſe our condemnation; yea, that every day, which abates not of our reckoning, will increaſe it; and, that by our hardneſſe and impenitency, we doe but treaſure up unto our ſelves wrath, againſt the day of wrath, and the declaration of thy juſt Judgement.

Howbeit, holy Father, leſt on the other ſide, we ſhould ſo fix our eyes upon thy Juſtice, that in the meane time, we forget thy mercy, and *Chriſts* alſufficiency; reveale unto us, we humbly entreate thee; that there is a doore of hope. Yea, give us we beſeech thee, to ſee, and conſider; that the Seed of the Woman is able to bruiſe the Serpents head; and, that thou art not onely abundant in goodneſſe, and great in power, and expert in Skill, whereby thou canſt heale our hard hearts; but moſt willing alſo ſo to doe, if we will but give conſent, and uſe our poor endeavour, as the Prodigall Sonne did; who no ſooner aroſe, with an intent to returne unto thee, then thou hadeſt compaſſion, and metteſt him halfe way, fell on his neck, and kiſſed him. Yea, ſeeing thou haſt already ſhewed thy ſelfe ſo willing to redeeme us, that, thou haſt given thine owne onely Sonne; and thy Sonne his owne precious blood, to purchaſe us life and ſalvation; and every day makeſt us gracious offers thereof, if we will but accept the ſame, upon the condition of faith and repentance; aſſuring us alſo, that thou art ready to pardon what is paſt, and for the time to come, wilt accept of the willing minde, according to the ability we have and not expect from us, what we have not; give us grace, ſo to be perſwaded of the truth and certainty of theſe thy gracious offers, and promiſes thereunto annexed, that we may not once dare to doubt, in regard of our owne unworthineſſe, but that they ſhall be made good unto us, upon our humble acceptance of them. And give us withall, wiſely to know and conſider, That if we ſhall ſtill abuſe thy mercy and patience, to the hardening of our ſelves in our evill courſes, which is the fearefull marke of a Childe of Perdition; if, while thou calleſt, we ſhall refuſe to heare; ſo diſregarding, and deſpiſing all thy counſell and correction, when thou ſtretcheſt out thine hand to us; then thou wilt alſo laugh at our deſtruction, and mock when our feare commeth; and that then, though we ſhall call upon thee, thou wilt not anſwer; and, though we ſeek thee early, thou wilt not be found of us; becauſe we hated knowledge, and did not chuſe the feare of thee our Lord: as juſt it is, they ſhould know thy power, who would never take notice of thy goodneſſe; and tremble at the voice of thy condemnation, that have alwaies ſhut their eares at the voice of thy exhortation. For, how can this chuſe, but make us ſpeechleſſe another day, as neither expecting mercy, nor daring to aske

aske it? How ſhould not our conſciences then ſting us, like an Adder, to thinke what *Chriſt* hath given, and what he would have forgiven, if we would our ſelves? To thinke, how often we have beene invited to Heaven; and, how eaſily wee might have eſcaped Hell? How often, thou haſt, by thine Embaſſadors, offered us remiſſion of ſinne, and the Kingdome of Heaven freely, if we would but beleeve and repent? And, How eaſily we might have obtained mercy, in thoſe dayes? How neere we were, many times, to have repented, and yet ſtill ſuffered the Devill and the World to keepe us ſtill impenitent? And, How the day of mercy is then paſt, and will never dawne againe? O that thou wouldeſt give us wiſely to conſider this, before it be too late: and that thou wouldeſt write it ſo in the Tables of our hearts, that we may alwayes beare it in minde, how there is a day of account, a day of death, a day of judgement comming, wherein the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels, in flaming fire, to render vengeance unto them, which have not obeyed his Goſpell; and to puniſh them with everlaſting perdition, from the glory of his power: at which time, he ſhall ſay unto all impenitent ſinners, *Depart from me, ye Curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the Devill and his Angels*: and that this ſhall be an everlaſting departure; not for a day, nor for yeares of dayes; nor for millions of yeares; but for eternity; into ſuch paines, as can neither be expreſſed nor conceived; the paine of the body being but the body of paine; and the anguiſh of the ſoule, the ſoule of anguiſh. For, ſhould we firſt burne off one hand, then another, after that, each Arme; and ſo all the parts of the body, it would bee deemed intollerable, and no man would endure it, for all the profits and pleaſures this World can afford; and yet it is nothing to that burning of body and ſoule in Hell. Should we endure ten thouſand yeares torment in Hell, it were much; but nothing to eternity. Should we ſuffer one paine, it were miſerable enough; but, if ever we come there, our paines ſhall be, for number and kinds, infinitly various; every ſenſe and member, every power and faculty both of ſoule and body, ſhall have their ſeverall objects of wretchednesſe; and that without intermiſſion, or end, or eaſe, or patience to endure it. And not onely ſo, but our ſufferings ſhall exceed, as our ſinnes have exceeded; and every one ſhall be more wretched, as he hath been more wicked.

Wherefore, wee beſeech thee, good Lord, ſuffer us not to ſlight that, which is of ſo great import, neither let us any longer dally with thee, and our owne ſoules, as if we were deſperately mad: but, give us grace to minde what thy meſſengers deliver out of thy Word; not turning our backs upon it, nor ſpurning againſt it, as we ſhall doe, if thou doſt not remove impediments, and take away from us all prejudicate conceits: for, otherwiſe, from an overflowing of our Gall; or an overweening of our Wit, either the matter, or manner, or ſpeaker, will be thought quarrell and cauſe enough, for us to reject the ſame, and forſake our owne mercies. Thou knoweſt our mould, O Lord, and how prone we are, to diſlike what croſſeth our profits and pleaſures. Neither will Satan be wanting, by his ſuggeſtions, to drop into our minds falſe ſuggeſtions of, and evill affections towards, either the Counſellour, or his Counſell. For, as ſoare eyes cannot a-

way with the Sunne; ſo every one that evill doth, hateth the light, leſt his deeds ſhould be reproved. And, ſuch Bankrupts in grace we are, that we cannot abide the ſight of our Counting-Bookes: Yea, it is well, if we ſcoffe not at the meanes to be ſaved, and make not our ſelves merry with our owne damnations; if we doe not perſecute thy Meſſengers, as *Herod* did *John Baptiſt*, *Demetrius Paul*, and the falſe Prophets *Jeremiah*: For, alaſſe! Lord, How commonly do we ſee, that the worſt members of a Congregation, who moſt need a faithfull Teacher; when they have ſuch an one, doe not onely of all others, leaſt regard him, and complaine of his bitterneſſe; but even ſeek, by all meanes to remove, or ſilence him; becauſe they are feet, and leggs, and thighs, and armes out of joynt, and cannot therefore endure the touch of the Chirurgions hand, or the Acrimony of his Medicines; though both reaſon and conſcience may informe them and us, that the Phyſitian is not to be blamed for the paine of his Patient, but the Diſeaſe; nor the Chirurgion, but the wound, which he endeavours by all meanes to cure. O that thou wouldeſt rectifie our reaſon, and awake our conſcience, cleare our judgements, and cure our Prejudice; then would thy Word ſoone heale our ſoules. Yea, give us, good Lord, but *Davids* ſpirit, and thy very judgements will be ſweeter unto us, than the Honey, and the Honey-combe: then ſhall we allow of Truth, as well when it hurts us, as when it helpes us: yea, love our Paſtours ſo much the more, by how much the more we ſmart; conſidering, that ſharp reprehenſion is the healing of the ſoule; that they fight not againſt us, but our ſinnes; that we have no ſuch foes, as our faults; and that unleſſe they dye, we cannot live: then ſhall we acknowledge, that there is nothing more glorious, then to be overcome of Truth; ſeeing, if it overcomes us not, with our willing ſubmiſſion, it ſhall overcome us, againſt our wils, to our confuſion; there being no judgement on earth, or torment in Hell, from which we can plead a priviledge: then ſhall we entertaine thy Meſſengers, as *David* did *Nathan*, the *Ninevites Jonah*, and the *Bereans Paul*, and reſerve our ſelves open and prepared, to receive each profitable inſtruction, and continuall amendment: whereas otherwiſe we are out of all hope of being healed. For, how ſhould not that Patient periſh, who, after he is lanced, flies from his Chirurgion, before the binding up of his wound? Or, how ſhould not that ſinne be paſt cure, which ſtrives againſt the Cure? Certainely, ſalvation it ſelfe will not ſave thoſe, that ſpill the potion, and fling away the plaiſter.

Theſe, O Lord, are many and great mercies, for us to aske, who are unworthy the leaſt crumme that fals from our Maſters Table. Yet, ſeeing we have begun to ſpeake unto our Lord, who are but duſt and aſhes: of all other judgements, we beſeech thee, give us not over to our ſelves. We have read of ſome, that have been given over to Satan, and have beene reſtored againe, but never of any, that have been given over to themſelves. True Lord, many amongſt us are within ſome degree of it (and ſo upon the very threſhold of Hell) who having ſet themſelves downe in the Scorners chaire, contemne all admonition, and reſolve againſt goodneſſe; yea, are foreſtalled with Prejudice againſt Religion and holineſſe it ſelfe. And where Satan hath thus far prevailed, were *Chriſt* himſelfe on earth, that ſoule

wou

would never beleeve him, or thinke well of him: as we ſee, in the Scribes and Phariſees; who made an ill conſtruction of whatſoever he did or ſpake: For, when he wrought Miracles, he was a Sorcerer; when he caſt out Devils, he was a Conjurer; when he reproved ſinners, he was a Seducer; when he received ſinners, he was their Favourer; when he healed the ſick, he was a Sabbath-breaker, and the like. Which is the caſe of too many among us. For, even as an ill ſtomack turnes all it receives into ill humours; or, as the Spider converts every thing ſhe eates into poyſon: ſo they, whatſoever they heare, or ſee in the godly; ſo blinding themſelves with *Prejudice*, that they will not beleeve what their eyes ſee, and their eares heare: Whereby it fares with them, as with the Adder; no charming can charme them. Now this Lord, is indeed a dangerous condition, a deſperate diſeaſe: yet thou, that canſt doe all things, canſt cure it alſo. O that thou wouldeſt be pleaſed to rebuke Satan, and pluck their ſoules out of the fire, before it be too late: that thou wouldeſt vouchſafe to pul thoſe ſcales from their eyes, which like a Curtaine, hides the truth from them; and thoſe falſe ſpectacles wherewith the god of this World ſo deludes their underſtandings; that they might no longer ſhut their eyes, nor ſtop their eares, nor harden their hearts; either preſumptuouſly, as *Pharoah* did, or maliciouſly, as *Cain* did; or deſperately, as *Ahab* did; or blaſphemouſly, as *Julian* did.

Finally, O Lord, give to all thy people ſuch rectified judgements, and renewed affections, that we may all of us, take as great delight, in thine holy Ordinances (thoſe well-ſprings of life and ſalvation) as ever we have done in our profits and pleaſures: that we may entertaine thine Embaſſadors, who bring the glad tydings of ſalvation, as *Lot* did thoſe Angels that came to fetch him out of *Sodom*; and not evill entreat them, as *Jeruſalem* did all the true Prophets: that we may heare thy Word, as thy Word, with all diligence; minde it with due feare, reverence, and attention, receive it, with humble, honeſt, and good hearts; whereby it may fare with us, as it did with *Simeon*, who going into the Temple, by the motion of the Holy Ghoſt, met there with *Chriſt*: that laying aſide all ſiniſter ends, we may goe to heare; heare, to minde; minde, to underſtand; underſtand, to remember; remember, to practiſe: Yea, grant us ſo to heare and minde the ſame, that if any vertue be commended, we may practiſe it; if any vice condemned, we may avoid it; if any conſolation be inſinuated, we may appropriate it; if any good example be propounded, we may follow it; and ſo receive every truth, as if thou ſpakeſt it to each of us in particular. So ſhall thy ſervants know ſavingly, beleeve rightly, and live religiouſly: ſo others ſhall be forced to confeſſe, this is a wiſe and holy people: ſo ſhalt thou alſo have the glory of thine owne grace, and thine end, in ſuch as ſhall thereby be ſaved.

Theſe and all other good things, which either for our blindneſſe and inability, we know not how to aske; or, for our evill demerits, we are altogether unworthy to receive, vouchſafe to give us, for the worthineſſe and ſatisfaction of thy Son, and the honour of our Advocate and Mediator, *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Amen*.

FINIS

RVLES TO GET CHILDREN BY WITH HANDSOME FACES:

OR,

Precepts for the Extemporary Sectaries which Preach, and Pray, and get Children without Book to consider and look on, before they leape.

THAT SO,

Their Children may not have such strange, prodigious, ill-bodeing *Faces* as their Fathers, who (unhappily) became so ill-phisnomied themselves, not only by being born before their conversion, by Originall Sin, and by being Crost over the *Face* in Babtisme; but by the lineall ignorance of their Parents too in these Preccpts, for begetting Children of Ingenuous Features *and Symmetrious Limbes.*

Composed by *George Spinola.*

LONDON,
Printed for *R H*, 1642.

Rules to get CHILDREN by, with handſome Faces.

NAture the Vicegerent of God, ſeems now to be grown old, and in ſuch a decrepit dotage, that ſhe is disinabled to bring forth things ſo accurate and perfect as ſhe was wont, when ſhe was young and luſty, and her veines fill'd with prolifique Spirit, not yet diſpenc'd to the generition of ſo many Millions of ſeverall things. The Sunne it ſelfe is obſerved by moderne Men, to have ſunke two degrees neerer to the Earth, then it was in *Ptolomies* time; and if that glorious body of the Sunne be not exempted from diminutions by time, we may well ſuſpect that the whole Frame and Syſteme of Nature, is hamſtringd and lame, and that ſhee her ſelfe goes now upon her crutches. The fire, which once (as the Ancient Ægyptians and Greeks tell us) brought forth many Creatures, as the Salamander, the Pyrauſta, and others, is now grown quite fruitleſſe and barren. The Ayre doth not now beſtow a cheriſhing and vitall incubation upon the Earth and Water, as ſometimes it did; and to ſay all in a Word, in compariſon of former influence and fœcundity, the Heaven is become Braſſe, and the Earth Iron. Neither is this decay and dampe of Nature obſerueable in the Syſteme of the greater World alone, but more eminently in the *Microcoſme* or leſſer World of Man, which is a little tranſcript of the great Univerſe. Do but ſumme up the age of Man now adaies, then obſerve his petit diminutive Stature, and you will preſently ſay, That Man is but the Creature of a Day, that he is become a Pigmey now, and that Nature hath ſpent all her ſoveraign Balme which ſometimes maintain'd him in a kind of perfect, laſting, and ſetled beauty. Since, ſuch an inſufficiency of Nature in the teeming of all her Birthis, and eſpecially of Man, is manifeſt: I thought it not unworthy of a Phyloſopher to inquire the Reaſons, why Nature in this age of the World failes ſo much in the Generation of Man, and ſo to diſcover ſome Artificiall Rules to help and relieve her failings in the bodies of Men, & to make Poſterity beholding to me for their better Faces. But I confeſſe in all my obſervations of the Phiſnomies of Men, I

have

have not found such strange, exotick, forrain, ridiculous deformities, and non-conformities of parts in the Faces and Limbs of any kinde of Men, as in those which at this day are familiarly called the Sectaries and Seperatists, and therefore I direct this discourse of Face-mending to those invisible Christians of Knock-verjuce-lane, and other obscure places. They above all others seem'd to me to have the fairest plea, title, and claime to such a discourse. First, because the mistakes of Nature are not so præposterous, ridiculous, and enormous in the Faces of any kind or order of Men as in theirs and their Childrens. Secondly, because some of the best Rules of Facemending here proposed, doe worke primarily by the strength and force of Imagination, in which kind of Imagination, they are known to have a greater share, then of Reason, and a cleare intellectuall minde. Now least any Man should thinke I offer at a thing impossible, when I promise Rules to get Children with handsome Faces; First I will shew you that some Christian Philosophers upon their honour have affirm'd, that it is possible by Rules of Art reduc'd to practise, not only to mend, but to raise even out of Dust the bodies of many vegetables, and sensitive Creatures, which bids higher for the improvement of Nature, then my discourse of Rules. Secondly, I will lay the Basis and foundation of my Rules in the Scripture it selfe, that the Browniſt (if he be true to his own positions) may not suspect me for a humane Traditioner; but apply himselfe forthwith to beget good Faces by the Text.

It is reported of *Rhasis* the Arabian, and *Albertus Magnus* (and themselves in their writings intimate the same) that they did generate and produce by Art, *Homunculos quosdam*, certain little men in stature puppet-like, but with all the Organs of a perfect man, born by the ordinary course of Nature. *Paracelsus*, of whom the judicious *Erasmus* of Roterdam, saies, *multa invenit divinitus*, he found out many things by Divine inspiration, confesseth boldly, that he receiv'd that secret of producing little men by Art from God himselfe, and sets down the way of proceeding artificially to that purpose, in his first Book of the Nature of things.

The bold experiments of these Philosophers excuse me for daring only but so high as to prescribe Rules to beget good and Orthodox Faces, especially since my way of proceeding, takes it rise from Scripture, and common experience of observing men. And now I fall upon that part of naturall and most lawfull Magick, by which the Generation of Man may be perfected and enobled.

1 Rule. It is known to all sober and discreet men; That all sensitive

Creatures (and ſuch are Men eſpecially when they cloſe with Women) do Impreſſe into the thing begot that very affection which prevailes and preſides in them in or about the time of Generation. And this is confirmed by the practiſe of the Patriarch *Jacob*, *Gen.* 30.37. *And* Jacob *tooke him Rods of green Poplar, and of the Haſell and Cheſnut-tree, and pilled white ſtrakes in them, and made the White appeare which was in the Rods. And he ſet the Rods which he had pil'd before the Flocks in the Gutters in the watring-troughes when the Flocks came to drink, that they ſhould conceive when they came to drink; And the Flocks conceiv'd before the Rods, and brought forth Cattel ringſtraked, ſpeckled and ſpotted, &c.* The whole Story proves not only the lawfulneſſe of this kind of *Naturall Magick* to better the Generation of Beaſts, much more of Men, but the uſe and certain effect of Impreſſions taken from externall objects. In *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, where this *Patriarch* was Shepheard, the heat of the weather is exceſſive, the Waters but few, and thoſe for the moſt part in little purles; therefore when the Flocks came to the water wherein the Rods were laid and look'd upon them in the Water, to which they had an eager appetite, they did, as it were, with their eies, draw in and drink the ſhapes of thoſe Rods lov'd and deſir'd by them, even in that love and deſire of the Water, and ſo generated, conceived, and teem'd thoſe ſpeckled births. And no doubt, but an Artificiall and lawfull *Magick* not unlike this of the *Patriarch* may be uſed with good ſucceſſe to perfect the generation of Man. Be this then the firſt *Rule*, Take heed what affection prevailes in thee, and what Impreſſion thou haſt derived and naturaliz'd to thy ſelf from outward objects about that time when thou goeſt about the *Blandum Myſterium*, as *Triſmegiſt* ſpeaks, the toying myſtery, which makes thee Father of an handſome or ill-favoured Babe. The Tribe of the *Browniſts* though illuminated has bin extreamly ignorant in this principle. And it is no wonder that they and their barnes are of ſuch ridiculous Phiſnomies, ſince by their profeſſion they abhor all decency and harmonioufneſſe, and lye with their Wives in that opinion. Impreſſions of ſlovenneſſe, diſorder and diſproportion muſt needs affect the Spirits of ſuch as are habitually averſe from decencie, order and proportion. If no other ill Impreſſion but this which is almoſt their very eſſence; namely, the abjuring of all Order, affected their ſpirits, it were enough to make all their brood of ſhapes as ſtrange and monſtrous as thoſe irregular figures and appearances which ſometimes we ſee in the Clouds; which ſeverall eyes judge to be of ſeverall forme: yonder Cloud ſaies one looks like a Pedler with a pack upon his back, no ſaies another, it is a Cat-a-Mountaine

with

with the heeles upward. But this is not all; besides, their resolute abjuring of Order, from variety of other Objects of their like or dislike, varieties of strange Impressions arise in their Spirits. One fastens upon a Presbytery which neither he nor the Christian World, for this almost fifteen hundred yeares, well understood, and in the ignorant heat of that desire, begets a thing of such a doubtfull shape, that when it is presented to a Minister that can see, he may justly doubt whether it be a thing that ought to be Christned at all, or not. From his dislike of Episcopacy results his love of Presbitery, and from those two together, such a miscellaneous Impression is made in the blood, that any thing begot of that is very likely to look monstrous scurvily. In the minde of another of them, *Canterbury* continually runnes, and though his fancie be not strong enough to hit the lineaments of the Man exactly, yet his hate is active enough to draw him more monster then he is in shape or manners: He hath an ugly shape of the man in his minde, though not a true one, and that ugly *Idea*, Prints it selfe in his blood, as we often see mishapen Clouds in the Water; when his Religion, his appetite, and Mistris incites him to give due benevolence, he cannot well expect, if he understand himself, that the issue of that Close, should have but one Face, and that handsome; but one Name, and that Christian. Certainly, it must needs prove a thing of doubtfull Interpretation, of a Priest-and-Minister Face, of a Secular and Ecclesiastick Head and Shoulders, or else an uncooth-shap't Lay-Elder bepist in the Swadling-clouts; for part of its Originall it will owe to that Impression which the Father hath derived from strange apprehensions of Canterbury, and part to the Dad and Mam, as meere Seperatists. Neither is it unlike, that the shape of a Bishop should contract Lay-Eldership and Originall Sinne from the blood of a Browniſt, where ignorance and hate hath mistaken, and writ it foule.

But see! here comes a Company of Assasinates to make a religious riot upon Cheapeside-Crosse: they looke something like Men, and might possibly beget Children with humane Faces; but for those very Images which they will carry home to their Wives, Imprinted in their *Animal-Spirits*, (*Spiritus animalis quoniam natura mobilis, tenuis passivusque est, aptus est omnibus a rebus pati*, Campanella. *lib.4.cap.6.*) by looking eagerly upon what they desire to ruine.

The Objects of Love and Hate cut deepe Impressions in our Soules. One falls foule upon the Picture of *Judas* and his Lanthorne, and when he comes home reports to his Wife his zeale and valour, and then whilst

whilst his spirit is big and full of the action, begets a Brat with a *Jacks*-lanthorn-belly, which in time will be fil'd with Illumination and Gutt, like the Fathers. Another fal upon the Statue of Saint *Peter*; a third upon *Pauls*; a fourth upon those which are remembrancers of more glorious Names, and from all these first lookt upon with hate, while they stand entire, and then with pleasure when they are dismembred, strange unshapen figures are impresst in the blood, able to make all their posterity Apes, Elves, and Hobgoblins.

Thus they prevaricate from my first Rule which teaches Men to take heed what affection presides in them, and what Impression they derive from outward Objects. And since mishapen objects possesse the eager beholders with mishapen figures; I advise the Sectaries hereafter to finde themselves objects wherein there is a beauteous conformity of all parts, out of a Christian pitty to them and their posterity, I wish them all which have Wives to buy the Canon of the Masse, and the Golden Legend, for there they shall finde most beautious pictures of the Roman Saints of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Archbishops, Archdeacons, Canons, Demicanons, Prebends, Deans, Nuns, and Virgin-Ladies, which wil beget fine formes in their fancies, especially if with a devout intention they peruse the story of their lives subjoynd, which will certainly send them back to gaze upon the pictures with a great deale of love. One serious look of a Browniſt upon the red Capitall Letters in the Canon of the Masse, would enable him to beget a Boy or Girle with Cherry-cheeks and Lips. But I must præmonish thee (good Browniſt) that thou look not upon all the pictures in the Masse-book and Legend with equal ardency; take heed of staring too wide upon S. *Dunstan* holding the Devill by the Nose with a payre of tongs, lest immediately upon it thou chance to get a Babe which may have more of the Devill, the Nose, and the Tongues in it, then of S. *Dunstan*. There is a Picture of a certaine Saint, preaching in the Water with a little Milstone about his necke, by miracle to convert the Ethnicks which flung him so desperately into the Water; passe by this picture I pray thee, lest while the Imagination of this is fresh in thee, thou shouldst afflict the World with a prodigious opinioniſt which would induce a forme, and urge the necessity of Preaching in the Water, with Milstones about mens neckes, to put Universitie Hoods quite out of fashion. And thus I passe from the first Rule, and your trespasses against it, with the redresses of ills ensuing to you from those trespasses, to the second Rule as followeth.

2 *Rule*. Let no Sectary dare to enter the armes of his mistris, before he has præmeditated, and is certainly inform'd whether benigne starres be

in

in the Horoſcope, whether happy Planets ſmile upon one another with a gratious aſpect, that a Childe may not be got (as *Spencer* ſpeaks)

—Under ill-diſpoſed Skies,
when ſullen Saturne *ſits 'ith' houſe of obloquies.*

But this Rule the Browniſt is partly reſolv'd, partly neceſſitated to tranſgreſſe though he get a Childe with more horrid and ridiculous Phiſnomies then are neceſſary for a whole maſque of anticks. Firſt becauſe he neither has nor will have any skill in this kind of humane learning. Secondly, his extemporary Cock-ſparrow devotion towards his doxie will not let him take time to Catechiſe a Planet, and ſay, *is it peace Jehu* (for by his learning he may eaſily take that for the name of a Planet) or *in what point of Heaven is Leviathan now.* Thirdly, becauſe he cannot be convinct that the Stars have an Influentiall authority here upon Earth; ſince he beleeves that the Biſhops which lie in a neerer proſpect to him have none at all; *And yet the Stars* (beloved *fought in their courſes againſt Jabin and Siſera*, and why may not the Stars take up the Cudgels to break thy babies Head, or Brain, or face, and make it break forth a very Moone-calfe; rather then you ſhould be quite ignorant in this Rule and fright us ſtill with your Childrens ill-portending faces, I pray that you may convert *Bouker*, *Aleſtre*, *winter*, and all the reſt of the Almanack-mongers to be the adviſers and grooms of your wantou Stooles.

3 *Rule.* My third Rule or caution is founded upon a relation of *Ælian* a Greek Hiſtorian and Philoſopher. In Africa (ſayes he) where it is very hot, and Waters are ſcarce, wilde Beaſts of all kinds and ſhapes meet together at the Water in very great Companies, and there, when their ſpirits are cheered by the Water, they engender with one another at randome, and ſo by a continual coalition of promiſcuous blood, Africk is continually full of ſtrange and monſtrous ſhapes.

It is not hard to draw a faire paralleliſme betwixt theſe African Beaſts, and the practiſe of the inviſible brethren; your heats (brethren) are known to be as great and malignant as thoſe which the ſurly Dog-ſtar breathes; your companies are full, and of ſhapes, ſtrange and exotick, whether compar'd with us, or one another, your watering places are but few and private; your waters are cheering, ſublimated Cock-broth, ambergreece caudle, candied-eryngomotives, frontinack & muſcatellie-means, with the high and mighty ſpirit of *Diaſatyrion* to raiſe your weaklings, fallen into interims of ſpirituall deſertions; now, if you chance to mingle your loves promiſcuouſly (which I will not ſay) as you interweave opinions, and beget monſters, in reaſon, your Church may well *Vie* with Africk for monſtrous ſhapes, and give it three in ſeven. Take heed therefore,

fore (good private Christion) of these hot, private, lusty, and promiscuous meetings, if thou mean'st that thy Childe, or him that thou mayst own for thine, should have a handsome ingenious look.

My fourth *Rule* informes the Sectary not to be rash in the choice of a place for familiar congresse and collation of notes with his Mistris, place may conduce much to the temper, both of the body and mind of a Child. A Child got upon a payre of stairs, is very likely to be crump-shouldred; and besides that, may confesse the place of its Originall by staring. An Orchard may conduce to the Green-sickneſſe; a Dayrie to a Whey-beard; a Cheese-loft to all kind of Obstructions; a Gallery, to a Long-nose; a dull kitchin to the love-hickup, for the want of Wit; and repletion by meat and drink engender love and the hickup. If thy Mistris will stand a veney rather then faile against a Bean-stalk, canst thou think to beget any thing there but an Arminian, for the Mothers fear and suspition of breaking her Bean-rest, may infuse in a Babe so begot a strong suspition of falling away finally, against the Brownists Position of Assurance: If she be so comming that she wil allow thy Courtship, even there where there is nothing but Venice-glasses & Urinals behind her, the Birth may prove an open trasparant Foole, and have the Pissing evill for ever.

My fifth *Rule* adviseth thee to leave thy Preaching, and fall to thy Trade, if thou mean to get Children with handsome Faces, and Symmetrious Limbs. Those high speculations of thine, concerning Gods eternall efficacious decree, concerning the certainty of Divine prescience opposing contingency of actions, concerning the immobility of Divine prædestination, end reprobation; those (I say) make thy weak Spirit, like a Skain of raveld Silk, which is hardly evolved without snapping, taring, and a thousand knots; whilst thy Spirits are so entangled, perplext, and attenuated into single threds, thy Childe must probably have such a long, thin, and narrow Face, that a man even with that Face, instead of a stick might stop paper into the hole of an Eldern-gnn. The *Roman Priests* even for this Reason, *Because their Spirits are engag'd in Divine and Humane Contemplations, are prohibited the Marriage-bed; and if at any time a contemplative Priest chance to get a Baby, it proves such a witlesse and shapelesse Foole, that he never owns it as his Son, but his Nephew.* Much more I could have said in this Argument of *Sectary-facemending*, but that a serious study which I have in hand, cals me to play upon a deeper Reed, then tunes the *Face of a Brownist*. If these Precepts already given do not mend their *Faces* and *behaviours*, I beeleeve our *Honourable Patriots of the high Councell* will become such natural magnians as *Jacob* was, and lay Rods for 'em in their most private *watring-troughs*.

FINIS.

MUSEUM

A COPIE

Of two writings sent to the PARLIAMENT.

The one intituled

Motions for reforming of the Church of England in this present PARLIAMENT: *Most taken out of Irenæus Philadelphus.*

THE OTHER

A Humble PETITION unto the PARLIAMENT, for reforming of the Church of England: All taken out of the holy Scriptures.

NEHEMIAH 13. 14.

Remember mee, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the House of my God, and for the Offices thereof.

PSAL. 137, 8, 9.

O *Daughter* of Babylon, who art to be destroyed: Blessed shall he be that repayeth unto thee thy reward, which thou hast rewarded unto us.

O blessed shall he be, that taketh and dasheth in-peeces thy Babe against the Rock.

Amstердам

Printed in the Yeare MDC. XLI.

A COPIE

Of two petitions sent to the PARLIAMENT.

The one intituled

Motions for reforming of the Church of England in this
present PARLIAMENT: Most humbly offered.

The Other

A Humble PETITION unto the PARLIAMENT,
for reforming of the Church of England: All taken out
of the holy Scripture.



Printed in the Year MDC. XLI.

The humbly Supplication of ſundry of his Maieſties Faithfull Subiects, who have now along time beene conſtrained to live as exiles abroad, or to endure other grevious Perſecutions at home, for bearing witnes to the truth of Chriſt, againſt the corruptions of Antichriſt, *yet remaining in the* Church of England.

To the Honourable and High Court of *Parliament*:

PRaying pardon upon our knees for our boldneſſe, wee moſt humbly beſeech you to heare us a little with patience.

What DAVID ſpoke in his owne defence, when his elder brother charged him with *Pride & haughtineſſe of heart*: Is our anſwer now unto all ſuch as ſhall lay upon us the like accuſation: *vvhat have we now done? Is there not a cauſe!* Sundry CAUSES there are which have moved us in all duetifull manner to become inſtant ſuters to his Highneſſe, and to you in the Cauſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*. 1 *Sam.* 17 28,

1. The great hope which his Majeſtie hath given of much good to bee done through the mercy of God, by your meanes in Church and Commonwealth. 1: *Cauſe of our Petition.*

2. We take our ſelves bound in conſcience to ſpeake at this preſent: Fearing leaſt otherwiſe through our ſilence, the *Motions* which ſome have made, might prove hurtfull and perilous both to Church and State. How farre the *Motioners* are from ſpeaking *according to the law & to the teſtimonie*, and ſeeking to have things reformed in the *Church of England*, agreeable to the *Patterne of the new Teſtament*, We ſhall ſhew in our next Petition. Onely two things we deſire, may be here conſidered, as being the ſpeciall drift and maine of their *Motions*. First, in the whole there is much *ſelf-ſeeking*: For to what end is it motioned to have the *Pariſh-miniſters* raiſed up to an equall height (as it were) of power and authoritie with the *Biſhops*? But that they and the Biſhops together (keeping from the people their Rights and Liberties in the Goſpell) may equally LORD it, and doe what they pleaſe, without controll. But our hope is that the PARLIAMENT, beeing men in whome the Lord hath putt wiſdome and underſtanding, will for *their Brethren and Companions ſake*, yea and for their owne ſoules ſake too, prudently foreſee the evill, and prevent the *Motion*, and not put authoritie into their hands, who wilbe (if they have it) as great perſecutors of the Saints, as the Prelates formerly have beene; and ſo inſtead of one *Lordly and Domineering Biſhop* in a Dioceſſe, we ſhall then have one in every Pariſh, & in ſome more, to oppreſſe & ſuppreſſe all ſuch as walke up to their light, more cloſely and conſcionably ithrall Gods wayes then themſelves: We know what we ſpeake, and wee ſpeake no more then what we have had wofull experience off, and can make good by proofe. Eſa. 8, 20 Pſal. 122. 8.

The next is their mixing of Heaven & Earth together: *Motioning for a discipline*, which is a very hotchpotch, a gallemawfry, compounded of *Episcopie, Presbyterie, and Poperie*, thinking (in likelyhood) to please all sides, by framing (like the *Samaritants*) a worship of sundrie religions. But the Lord
Mal. 1, 14. sees their halting, and will one day reward them for it, in their owne bosome as they have deserved. *Cursed is the deceiver, which hath in his flock a male, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing.*

3. *Cause.* A third CAUSE moving us to Petition, is in regard of you who are our PARLIAMENT-MEN, What *Paul* said to *Agrippa*, we say to you; wee thinke our selves happie, because we shall answer for our selves this day before you, whom we know to be expert in all customes and questions that are amongst us. In what a forlorne and desperate State our Kingdome was come unto, before you came together, wee are all very senceable off. And howsoever many true Causes thereof, have beene already discovered by your deepe wisdome and diligence: Notwithstanding give us leave to adde this unto the rest: That because the glorious Scepter of the Lord Iesus, hath not beene hitherto advanced in our Land as it should have been;
1 *Sam.* 2. 30. our blessings have beene the fewer, and our crosses the more. *Them that honour mee* (saith the Lord) *I will honour; and them that despise mee shall be lightly esteemed.*

And how farre it shall please God to goe forth now in the worke of reformation by you, wee know not; But this we know, if you altogether hold your peace at this time, yet shall enlargement and deliverance arise unto the Kingdome of Christ from some other place. And truely just it wilbe with the Lord, to purge away such drosse & filth of the *scarlet whore*, with the blood of the Nation, which through your neglect shalbe left in
Zach. 1, 14. the Land. *For thus saith the Lord of Hostes, I am jealous for Ierusalem and for Sion with great jealousie*; and the Nations which will not *kisse the Sonne*,
Psal. 2. and come under the sweete and easie Yoake of the Gospell, hee will breake them in peeces with a rod of Iron. Oh that you would looke but to former PARLIAMENTS, and consider how their *Statutes and Acts* made about Religion, have occasioned afterwards sore troubles in the Land. And why? But because they were not made conformable to the will and Testament of Iesus Christ. And what better successe may we now expect, unlesse looking beyond *State Policie*, and carnall reason, there be a full closing with
Prov. 21, 30. God in the truths of the Gospell. *There is no wisdome, nor understanding, nor Counsell against the Lord.*

We therefore before God and the Lord Iesus Christ, and the elect Angels, beseech you to mind the necessity of a right and full reformation. For if your care and strivings tend this way, *then shall the Earth yeeld her increase, and God, even our God, shall blesse us.*

4. *Cause.* Our 4. and last CAUSE of Petitioning, is, *for Sions sake the Mount of the Lords holinesse, and the place where his Honour dwelleth.* That which we desire herein, is, that removing the *Hierarchy and devised Leiturgie*, Christ true *Ministerie, Worship, & Government*, may be by Act established. But if it be

it be doutfull to you whether our requeſt be lawfull. Then our humble ſupplication is that it will pleaſe his majeſtie and the PARLIAMENT to have the difference on both ſides tried and examined. as either that our Propoſitions and reaſons may be given to our oppoſites to anſwer, and their arguments (if they will ſet down any) to us, to anſwer by the word of God. Or that a conference may be had in writing, & the queſtions being firſt agreed vpon, and the arguments and anſwers adviſedly ſet downe till both parties have fully ſayd, (laying aſide all by-matters) and ſo the whole exhibited to the PARLIAMENT, to judg off. Or any other courſe which by *you* ſhall be thought meeteſt, for the finding out of the truth by the ſacred Scriptures.

And if this may not be granted us, then our laſt requeſt is, for our returne out of exile, and releaſement out of bands, and that we may be ſuffered in peace under his majeſties government within his dominions (which we had rather then under any other whatſoever) to walke in the fayth of the Goſpell, according to the teſtimony of Chriſt: we carying our ſelves in all loyaltie peace & goullines as becometh the faithfull ſubjects of the Lord. And this we hope will not be denyed, ſeeing ſtrangers are ſuffered which differ (as well as we) from the Hierarchy & worſhip there eſtabliſhed, we being his majeſties naturall ſubjects.

But howſoever it be, wee wil not ceaſe to pray for you. And that the Lord wilbe favourable to the land, and take away his wrath from it.

Motions for Reforming of the Church of England in this preſent PARLIAMENT: moſt taken out of *Irenæus* (a) *Philadelphus*.

(a) Qua. 1, whether Irenæus be a fitt man to be followed in the point of diſcipline; ſeeing none of the Fathers in his time probe moſt conſtantly in the thing then he.

MOTIONERS.

1. THat *ſince the firſt reformation in* King Edwards *dayes was rather of the doctrine the of the diſcipline, and of the rites that were patpable groſſe, which yet were retayned with a purpoſe they ſhould be removed afterwards, and for to unloſe by degrees the faſt hold to the* Romiſh Church: *now ſince every Proteſtant is well informed of the change made in religion, that whatſoever in the religion or tending to the diſturbing of the peace of the Church and the maintayning of hereticall doctrines be redreſſed.*

A humble Petition vnto the PARLIAMENT, *for the Reforming of the Church of England: all taken out of the holy Scriptures.*

PETITIONERS,

1. HOwſoever it cannot be denied, but ſome things in *King Edwards* days were wel reformed. Neverthcles many groſſe corruptions were ſtill retayned, both in the *Church-lyturgy, diſcipline, miniſtery*, and the very *conſtitution of the Church it ſelfe*. The which errors and evils haue been by ſun dry learned (a) and Godly men ſo plainly diſcovered, as that every ſincere profeſſour of the goſpell, is now fully informed of the neceſſity of a chang: And are humble PETITIONERS that whatſoever ſhall appeare to be anti-chriſtian and unlawfull, may by thus

(a) *Cartwright, Brightman, Parker, Udal, Baines, Bates, Gilbie. Fenner, Ames, Baſtwick, Lawton, & others.*

2. That in that great worke of *Reformation*, which is of moment and consequence farre beyond the setling of civill affaires, there bee appointed by both the Houses a Committee or Convocation, or meeting of 40 or 50 *English* Divines; Men that were not of the late Convocation, and such as be impartiall, learned, and uncorrupt in their lives and Doctrines, such as Dr. Usher, Archb. of Armach, Dr. Williams (a) B. of Lincolne, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Twisse, and the like. With 10 Scots Divines, to which be called 8 Forraine Divines, of the most learned and famous, Such as Rivetus, Primrose, Mouldi, and the like, who may treat and agree upon a setled plat-forme of Church Government, suitable to the Monarchy of Great Britaine, which ought to be ratified and enacted by Parliament.

a Que. 2. Archb. & Bb. and men conformable to the Popish Ceremonies be fit to have speciall hand in framing a setled platforme of Church government.

b Que. 3. whether such as doubt, whether it be needfull to have the English Leiturgie reformed be not corrupt men, & unfit to motion for reformatio

3. That the Churches Discipline being established, a Nationall Synod be convocate that may frame a Confession of Faith, and reforme if need be the English Leiturgie, that without exception it bee received through out the K. Dominions; to which Synod may be called a competent number of Forraine Divines.

How-

present *Parliament* be suppressed, and the *ordinances of the Gospell* set up, to the honour of Iesus Christ, & the perpetuall peace both of Church and common wealth.

2. whereas Iesus Christ Lord and King of his Church, hath set down vnto us in the new testament *a setled platforme of Church government* (b) which is vnchangable, best, perpetuall and common to all Churches, (c) and to which all churches and people must be subject, and not to any other devised by man whatsoever; And in this respect *suteable* (howsoever some other wise vnruly inisquote) *to the Monarchy of great Britaine*, and to all kinds of Civill estates in the world. It is therefore againe desired, that the same be ratified and enacted by this present *Parliament*.

But if it be thought fit by *both houses that there shalbe a committee or convocation and meeting of some divines* to treat of the thing: Then our request is, that some zealous and godly ministers who have bee forced to fly out of the Realm, by reason of the Prelates persecution, may be called home, Such as are known to be impartiall learned and vncorrupt in life and doctrine. Men that have not maintayned the open profanation of the Lords day, neither are ignorant or unsound in the point of *Church government*, as are our *poopishly ceremonious* divines,

3. We hould that there is not only e need, but that it is of absolute necessity, that the *English Liturgy* be taken away, becaus the same is *a devised service* (d) *Popish stuffe* & termed by *King Lamet* the *English Masse*, and fitly so bee cause it was culled & gathered out of the popish dunghill, the *portuis* & vile *Masse Booke* full of all abominations: and proceeded and patched

(b) M 18, 15, 16, Eph 11, 12, Hebr. 3, 2, 3, 4, 1 Tim. 15, Esa. 9, Act. 40.

c Mat. 18, 20, 1 Tim. 16, A 1, 3, G 1, 8, 9, Iud. 3, Rev. 14, 12, & 2 18, 19.

d Exo. 4, 5 24, Rom 8, 26, 27 Iud. 24, Mal. 1, 14. Col. 2, 8, 27, Ga 3, 18.

However, since so many have beene so earnest of late to bee in Charity with the Romane Church, that they have beene uncharitable to the Reformed Churches.

Let Canons bemade in the Synod, and an act of Parliament for Union with other Protestant Churches in matter of Doctrine. And all the fire-brands of these late innovations in the Church, that have made us a laughing stocke to the neighbour-Churches, be sharply censured, if not cast of as banes of the Church; Especially the first raysers of Aliats. Such as Heylen, Pocklington, and the like. (a)

patched together without reason or order of edefication.

And this being abolished, our further request is, that this present PARLIAMENT will take such order as that no stinted or devised formes of prayer be by any *nationall Sinod* imposed (specially upon the ministers of the Gospel) in any part of the Kings Dominions: but as the Lord hath furnished them with spiritual gifts (*a*), even so according to their present need and occasions, they may have their freedome alwayes to pray in the spirit, through the helpe of the holy Ghost. For if it had seemed good to the Apostles the last Penmen of the holy Scriptures that any stinted formes or number of words shouldbe repeated or read out of a prayer booke, they would certainly have given commandement for the practise there of. but we find no *prescript Liturgy* in their writings nor had the primitive churches any such thing, what ever the Iewes fable of *Ezra* and the *Papists* of *St. Iames* and *St. Peter*.

(a) Qu 4. whether Bi. ting en in rke. de- ni ma- ture ssib- ent.

(*a*) *Act.* 1, 24, 28, 1 *Thes.* 5, 17, *Rom.* 8, 26, 27, 1 *Tim.* 7, 17, *Neh.* 2, 4, *Exo:* 14, 15, 1 *Pet.* 2, 5

And as we like it well, that this PARLIAMENT should seeke for union with other Protestant Churches in matters of true doctrine; so also to accord with them in all acts of their lawful discipline: and chiefly in this, that they doe not force and compel people to become members of the Church, but let every congregation consist of a free and voluntary people, and as for such as are prophane worldly and wicked, let them be kept out of the Church, untill they be called of God unto repentance and faith in his promise.

4. That the pleasures of our late Soveraigne King Iames *of blessed memorie, be executed, who sent his Divines to the Synod of Dort. That the Church of England afterwards should be bound by the decisions made there, and that Canons be made conformable to the determinations of the Divines in that Synod.*

4. Howsoever we agree unto the Artic les of the *Synod of Dort*, in al points there treated and concluded against the *Arminians*, yet we se not (by any warrant from the word of God) that it is lawfull for the *ecclesiasticall officers* of many churches to meet together, and by joynt authoritie to make constitutions and lawes and to impose them upon all churches. *b*

b 1 *Pet.* 5 2, 3, 2 *Col.* 5, *Iam.* 3, 1, *Rev.* 14 9, 10, 11,

This tyrannie and supremacie we beseech the *Parliament* to prevent, and not to grant any liberty to the Assemblies or *Synods* to make *Ecclesiasticall Canons* for all Churches, but let every particular congregation (as a special prerogatiue where-

(a) Que. 5 whether men wishing the Bp. to be retained, are not herein enemies to the State, and seeke to hinder reformation

5. *If Bishops be retayned* (a) *(as it is to be wished) ther be no more distance betweene a Bishopp and an ordinary minister; & that Bishops be no more called Lords, & that they be enjoyned to preach dilligently as the duty of their place and office is.*

with shee is indued by Christ) be free from such bondag and burden.

5. Howsoever some wish that Bishops be retayned in their places, yet sure we are, that this PARLIAMENT shall very much glorifie the sonne of God, if as plants which the Father never planted they now roote them up: For since the *Prophets Apostles* and Evangelists were taken away from this world, there are not any other lawfull Bishops or Church-Governours then Bishops or O-verseers of particular Churches. (a) *a Act.* 28, *P* 1, 1.

6. *That if some sit in* Parliament, *It must be upon woll Sackes and have no more priveledge by their office, and places then the Iudges the Lord Keepers & Treasurers, & that a certayn number of deputies from the national Sinod,* b *whether Bishops or others be assisting both in the higher and the lower house, for delivering their advises vpon any clawes of acts that may entrench upon the Churches priuiledges, or are contrary to doctrine or good manners.*

b Que. 6, whether ministers more then other private men, ought to have either place or voyce in Parliament.

6. And seeing they are no Ministers at all in the Church of God : but haue and do vsurpe the name and seate of the ministerie. Their calling being Antichristian and contrary to the word of God, (b) wee therefore most humbly beseech *b* 2 *T* this present PARLIAMENT: not 2, 3, 4 onelie to take from them (as they 1 *Pe* justly deserve) all Civill authority: but 1. also to doe to the (*Ioh.* 2.) in whipp sellers and money tayntie , they r the *Temple*, ther Dioceſan Bisho God : yea and had more necessary use , but they h and made it a denne of theeues.

TIGHTLY BOUND

c Que. 7. Whether Ministers in the Apostles time used to pay any such thing.

7: *That the principall defect of our dicipline and the spring of all errors in doctrin and practise which is the want of Synods, be amended, and hereafter all vissitations of Bishops be Synods, as by right they ought to bee and according to the Antient constitutions: as it appeareth by the* (c) *Synodals which ministers pay at every visitation, and that at Synods al Parish ministers, be sitting and covered and haue their voyce and the discussing of all the affaires of the dioesse , and making*

7. The princi and the spring o and practice is r but rather of the tures, For th shewes us no *P riall and mother* dry meetings or assemblies and speciall y Pastors over the same. Neither hath 25. Christ Iesus subjected any Church or 1, 2 *T* Congregation of his, to any other Supe- 3, 14 riour Ecclesiasticall jurisdictinn then *Rev.* 2 unto that which is with in it selfe . So *&* 3. that

making orders which may not afterwards be altered by the Bishops, but only by the nationall Metropoliticall Synods, which for the present, is to be kept once every two yeares, neither was the Church of old but without Synods but in ENGLAND. (a)

mediate judgement of Christ. For Bishops therefore and Parish Ministers to come together to discusse of the affaires of the *Diocesse*, make orders, and decide and determine among themselves the cases and controversies of sundry congregations. It is a practise which the *Apostles* never knew, *Syon* hath not heard of it, *Jerusalem*, which is aboue will not acknowledg it, but as it began with the oppressing the only lawfull politie of the Church, so the use of it hitherto hath been the cruelst and most ambitious tiranny in the world. And therfore the Parliament is humbly desired not to countenance so injurious & vnjust a course: but to stand earnestly zealous for the pretious liberty and priviledg of the Saints, the which Christ hath purchased for them with his owne blood.

8. *That Bishops be Censurable by the Synod whether it be provinciall or nationall.* (b)

8. As the Scriptures (*a*) acknowledge no other for lawful Bishops, but such only as stand ministers to some particular Congregation; so neither doe they acknowledge any Ecclesiasticall censure

bunced against them, unlesse it be done by that Church, of which nbers, *b*) and by which they were elected into Office.

osition, excommunication, and the like, done by Synods, whether or Nationall, it is but of the Earth, newly devised, an addition, an h ordinance of Kings and Princes. And this needs must bee so, ist hath not placed this power any other where, but in a true vi- . Now there is no true visible Church, but a particular Con- ompany or Assembly of men, ordinarily joyning together in rship of God. As for other Convocations, Synods, Societies, ns, &c. the Title of a visible Church is improperly, and untruely nto them. Of this judgement are our English best Divines. *t*)

in other course be taken *maintaining ministers and Bish-* *then that by tythes, c which still cau-* *seth suites between the parishers and* *ministers, the patron and incumbent* *keepes the minister from his Church*

9. The right course for the due maintainance of ministers, is by the free and voluntary Contribution of the Church: *d*) Not that *Parliaments* or *Synods* should impose any certaine rate or summe upon any man, how much hee

that if a whole Church or congregation shall erre in any matter of Faith and Religion, no other Communions, Societies, Combinations, or Assemblies whatsoever have (by any Commandement from the Lord) power to censure, punish, or controll the same; but are onely to admonish them in a brotherly way, and so to leave them to the im-

a *Act.* 20 28. *Rom.* 12. 8. 7. *Phil.* 1. 1. b *Mat.* 18 17. 18. 1 *Cor.* 4. 5. 12. 13. 2 *Thes.* 3. 6. *with* Lev. 24. 14. 15. 16 23. *Iosh.* 7 11. 25. c *D.* Ames Eng. puritne. 11. Baines Dioces. *p.* 12. repl. to *Down.* Offer for conse- rence *p.* 2. d 1 *Cor.* 9 7. 14. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Thes. 5. 13. 1 Tim. 5. 15. with Pro. 3. 9. 10. Num. 18. 8. 32.

with ſhee is indued by Chriſt) be free from ſuch bondag and burden.

(a) Que. 5 whether men wiſhing the Bp. to be retained, are not herein enemies to the State, and ſeeke to hinder reformation

5. *If Biſhops be retayned* (a) *(as it is to be wiſhed) ther be no more diſtance betweene a Biſhopp and an ordinary miniſter; & that Biſkops be no more called Lords, & that they be enjoyned to preach dilligently as the duty of their place and office is.*

5. Howſoever ſome wiſh that Biſhops be retayned in their places, yet ſure we are, that this PARLIAMENT ſhall very much glorifie the ſonne of God, if as plants which the Father never planted they now roote them up: For ſince the *Prophets Apoſtles* and Evangeliſts were taken away from this world, there are not any other lawfull Biſhops or Church-Governours then Biſhops or O-verſeers of particular Churches. (a) a Act. 28, P

6. *That if ſome ſit in* Parliament, *It muſt be upon woll Sackes and have no more priveledge by their office, and places then the Iudges the Lord Keepers & Treaſurers, & that a certayn number of deputies from the national Sinod,* b *whether Biſhops or others be aſſiſting both in the higher and the lower houſe, for delivering their adviſes vpon any clawes of acts that may entrench upon the Churches priuiledges, or are contrary to doctrine or good manners.*

6. And ſeeing they are no Miniſters at all in the Church of God: but haue and do vſurpe the name and ſeate of the miniſterie. Their calling being Antichriſtian and contrary to the word of God, (b) wee therefore moſt humbly beſeech this preſent PARLIAMENT: not onelie to take from them (as they juſtly deſerve) all Civill authority: but alſo to doe to them as our Saviour dealt (*Joh.*2.) in whipping out the buyers and ſellers and money-changer. For of a certayntie, they might better come into the *Temple*, then any Metropolitan or Dioceſan Biſhopp into the Church of God: yea and had more neceſſary uſe, and made it a denne of theeues. but they had abuſed holie things

b Que. 6, whether miniſters more then other private men, ought to have either place or voyce in Parliament.

(a) Ex

7: *That the principall defect of our dicipline and the ſpring of all errors in doctrin and practiſe which is the want of Synods, be amended, and herafter all viſſitations of Biſhops be Synods, as by right they ought to bee and according to the Antient conſtitutions: as it appeareth by the* (c) *Synodals which miniſters pay at euery viſitation, and that at Synods al Pariſh miniſters, be ſitting and covered and haue their voyce and the diſcuſſing of all the affaires of the dioceſſe, and making*

7. The principall defect of diſcipline and the ſpring of all errours in doctrine and practice is not the want of *Synods* but rather of the knowledg of the Scriptures, For the teſtament of Chriſt ſhewes us no *Provintiall, nationall, emperiall and mother like Church* having ſundry meetings or aſſemblies and ſpeciall Paſtors over the ſame. Neither hath Chriſt Ieſus ſubjected any Church or Congregation of his, to any other Superiour Eccleſiaſticall juriſdictinn then unto that which is with in it ſelfe: So that

c Que. 7. Whether Miniſters in the Apoſtles time uſed to pay any ſuch thing.

making orders which may not afterwards be altered by the Bishops, but only by the nationall Metropoliticall Synods, which for the present publick vnion is to be kept once every two yeares, neither was the Church of old wont to haue Synods but in ENGLAND. (a)

that if a whole Church or congregation shall erre in any matter of Faith and Religion, no other Congregations, Societies, Combinations, or Assemblies whatsoever have (by any Commandement from the Lord) power to censure, punish, or controll the same, but are onely to admonish them in a brotherly way, and so to leave them to the im-

Que. 8. Whether Synods are to be held

mediate judgement of Christ. For Bishops therefore and Parish Ministers to come together to discusse of the affaires of the Diocesse, make orders, and decide and determine among themselves the cases and controverses of sundry congregations. It is a practise which the Apostles never knew, Syon hath not heard of it, Jerusalem, which is aboue will not acknowledg it, but as it began with the oppressing the only lawfull politie of the Church, so the use of it hitherto hath been the cruelst and most ambitious tirranny in the world. And therfore the Parliament is humbly desired not to countenance so injurious & vnjust a course: but to stand earnestly zealous for the pretious liberty and priviledg of the Saints, the which Christ hath purchased for them with his owne blood.

Que. 9. Whether a Synod may erre

a Act. 20 28. Rom. 12. 8. 7. Phil. 1. 1. b Mat. 18 17. 18. 1 Cor. 4. 5. 12. 13. 2 Thes. 3. 6. with Lev. 24. 14. 15. 16 23. Iosh. 7 11. 25. c D. Ames Eng. puritne. 11. Baines Dioces. p. 12. repl. to Down. Offer for conse-

8. *That Bishops be Censurable by the Synod whether it be provintiall or nationall.* (b)

8. As the Scriptures (a) acknowledge no other for lawfull Bishops, but such only as stand ministers to some particular Congregation; so neither doe they acknowledge any Ecclesiasticall censure rightly pronounced against them, unlesse it be done by that Church, of which they are members, b) and by which they were elected into Office.

As for *deposition, excommunication*, and the like, done by Synods, whether Provinciall or National, it is but of the flesh, newly devised, an addition, an institution, an ordinance of Kings and Princes. And this needs must bee so, becanse Christ hath not placed this power any other where, but in a true visible Church. Now there is no true visible Church, but a particular Congregation, Company or Assembly of men, ordinarily joyning together in the true Worship of God. As for other Convocations, Synods, Societies, Combinations, &c. the Title of a visible Church is improperly, and untruely attributed unto them. Of this judgement are our English best Divines. c)

rence p. 2. d 1 Cor. 9 7. 14. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Thes. 5. 13.

9. *That an other course be taken for maintaining ministers and Bishops then that by tythes, c which still causeth suites between the parishers and ministers, the patron and incumbent, keepes the minister from his Church*

9. The right course for the due maintainance of ministers, is by the free and voluntary Contribution of the Church: d) Not that Parliaments or Synods should impose any certaine rate or summe upon any man, how much hee

1 Tim. 5. 15. with Pro. 3. 9. 10. Num. 18. 8. 32.

while he followes suite to London.

And bring the holy ministers into obloquie and contempe, but an honorable Competent proportion, be appointed for the maintaining of each parish Minister by the parishioners, & rated by the Parliament or Synod. And that the distinction of Deanes, Archdeacons, Parsons, Cuirates, Vicars, and Readers, be taken away, but in them be conjoyned and more or lesse in number in one parish, according to the greatnes or wealth of the parish.

mer *Parliaments*: Their originall beeing one and the same.

And further it is desired, that not the distinction alone of *Deanes, Archdeacons, Parsons, Vicars, and Readers* be taken away, but their offices and places also: (g) in regard they are not elected, called, or ordained, according to Gods Word; but their entrance into the Ministery is by a Popish and unlawfull vocation, strange from the Scriptures, and never heard off in the primitive Church.

10. *That as Bishops in height of Jurisdiction and place by act are to be shortned, so an act be made from henceforth that all ordinary ministers which are too much vilified,* (d) *shall have more respect and honour then heretofore given to them, and that the ministers sons be preferred to the fellowship of Colleges*

d *Qu.* 11 *Whither many of the ordinary Ministers are not so vile as that there is no honour nor respect due to them.*

Names, Titles, and Priviledges, may be now abolished, and that every Christian Congregation may have freedome to enjoy the publick ordinarie ministery of *Pastors*, (k) *Teachers, Elders, Deacons, and Helpers*; as those onely which Christ hath appointed in his Testament, for the feeding, governing, and building up of his Church. And as every Congregation hath power (l) in Christ to take unto themselves meet and sufficient men into those offices, so (the *Hierarchie, and their dependant Offices being all unlawfull and Antichristian. in the height of jurisdiction and place be taken away,*) an *act of Parliament* be made, that from henceforth these true Ministers which are too much vilified, shall have more honour & respect then heretofore.

should pay, but this is to be left unto the *Church*, for every one to give according to the blessing which hee hath received of the Lord. And so Christ hath ordained, that *they which preach the Gospell, should live of the Gospell*, and not by *Popish Lordships* and Livings, or *Iewish Tythes* and Offerings: As for the *Law of Tythes*, it did cease with the change of the *Levitical Preisthood*, (e) It is therefore humbly desired, that the Land and revenewes of the *Prelates* and *Clergie* yet remaining, may now by this *Parliament* (f) be taken away and converted to better use. As those of the *Abbyes & Nunneries* have beene by for-

10. No doubt but it is the office & duetie of this present *Parliament*, to cherish and protect the true ministers of Christ; (h) and on the other hand to suppresse and root out by their authority all false Ministers, and unlawfull Ecclesiasticall functions whatsoever. (i)

Therefore our humble Request is, that all *Popish Offices, entrance, administration, and maintenance*, with their

11. *That*

Qu. 12. Whether it be not meet that they should first shew by whose authority the Keys belong unto them before the Parliament do grant such a claim.

11 *That the power* (e) *of the ecclesiasticall keyes such as belongs to the Bishops and ministers be restored to them according to the ancient constitutions of the primitive Churches, & that there be no Censure past upon the Clearcy or people from Synods, Bishops or presbyteryes, but such as is spirituall, & that visual penalty of imprisonment & fines be rendred again to the right owner, viz: to the Civill Magistrate, and the abuse of excommunications and the Oath* Ex-Officio *abolished.* (f)

11. Howsoever the Papists doe place the *power of the Keyes* in the *Pope*, the Protestants in the *Bishops*, and the Reformed Churches in the *Presbytery, Classes, and Synods*: notwithstanding according to the *Apostolick institution*, every particular Congregation (*m*) hath power in and for it selfe immediately from Christ, to exercise *Ecclesiasticall government*, and all other religious Ordinances: So that the *power of Excommunication* is in the body of the Church, whereof the parties that are to bee cast out, are members. And so farre is the *power of Ecclesiasticall Keyes from belonging solelie to Bishops and Ministers*, as that they themselves stand under it. For the Congregation, which did elect and ordaine them, may (if the cause so require) depose them from the Ministery they exercise; (*n*) and if they remain obstinate and impenitent, orderly cut them off by *Excommunication*. And this is a truth, so cleare and manifest, viz. that according to the ancient constitution of the primitive Church, the *power of the ecclesiasticall Keyes* is given to the whole body of every Christian Congregation, (*o*) (and not to any member apart, or to more members sequestred from the whole, or to any other Congregation to doe it for them.) As that the learned on all sides, as *Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Conformists, Non-Conformists, ancient Writers*, with the *publick Confession of all the Reformed Churches* (what ever their practice be) give Testimony hereto, as we have it in our hands to shew, if the *Parliament* be pleased to call for it.

Qu. 13. Whether also abuses as vile as these should not be abolished also.

Qu. 14. Whether it be not better that the Parliament should present to the King, all the Bishoprickes in the land, & he take them into his owne hands.

12 *That the Clergie of the Diocesse shall choose their own bishops, or present to the Kings Majesty two, who may choose of them whom he pleaseth, and that every parish be patron of its parish, & have the presentations of as many ministers as the flocke requireth, to the Synod or Bishop.*

12. That there ought to be no *Nationall, Provintiall, or Diocesian Bishops*, wee have shewed before: neither are Churches to be made by the bounds and limits of *Parishes*, (for that is an ordinance of man, even the *man of sin*, and contrary to the faith and order of the Gospel) but to consist of a company of people called and separated from the world by the Word of God, (*p*) and joyned together by voluntary profession of the faith of Christ in the fellowship and practice of the Gospel: and therefore no drunkards, no whoremongers, no prophane persons: at least, which are known, may be received, retained or compelled to be members in the Church of Christ, (*q*) which is his body, whereof he is head, and his temple wherein hee dwel-

m 1 Co 5.4. 11. 12,13. & *Mat.* 18. 17. 1 Cor. 16. 3, 2 Cor. 8. 19. *Act.* 18.23. & 15.23. & 18. 22. n 1 *Tim.* 3,10. & 5.22. *Rom.* 16. 16. *Phil.* 3,2. 1 *Tim.* 6. 3,5. *Exo.* 44,12.13 *Mat.* 18. 16. o *Ps.* 122. 3. *Act.* 2. 47. *Rom.* 16,2. *Mat.* 18. 17. 1 Cor. 5.4. &c. p *Act.* 2. 39. & 19. 9. *Rom.* 1. 6.7. & 10 14, &c. q *Mat.* 3. 7. 2 Cor. 6. 14. *Rev.* 21. *ult. num.* 15,27, & 22,15. *Esa.* 35.8 9, &c.

leth by his Spirit: but the *House of God* must be kept as neare as it is possible, free and cleane from all polutions and prophanations whatsoever. And to *this Church* Christ hath given his *power* to chuse and call into office among themselves, such as are fit, without going to *Synods or Bishops with Presentations* of any, for that is but a *humane device*, and therefore by the *Parliament* not to be tolerated.

13. *That insteed of chancellours Officials, Apparators, Registors, and such like grashoppers, there be some lay Elders that may sit in provintial Synods, and have their voyce in matter of Discipline & Church government, and that in a nationall Synod: there be some Lay-men likewise appointed by the Parliament.*

13. *That in stead of Lay Elders to sit in Nationall and Provintiall Synods,* (an office that hath no root in Christs Testament) let it be appointed by the *Parliament*, that every Christian Congregation shall have free liberty to elect and ordaine (as the Word requireth) *Governours, or ruling Elders*: (r) being men of life unreproveable, sober, gentle, lovinge temperate: men of wisedome, knowledge, and sound judgement: *that may sit in the Church*, to see the Congregation holily and quietly ordered, discerne between cause and cause, plea and plea, and accordingly prevent and redresse evils.

h Qu. 15. *Whither it be not fit that these Motioners do prove the thing to be lawfull, before the Parliament doe grant it.*

14. *That a better course be taken for the providing for the poor, & that both ministers* (i) *& the chiefe of the Parish shall oversee how Churchwardens do dispose of the Churches Treasury, & that they be not permitted under crime of Sacriledg to spend it upon themselues, & that every moneth they give account of whatsoever is received and laydout.*

i Qu. 16. *Whither their motion be not gainst the Word of God, Act. 6.2.4.*

14. A better course cannot be taken for providing for the poore, then that the *Ordinance of the Gospel* be observed: which is, that *Deacons* be chosen in every Congregation (s) being men of honest report, grave, temperate, not given to excesse, nor to filthy lucre; let these gather and collect by the ordinance of the Church, the goods and benevolence of the faithfull, and faithfully distribute the same according to the necessity of the Saints,

For *Church-wardens, Side-men,* and *Collectours*, their offices are unlawfull and hurtfull: unlawfull because they are counterfeits of Gods true Officers, namely, *Elders and Deacons*, also retaine the marke of the Beast in part, as fictions devised by men, and comming from *Rome*; hurtfull, because they are bound to most unlawfull conditions, for necessarily either they must be perjured, or sin grosly; as to present both Minister and people, if they be not superstitious and prophane: and thus they serve the tyranny of the *Hierarchie*, and minister matter of filthy lucre to the *Harpies of the Prelates Courts*, in so much that the more honest and better sort, avoide such places, as knowing they cannot expect any blessing or protection from God therein.

15. Touch-

15. *That the griping of Church duties and burials Casts, exacted of men more rigerously of the poore then the rich, be restrained, and that the ministers be contented with his yearly ſallary, performing all the branches of his Calling, as Baptiſme, Burying visiting the ſick, without any further recompenſe but ſuch as is tendered to him.*

15 Touching *buriall of the dead*, a it is *no branch of a Miniſters calling*, nor doth any *Church duse* belong unto it. For all praiers, either over, or for the dead, are ſuperſtitious and vaine no ſuch thing was uſed in the *Apoſtles time*: neither do the *Reformed Churches* practiſe the ſame. The like may be ſaid of the *celebration of mariage*; b it is no *Eccleſiaſticall action* appertaining to the Miniſtery, but civill, and ſo to be performed. For *Baptiſme* as it is an ordinance of God: ſo it is humbly deſired that it may be purged from all childiſh and ſuperſtitious toyes: and that no infant be admitted unto *Baptiſme*, whoſe Parents (one at leaſt) are not members of ſome particular Church. For the *viſiting of the ſick*, ſeeing the *preſcript ſervice of it* is taken out of the *Maſſe-booke*, we truſt the *Parliament* will take courſe to have the ſame ſuppreſſed. That ſo as it is Gods will we ſhould viſit the ſick, ſo we may do both his will, and worke in his own way.

a Gen. 23. 3, 4, 5, 9, 17, 18, 19, & 29, 21, 22, & 44. 45. Luke 9, 60.
b Gen. 2, 2. 23. Ruth 4, 1, 2, 9, 10, 12, 13. Iob. 2, 1, 2, 3. Heb. 13. 14.
c Matth. 28, 20. with 6, 24. Iob, 3, 35, 36, & 10, 4, 5, & 15 14. Rom, 6, 16. 2 Theſ. 2, 3, 4. 8. Gal. 1. 8. Rev. 14. 4 & 12.

16. *That hereafter none be cited by the Synod Preſbitery or ſpirituall Court, without the knowledge of the pariſh miniſter, who ought to preſent the delinqent & haue his voyce in the Cenſure.*

16. For *ſpirituall Courts* ſo called, they are humane deviſes, c preſumptuous inſolencies, ſuch as were never planted by the *Apoſtles* in the *Primitive Churches*, but long after erected by *Antichriſt* againſt God and his *Chriſt*, to the great prejudice and hurt of his Church, and the lawfull *juriſdiction* thereof. And therefore it is humbly petitioned, that as muſt prophane things, they may be by this preſent *Parliament* all rooted out, and utterly overthrown, without hope of reſtitution.

Touching *Citations by Synods and Preſbyteries, with the knowledge of the Pariſh-miniſter, and his preſenting the delinquents, and having a voice in the Cenſure, &c.* This neither is to be found in the Word of God, and therefore no Chriſtian man or woman is bound to ſubmit and yeeld obedience unto it. The rule of Chriſt *for cenſuring delinquents*, is (as we have declared) that the ſentence and judgement of Chriſt bee given by the whole Church, whereof the parties are members, provided it be executed in a due manner, namely for ſin, and that alſo duely convicted, and obſtinately ſtood in.

17. Our

Qu. 19. Whither is bee meet that such men as complaine against the rigour of Bb. should be suffered to impose what they please upon others.

17. *That it be not more in the power of Bishops to impose what they please upon the Cleargie, with such Rigurous penalties as they have lately used for the oath of the sixt Canon.*

17. Our humble suit is, that it would please his Majestie, and this present *Parliament*, that we may be suffered to live here in peace *d*, professing and practising the truth of the Gospell, without molestation, either of *Bishops*, or any other, to impose what they please upon our consciences, with such *rigorous penalties*, as they have lately used: we carrying our selves as loyall Subjects, and leaving the suppressing, abolishing, or reforming of the abuses that we witnesse against, to his *Majesties* and your discretion.

d Ps. 41. 1. Pro. 8, 9. Ez. 6, 7. M. 6, 10. 2 Chro. 19, 10. Psal. 3, 3, 4.

18. *That the fountaines of learning, Cambridg and Oxford be purged from superstitious rites and Popish Doctrines; and Orthodox Readers be provided.*

18. As it is very meet that all *Schools* and *Academies* be purged from superstitious rites, *e* and Popish doctrines, and Orthodox Readers be provided: so in speciall, that *Popish degrees* in *Theologie*, inforcement to single life *f* in Colleges, abuse of the study of prophane Heathen Writers, with other like corruptions should be removed and redressed, that so they may be the Wel-spring and Nurseries of true learning and godlinesse.

e Ps. 11. 9, 99. 10. 1 Sam. 9, 10, 2 Kin. 3, 4, 5. Mat. 11. 51, 52.

f Heb. 11. 4, 1 Tim. 2.

POST-SCRIPT.

a Whitgift against T. C. p. 180. 181. Bilson perpet. gover. cap. 15. p. 361. Sculting hier. anar. l. 11. p. 134. Sutclif. discipl. c. 8. p. 353.

THat we be not mis-understood touching Provintiall and Nationall *Synods*; As if we should condemne all use thereof: we have thought good to speak a word or two, more fully in the thing. As to shew out of Antiquity how ancient they are: and what were the causes and grounds of their erection at the first: how far they are lawfull and necessary in the Churches of Christ. And when and how they came to be abused. And this we will do in a very briefe way: leaving a larger discourse till a more convenient time. That there were no *Synods* (according to the acceptation of the Word now amongst us) all the time that the Apostles lived here upon the earth, but every particular Congregation practised in, and for it selfe all the ordinances of God: It cannot be denied without losse of credit both to person and cause of the denyer, in the eyes of all reasonable men *a*. If we come down from thence to *Trajans* time, which was about a 100. years after Christs Assention: we shal not finde in any approved Author, *b* so much as the name of any such thing.

b Centur. Meydenb. cent. 1. c. 4. cent. 6. 7. col. 591.

From *Trajan* passe we to *Severus* reigne, *c* which was about the yeare 195. and let the approved Auhours of that age be read, and it will appeare (as cleare as the Sun at noone day) that the order of government was still *popular*. Neither was there any *superiour Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, above the independant power which every particular Church had in it selfe.*

c Cent. 2. c. 7. p. 137. 135. Brig. on R. c. 12.

Indeed

Indeed between *Severus* and *Constantines* time, we read in *Eusebius*, d *Irenæus*. e *Nicephorus*, f and others: that *neighbour Ministers came often together to confer of things serving for the generall good.* But here let it be noted: 1. This they did of liberty, and not of ditie, as if obliedged thereunto by any law of God. g 2 It was free for any of the brethren to be present, as for the officers. h 3. Whatsoever they did at such meetings, the same was of no force at all, as to be counted *a Church act or sentence*, untill the whole Congregation first knew of it, and gave their free consent unto the same. i

This ancient comming together of Ministers and Brethren (call ye it a *Synod* or *Convocation*, or what you will) we hold both lawfull and necessary, the better to preserve peace k with holinesse, and when any dangerous errours are broached, for to suppresse them. But at these meetings of Ministers of sundry Churches, they medled not with *Excommunication*, l *election, and ordination of Church officers:* for all such things they left as peculiar administrations to every particular Church: onely if there were Heresies broached, ‡ or some weightie point to be determined, every one gave his judgement and advice, and afterwards signified what was done to the Churches, who had still their liberty to receive, or reject what was before concluded.

And thus for the space of 200 or 300 years (as *Brightman* m, *Iacob* n, and others, have well observed) the *Primitive purity of Church government was not destroyed:* neither had Satan as yet brought in *Prelaticall* and *Synodall* pride into the Sheepfold of the Lord: but every Congregation was free, and subject to no other Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, then unto that which was within it selfe.

Indeed about *Constantines* time, and after; as *Cyprian* o, *Eusebius* p, and *Ambrose* q testifie: and which is also affirmed by *Casaubon* r, *Whitaker* s, *Mornæus* t, *Brightman*, u and others. Men began to devise a new order and manner of governing Churches, as they thought fittest to agree with the times, and took away by little and little, the *independant power* and government of particular Churches. And had now their *Councils* and *Synods* to make what *Canons* and Laws they listed, imposing the same *(nolens volens)* upon all Congregations, not permitting the people to have any hand in the election of Ministers, excommunication, and the like x. And howsoever the government left by the *Apostles* to the Churches, was rejected, under pretence to preserve the unitie and peace of the Church y, and for the avoiding of schismes a, factions, and for the unrulinesse of the people b, and to prevent other evils; yet whosoever will juditiously read the impartiall Writers of that age, hee shall finde that the corrupting at first of *Church government*, was principally through the pride c and ambition of the Ministers, for beginning now to have some outward state and meanes in the world, thought it a disparagement, that the Bretheren should be equall with them in the affaires of the Church: d Much lesse could they any

d *Lib.* 3. *c.* 22, & 5. *c.* 16.
e *l.* 3. *c.* 1. 2, 3.
f *l.* 4. *c.* 23
g *Zipperus, l.* 3. *c.* 7,
h *Cyp. i*, 1 *Epist.* 4.
i *Gregor. Nazia. in orat. fun. de Patr.*
k *Parker Eccl. pol. pa.* 329. 330.
l *Ignat. ad Philad. ad mag. Tral, Tertu. Apol. c.* 20. *Atha. Ep. in pers. ad orthod. & Ep. ad Soli. vit. deg. & Ep. con. Nic. c.* 9 *Eccl. hist, Bas. Epi.* 58 *ad Elitiū. Theo. l.* 1. *c.* 19, ‡ *Cent.* 2. *c.* 9, *p.* 159 160. 161

m *on Rev. cha.* 12. *p.* 505. 506. *edit.* 3. n *neces. Reso. p.* 57, *&c.* o *Epist. de lapsis, l.* 4, *c.* 4. p *l.* 8. *ep.* 1. q *Com. in* 1 *Tim.* 5. r *ad Card. Peron, obj.* 4. *p.* 30. 31. s *de Rom. pont. cont.* 4. *p.* 5. t *Hist. Pap. p.* 37. 38. u *Apoc. c.* 2, *p.* 67. x *See Beza in res. ad tract. de min. Evan. de grad. c.* 22. *f.* 154. 155. *Synod, Laod. can.* 13. y *Duaren. dist.* 8. a *Field of the Church, l.* 3. *p.* 157. 158. & *de visib. mon. l.* 5. *c.* 4. b *Sculting hierarch, anar, l.* 11, *p.* 134. c *Greg, l.* 4, *Ep.* 38. d *Chrysost. in Mat, hom.* 4, *Heron. in Epi. ad Gal, cap.* 4.

any longer indure to be under their admonitions and censures, how disorderly soe they walked.

Hieron. in Esa. l. 6 c. 30.

Adde to this another cause: *viz.* the negligence *e* and idlenesse of the people, also the number of unfit members which were daily received, such as *f* knew not what their liberty in the Gospell was: besides about this time the *civill Magistrate* joynes with the Innovatours and corrupters of Church government, and under severe threatnings, and severe penalties, commandeth every one to yeeld and conform themselves to the sinfull devices of their NEW MASTERS.

e Chrys. in epist. imperfect. hom. 44.

Having thus briefly declared, what was the *discipline* planted by the *Apostolique institution*, in all Christian Congregations at first, we have now onely a word more to speake to the *Parliament*, being in hand at this present time, with the *reforming of the Church of England*.

f See Cen. 5. ca. 9. de Synodis.

Wise Polititians in their institutions of Government, do hold for an infallible maxime, that for to reforme abuses and corruptions in States, a better course cannot be taken, then to reduce things to their primitive originall. For as one truely saith, *h* *first in any kinde or sort of things is truest and best*,

g Field of the Church l. 2. p. 49.

Now our humble request is, that leaving the MOTIONS of mens braine, you would looke backe to the Churches of the *Apostolique institution*, and from them take your patterne and platforme to walke by, for so God teacheth *i* you to do. And it is indeed the *golden reed*, *k* which Christ now putteth into your hands: saying unto you *Rise, and measure the Temple of God, and the Altar, and them that worship therein.*

h Heb. 3. 5. i Mat. 28 20. Act. 1 3. 2 Tim. 1. 13. k Rev. 11. 1. Eze. 41

The authority of the Primitive Churches (saith *Gerson* l) *is above all Churches; therefore it is not in the power of* Pope, *Councill, or Church, to change the doctrines and traditions delivered by the Apostles.*

l De vit. spirit.

Brightman m on the *Revelation* hath a singular passage to the same effect: *The first Government of the* Church (saith hee) *is common to all times and places: and it is not permitted to be at the arbitriment of men to follow what way they list, but that alwaies in reforming a Church, we must have recourse to the first beginnings: to the which as our rule we must call back whatsoever strayeth from it: and that they are not to be turned and tossed according to the crookednesse and jarring sound of succeeding Churches.*

m Cha. 2. pag. 65. edit. 3.

Parker, n in effect useth the very same expression. So *Cæwright*, o and *Reynolds*, p yea and some Bishops too, as *Jewell* q and *Bilson*. r And *Hooker* s gives reason for it thus: *the first state of things was best, and therefore it must needs follow, customes, laws and ordinances, devised since, are not so good for the Church of Christ: the best way is to cut off later inventions, and to reduce things to the ancient state wherein at they were.* And this agrees with *Tertullians* saying of old (with which we will end this Petition) *That is truest which is first, that is first which is from the beginning, that is from the beginning which is from the Apostles.*

n Pol. eccl. l. 1. ca. 23. p. 59. & l. 3. pag. 95, & 30. o Repl. to Whitg. l. 1 p. 25, 26. p Confer. with Hart pag. 195. 459.

q Def. Apol. par. 6. chap. 16. divis. 2. p. 762. r Perpet. Govern. p. 3. s Eccles. pol. l. 4. p.

t Cont. Mart. lib. 4. cap. 5.

FINIS.

A LETTER FROM Sir Maurice Euſtace Knight,

His Maieſties Serjeant at Law in the Kingdome of IRELAND, and Speaker of the *Houſe of Commons*, in *Parliament* there.

Being a perfect Relation of the laſt true Newes from IRELAND.



LONDON,
Printed by *E. G.* for *I. Wright.* 1642.

SIR,

I Might have taken occaſion many times ſince, you went from hence to have written unto you, concerning the Earle of *Ormond*, for in this great and generall apoſtacie, which hath happened in this Kingdome, no man of either Nation hath ſtood more firme to the Crowne of England, nor ventured his owne perſon further for the ſuppreſſing of the preſent rebellion then his Lordſhip hath done. I could write much to demonſtrate this, if there were any doubt to be made thereof: But this being a truth, which cannot but be acknowledged by all, I paſſe it over, & will only give you account of his Lordſhips laſt journey, into our parts of the province of *Leinſter*, where in a pitcht field upon fryday laſt in the afternoone, betweene th. h.ures of two and three; his Lordſhip gave in a field betweene *Kilruſh*, and *Rathemoore*, a great overthrow to the whole power of the counties of *Wicklow*, *Wexford*, *Cathercaghe*, *Kildare*, Queenes County, *Kilkenny*, *Tipperarie* and ſome forces which were drawne out of the County of *Weſtmeathe*. And in this Battaile, he had to deale with his great Uncle, the Lord Viſcount *Mountgarret*, his owne brother Mr. *Richard Butler*, the Lord of *Ikernie* marryed to his Aunt, and the Lord of *Dunboyne*, his neere kinſman, *Tibbot Purcell* commonly knowne by the name of Baron *Locher*, who is marryed to his Lordſhips Aunt, and whoſe Sonne and heire, is marryed to his Lordſhips Siſter; young *Bagnau* who is Couſin German to his Lordſhip; *Philip Odarre*, Mr. *Walter*, and moſt of the Gentry of our Counties of *Kilkenny*, and *Tipperarie*; Generall *Hugh Birne*, Sir *Morgan Cavenaugh*, Colonell *Fitz Gerrald* of Ballyſoran, Colonell *Talbot*, Colonell *Moore*, Colonell *Sutton*, Mr. *Rob. Harpole*, Mr. *Thomas Davills*; and many more of great rank and condition, who were all beaten, and put to a moſt ſhamefull flight by his Lordſhip, who in the time of that battell, did like *Levy* forget father & mother, neither did acknowledge his owne brethren, nor neereſt kinſmen, but purſued them to the death. A ſervice never to be forgotten, but to be had in remembrance, to his everlaſting honour. I give you this in groſe at firſt, becauſe I would not keepe the beſt newes, which hitherto wee have had long from you. And now having ſatisfied you to the full, give me leave to digeſt it further unto you, wherein I will faithfully and truly ſet forth unto you every dayes ſervice.

Upon Saturday the ſecond of this moneth, the Earle of *Ormond* did march from this City of *Dublin* towards the *Naas*, with 3000. Foot, and 500. Horſe, and did encampe that night at *Rathecoole*, which is ſix miles from this City; his Lordſhip was not above two miles on his way, when a poſt was ſent after him, to let his Lordſhip know, that his Counteſſe & Children, were landed at the Rings end, which many did think would have brought himſelfe back that

night ; But his mind was ſo intent upon the great buſineſſe of the Kingdome about which he was then ſent, that though he had not ſeene his Counteſſe nor Children in ſix moneths before, and could not aſſure himſelfe that hee ſhould live to ſee them, if that he omitted that opportunity, yet neither this nor any other conſideration could bring him back from the Army, but lodged with them in the fields that night, as if the ſpirit of that great warryer *Vriah* had beene in him, who ſaid, The ſervants of my Lord are encamped in the open field, ſhall I then goe to my houſe to eate and to drinke, and to lie with my wife, I will not doe this thing.

3 Upon Sunday his Lordſhip marched from thence, the mountaine way to the *Naas*, and burned all that part of the Country, and encamped there that night ; there was no oppoſition given by the enemy all that way, only at *Tipper*, which is within one mile of the *Naas*, there was ſome ſhot made at ſome of our men, who went thither out of the Caſtle by ſome of the Rebells; there we loſt a trumpeter, and foure of our Souldiers, beſides ſix which were hurt, which ſo inraged our men, that they ſent for a barrell of powder to the *Naas*, and having made their approach unto it blew it up, and all who were in it, except three men, who were taken and hanged, there was in the Caſtle a Friar, unckle to *Sutton* of *Tipper*, a fit incendiary to be blown up amongſt the reſt, for it is ſuch fiery ſpirits, which have put this poore and miſerable Kingdom into that flame, wherein now it is: upon Munday, the hurt Souldiers were ſent from the *Naas* to this City upon Carres, with a convoy of twelve horſe, but theſe being ſet upon betweene *Rathecoole*, and this City by ſome of the Rebells, they were forced to leave the wounded men, to the cruelty of the Rebells, who moſt barbarouſly and cruelly murthered them, and the poore innocent Car men, who it may be did wiſh them better then our ſide.

This accident thus happening, it ſtopped all intercourſe, betweene our Army and the ſtate, neither being able to ſpaire that ſtrength, which might paſſe with ſafetie betweene them, which kept us and them in ignorance, untill their returne to us, we not knowing how the Army did move, nor the army hearing from us, which was a mighty advantage unto the rebells, and a very great diſadvantage unto our deſignes.

5 Upon Tueſday at night, our Army came to *Athye* and raiſed that Seidge, but the Towne, men not knowing of the approach of our Army, and being hard ſet to by the Rebells the night before fired moſt part of the out Towne not being able to keep it, which was ſome diſappointment to our army, when they came to quarter there.

7 Upon Wedneſday, his Lordſhip reſted there with the Army, but ſent Sir *Patrick Weames* Captaine of his owne troup, Captaine *Armeſtrong*, and Captaine *Harman* to *Catherlagh*, to releeve the Caſtle there, which for a long time had beene beleagured by the Rebells, but their Scouts diſcovering our troups

gave

gave notice thereof to the Rebells, and thereupon they fired the towne and betooke themſelves to flight, which our horſe perceiving, made what haſte they could after them and killed of them in the chaſe, 70. men, and had done execution upon the reſt, but that they betooke themſelves to a Bogg, where our horſe could not ſerve upon them; But they releeved the Caſtle, and likewiſe the Caſtle of *Clogh grevan*, and returned that night to the Army. There was 700. of the Rebells in the Towne of *Catherlagh*, when our horſe made their approach thither. The ſame day was the Caſtle of *Ballylivan* likewiſe releeved by ſome horſe, which his Lordſhip ſent thither.

Upon Thurſday his Lordſhip marched to *Stradebally*; where hee encamped that night, but left Colonell *Crafforde* at *Athy*, with ſome foot and horſe to make good the Towne untill his Lordſhips returne; and the next day came to *Marriborrow*, and releeved the fort there, which is a place of very great conſequence; and ſeated amongſt ill and dangerous neighbours.

Upon Saturday his Lordſhip was taken with a burning feaver, which together with a great Flux, held him untill Tueſday; the one did abate the violence and rage of the other; that Saturday Sir *Charles Coot*, and Sir *Thomas Lucas*, with ſome troupes of horſe releeved *Ballynekill*, and the Burris, and killed divers of the Rebells, which lay before *Ballynekill* to the number of 80. and returned that night to *Marriborow* upon the Sunday being Eaſter day, Sir *Charles Coot*, and Sir *Thomas Lucas* went with 250 horſe, and releeved *Birr* and ſome other places, which were much diſtreſſed: The horſe had of this a very hard ſervice, being to paſſe through woods, Boggs, and great faſtneſſe, and in their way, had many skirmiſhes with the Rebells, but alwayes had the good fortune to beat them, many horſes were loſt this journey, and it is Gods great goodneſſe, that we did not ſuffer in this more then vve did.

Whilſt theſe things were in acting, the Rebells did gather together from the Counties formerly mentioned; and upon Eaſter Sunday diſplayed above forty Colours, within two miles of *Athy*, on the further ſide of the Burrow in the Queenes County; whereof Colonell *Crafforde* gave notice unto my Lord of *Ormond* by letters, and thereupon his Lordſhip returned back to *Athy*, upon Wedneſday, and reſted there with the Army upon Thurſday.

That Thurſday, his Lordſhip ſent to Sir *Patrick Weames*, and Captaine *Armes-ſtrong*, who were quartered at *Grangomelan* on this ſide of the river of the Barrow, and in a direct line oppoſite to the place on the other ſide of the river, where the enemy was encamped to diſcover their number and ſtrength, whereupon they ſent out ten of their horſe to informe them of the truth hereof, which being perceived by the enemy, they ſent 30. Horſemen over the river, and each Horſeman had a Muſquetier behind him, vvith an intention to cut off thoſe ten Horſemen of ours, but this being diſcovered by Sir *Patrike Weames*, and Captaine *Armeſtrong*, they ſallyed forth vvith ſome horſe, cut

of the Musketiers, killed two of the horſe-men, and the reſt did in their haſte miſſe the ford, and ſwimmed over the river, where ſome of them were drowned. Sir *Patricke Weames* had his Horſe killed under him in that ſervice.

This being notified to the Earle of *Ormond*, his Lordſhip came thither with ſome Troopes of Horſe to view the enemy, who appeared on the other ſide of the River of the *Barrow* at a place called *Tankerdſtowne* right over againſt *Grangemellam*, and as his Lordſhip and the reſt of the Commanders who were then with him could judge, they could be no leſſe then ſix or ſeven thouſand foot, beſides 300. horſe. His Lordſhip thus ſatisfied by his owne eye, returned to *Athy*, and gave out that the next day he would draw out of the Towne and advance thither to fight with them, but his reſolution was to march away the next day, & in regard that he had done the buſineſſe he went for, not to fight upon ſuch oddes, if that he might avoyd it. But this was not ſo ſecretly carried, but the enemy had notice thereof, which made them to diſlodge that night, and to paſſe over the River by the Bridge of *Moygame*, and prepare themſelves for a purſuit.

Upon Friday morning about ſeven of the clocke our Army did riſe, and began their march, and kept the high and neereſt way toward this City, but they were not halfe a mile on their way, when they diſcovered the rebels marching wide of them on the right hand in another rode way, and it happned that there was a bog which was three quarters of a mile in bredth betweene both the Armies, which ranne betweene them for three or foure miles; and ſo they marched in view of each other all that way, with their Colours flying and Drums beating; when our Army halted they likewiſe halted, and when ours did move they did move, and ſo they kept this poſture untill both waies did meet, by which time the vantgard of the Rebels was within 3 furlongs of our van. And at the meeting of both the waies there was a narrow paſſage through which our Army was to paſſe, where it was thought the enemy did intend to charge our reare, and cut off our men, which if we had advanced forward, they might have done with much eaſe, it being a place of very great advantage for the enemy, which the Earle of *Ormond* perceiving, he cauſed Sir *Charles Coote* who commanded in chiefe under his Lordſhip, and the reſt of the Commanders and Officers of the field together, and told them that before he went any further he would fight with the enemy, though all the Rebels in *Ireland* were there together, to which they all moſt cheerfully and willing aſſented and his Lordſhip further told them that they had God and a good cauſe on their ſide, and that that day ſhould be his, and he doubted not but that God would fight for them; and thereupon drew up his battell in that ſort as did beſt ſort with the ground where it was pitched, and the enemy did the like in another great field which was oppoſite to the place where our Army was. But the battell of the enemy was much ſooner in order then ours

by

by reaſon that they had nothing to hinder the drawing up of their men, and that our Carriages which were very many, ſo divided the Van from the Reare that it tooke up ſome time to bring them together, ſo as if the enemy had fallen upon us as ſoone as they were ready, we ſhould have beene in ſome hazzard, but they ſtood ſtill where they pitched their battell, and did not move forward: whereupon my Lord of *Ormond* gave order to Sir *Charles Coote* and the reſt of the Commanders and Officers according to their ſeverall charge to advance forward, which they moſt couragiouſly did, and came up to the field, where the enemy ſtood in battell array; and the ditches being levelled by our Pioners our Field-peeces were drawn up, and order given that they ſhould play upon the enemy, which was done, but with little or no loſſe unto them, onely the noiſe with which they were not much acquainted did ſeeme ſo to amaze them as they ſtood like ſo many ſtatues without life or motion. After this our Muſketiers did their part, and ſoone after by direction from my Lord of *Ormond*, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Sir *Richard Greenowill*, Sir *Patricke Weames*, Captaine *Garnyer*, Captaine *Armeſtrong*, and the reſt of the Captaines of Horſe did in an inſtant and ſo gallantly charge the Rebels that upon the ſudden they routed them, and had the execution of them for two or three miles, onely there was a great body of 2000. led by the *Lord* Vicecount *Mountgarret* and Generall *Hugh Birne* which wheeled about and thought to poſſeſſe themſelves of our Ordinance, Carriage, and Amunition, which my *Lord* of *Ormond* perceiving, he drew out one of his diviſions to attend that great body, and with them and ſome few volunteere Horſe, to the number of thirty, which were then with his *Lord*ſhip (for all the reſt were following the excution) he faced that body, and within a ſhort time did likewiſe breake them and put them to rout. There were ſix or ſeven hundred of them killed in the place, and very many wounded; and if our Horſe had not been harrowed by their journey to *Birne* the execution had been very great, but that & the evening drawing on, and a great bog vvhich was neere, whereunto they did runne, did preſerve very many of them, vvho otherwiſe had been cut off: divers vvho have been in the battell, have aſſured me that the bog vvas all over blacke vvith them like a field in ſeed-time vvith Rookes. They loſt twenty Colours, and many Drums, all their Powder and Amunition, the *Lord* Vicecount *Montgarrets* Waine drawn vvith eight Oxen, where all his proviſion vvas, his Sumpture, and the *Lord* of *Ikernies* Sumpture. There vvere many of note and quality ſlaine and vvounded in battell who were not knovvn, and only the heads of the *Lord* of *Dunboyns* brother, the *Lord* of *Ikernis* ſonne, and Colonell *Cavenaghe*, brought by ſome of the ſouldiers hither. We did not looſe one of our Foot in this conflict, and very fevv of our Horſe.

This victory muſt be attributed vvholy to God, for we were not above two

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thouſand Foot ſtrong, and 500. Horſe, in regard that very many of the Army vvhich went forth were ſick, and divers of them left in garriſon in the places which vvere releeved; and the enemy was at leaſt 300. Horſe, and 7000. Foot vvell appointed, beſides 2 or 3 thouſand more who were not ſo wel appointed but attended to doe execution if they had broken upon our men. They had likewiſe all the advantages that they could deſire, for our men and horſe were harrowed vvith long and continuall marches, but there men vvere freſh and vigorous, and all the day before haſtning to the fight like Lyons to the prey, *parturiunt montes*, &c. They had the advantage of the ground being upon a hill, and our men forced to march up unto them, and they had likewiſe the Wind of us. But the Lord of Hoſts vvas on our ſide and tooke away their former ſpirits and reſolutions from them, having neither hearts nor reſolutions to fight, onely in the flight many of themſelves did kill one another, and ſome of them vvho eſcaped the battell, being afterward asked how they loſt the field, they ſaid that no reaſon could be given for it, but that God vvas on our ſide: The night before the battell, they vvere ſo confident of the victory, that they laid downe rules to vvhom quarter ſhould be given, and to vvhom not, and how the Wagons and ſpoiles ſhould be divided, and that after the defeate they ſhould march to this City of *Dublin* vvith our Colours, and fall upon it. If vve had loſt the day, the Kingdome certainely had been in great hazzard, and if that vve doe vvell conſider it, we ſhall finde this victory to be of as great honour to our ſide, and of as much conſequence, all things conſidered, as that vvhich was given at *Kinſale*. The Lord make us thankfull. Friday is appointed for a ſolemne day of due publike thanks in our Churches for this victory vvhich vvas got the laſt Friday, vvhich is the day of our publique faſt and humiliation. And ſure vve vvere then in our Churches ſtriving with God like *Moyſes* in prayer at the time of the battell, and God heard us.

As ſoon as this victory was thus miraculouſly gained, and a retreat ſounded, the Earle of *Ormond* called together all the Commanders, Captaines, and Souldiers, and in the ſame place vvhere God ſhewed himſelf ſo gloriouſly for them they did give God ſolemne thanks, herein imitating *Moſes* and the children of *Iſrael* vvho being purſued by their enemies, and delivered from them, ſung this ſong unto the Lord, and ſpake ſaying, *I will ſing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed glorioufly, the Horſe and his rider he hath thrown downe, &c.*

I dare not venture to ſet forth the particular acts of every Commander and valiant ſouldier in this battell, but ſure every mans valour was ſuch that he who did beſt might envy his companion, every man ſtriving to out-goe each other in this common cauſe. I have tyred my ſelfe, and I doe beleeve that by this time I have tyred you, and yet I doe wiſh that the like ſubject may often fall out for me to write, and you to read; I commit you to God, and remaine,

Your faithfull friend, and ſervant,

Dublin April 24. 1642. Mau. Euſtace.

FINIS.

THE ANATOMY

OF THE

Separatiſts, *alias*, Browniſts, the factious Brethren in theſe Times.

WHEREIN

This ſeditious Sect is fairely diſſected, and perſpicuouſly diſcovered to the view of World.

With the ſtrange hub-bub, and formerly unheard of hurly-burly, which thoſe phanatick and fantaſtick *Schiſmatiks* made on Sunday in the after-noone, being the 8 of *May*, in the Pariſh of S. *Olaves* in the *Old-Jury*, at the Sermon of the Right Rev. Father in God, *Henry*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*,

In the preſence of the Right Honorable the Lord Major of this renowned Metropolis, and diverſe worthy Members of the Honorable Houſe of COMMONS.

LONDON, Printed in the yeare, 1642.

The Anatomy of the Separatists,

Alias, Brownists, the factious Brethren in these Times.

SVch is the all-daring and Lewd Licentiousnesse of these last and perillous dayes of the World, that with their Faction, Schisme & confusion of contradicting and dissenting Sectaries, the Church of England (not long since the Reformed Religion) is promiscuously shaken, deplorably enervated, miserably torne and distracted. Religion it selfe is now crucified, as Christ was between two thieves, *viz*, Superstition and Irreverence, which is a spice of Atheisme, and of the two extreames is worse peccant in the defect, than in the excesse. The World is growne into a new confused Chaos, full of new wine lately come from *New England*, a new Spirit, new Revelations, & new Formes of Prayer. There is such a giddinesse in the profession of Religion, that every one almost is led by his own opinion, and most men in matters of judgement are divided one against another. 'Tis too true, that many places in the Kingdom of *England*, and in this Citty of *London* are too much *Amsterdamnified* by braineless opinions, and severall senses, which indeed are senseless senses in Religion. Religion is become common Table-talke, the ordinary discourse at very our Commons and Ordinaries, where a man shall hardly find foure together of one mind. The *Papists* will have their way; the *Atheists* will have their way; the *Brownists* their way; the *Anabaptists* their way, the *Familists* their way; and the *Sisters of the Fraternity* their way: So that in these various and irregular wayes, they make such an intricate Labyrinth of Religion, that few or none scarce can find out the right way. A man may with more facility reckon up all the species and kinds of Nature, then describe all the Sects, Divisions and Opinions in Religion that are at this time amongst us. Some approve of Popery, because Ignorance is the mother of Devotion; Others affect nothing but their own silly fancyes, esteeming all things else prophanation and superstition. One at the receiving of the holy Communion will not kneele, another will not stand, a third will sit downe, a fourth will not bow; One holds reverence to be Popery, another that Rayles before the Communion Table are *Romish*, and that all decency is Superstitious. Some say it is lawful to kneele at receiving the Elements of the sacred *Eucharist*, others argue and plead for it, as expedient; some again do presse it as necessary; and there are others (indeed too many of that Sect amongst us) who abhorre it as Idolatrous. One out of zeale, somewhat inconsiderate, cryes down Episcopacy, as Antichri-

ichristian: Another very moderate, wishes earnestly Episcopacy were reformed and purged from the *Romish* and Tyrannicall government, that incumbers it: A third kind of men carryed by a contrary wind, maintaine Episcopacy to be *Jure Divino*: Thus *quot homines, tot Sententiæ*, So many men, so many minds. From these premisses of Discord and Faction, needs must there proceed much tumult and distraction to the great disgrace and scandall to the true Protestant Religion, to the encouragement of the wicked, who seeing that there are so many Sects and Separatists, will therefore be of no Religion:

O Deus bone, in quæ tempora reservasti nos! Polycarp.

Well may we take up that exclamation of the *Roman* Orator, *O tempora! O mores!* Bad times, wherein there are worse men, and worst of all manners. *Plenitudo hominum, sed solitudo bonorum*; a plenty of men, but a scarcity of good men. There is such a multitude of Sectaries in all places, both in our Cities and Countries, that we may justly feare this little Island will be turned into a great *Amsterdam*.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ, One would reconcile Popery and our Religion together, another would introduce faction and innovations into the Church: So that between the *Papists* and *Separatists*, the Church strangely suffers. This latter sort of late days hath been very impudent and turbulent, both to the Church and Common-wealth. They were never more insolent at any time, then they are now at this time, and never more frequent and resident in any place then in the two famous Cities, *Amsterdam*, and this of *London*. They are the Separatists, or Brownists; the Libertines or Anabaptists; who are grown to a great head, (for indeed they are *Bellua multorum capitum*) a giddy-headed multitude, & are so common amongst us, that they are commonly call'd the *Round-heads*. The *Fraternity* at *Amsterdam*, and the *Brownists* in Town, are brethren of the same Tribe. They are nominated *Brownists* from one *Browne*; as we usually terme the *Lutherans* from *Luther*, the *Calvinists* from *Calvin*, and the *Arminians* from *Arminius*. These are the late up-start Sectaries of this age, the new crept in Caterpillers of our Kingdome, that do more mischief dayly, than any sect whatsoever. These are the *Ionahs* that have raised the tempest; these are the *Achans* that do trouble our *Israel*. They are so many for their multitude, that like Bees they swarme amongst us. Indeed the time was when they crept in corners, but now they are like the Egyptian Locusts, covering the whol land, ye may know them by their frequent and far fetcht sighes, the continuall elevation of their eyes, their meager physiognomies, solitary countenances, sharp noses, by the cut of their hayre, made even with the top of their prick-eares, (for their haire is as short as their eye-brows, though their consciences be as vast as the Ocean) yee may further discerne them by their broad hats and narrow ruffs, which they usually weare, the putting of their gloves under their girdles, and the folding of their hands one within another. Indeed they are painted

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Sepulchres, whited walls; whose Religion consists in frequent fasting, and long prayers, which devoure widdowes houses, the outside of whose vessels are pure and washed, but within full of filth and corruption, under sheep-skins are ravenous Wolves. They hold that Religion ought to be guided by the motion of the Spirit, not reason; therefore they will rule Religion, Religion shall not rule them, or else they will go against Religion, as the Iewes did in meeting Christ with swords and staves. They pretend sanctity, but intend impiety; much they professe, but little good they expresse: Their Piety is altogether dissembled, and what that is, tis sufficiently known; for *simulata sanctitas est duplex iniquitas*. Religion is of it selfe pure, unspotted, immaculate, and undefiled; but they by their private malice, do endeavour to pollute and contaminate the purity thereof. They say they would have Religion reformed, but their ayme is to have it deformed. These were called in Greeke ἀφορισμένοι, in Hebrew *Paratzim*; *viz.* Separatists, for other men they accounted profane people of the earth, but themselves the only holy men in the Land; therefore with others they would not converse for feare of defilement. In a precise manner they looke down with their eyes, when inwardly a whore is not more deceitful. They are double-minded, hollow-hearted, and wil as nimbly swallow up at a bit, another mans estate, as our *Dutch* will pills of butter, and never purch for it, All is fish that comes to their net. *Unde habeant nemo querit, sed oportet habere*. They make it no matter how they come by it, so they have it. Their mouths are replenished with yeas, and vey lyes, but their tongs and hearts do as much differ as truth and errour: though they do seldome damnably sweare, yet they will most abominably lye. For lying, falsehood, and hypocrisy, these are their familiar expersions. They are much addicted to prayer and fasting; for they frame a long Babel-like prayer, made up with hums and hawes; and though they affect fasting well, yet they love their flesh better. They much delight in private conventicles, and secret and obscure places, in which voluptuous wantonnesse has her meeting, where the Spirit enlightens the understanding to see a sister in the darke: though they are superciliously rigid and censorious, yet they seem very charitable, for rather then their sisters shall want food, they will fill their bellies, and rather then they shall be naked, they will cover their bodyes. Brothers they are, but not of the blade; for they cannot endure our Cavaleers; yet they are lovers of the sisters of the Scaberd. Brethren they are, not of the Corporation, but the separation; like *Simeon* and *Levi*, they are *fratres in malo*. They are altogether ignorant, therefore they despise all learning: for the tongues and languages, they utterly abhorre and detest them as profane, and for our ordinary Latine, they say it is the language of the beast. They are resolved still to be as they are, ignorant, for they hold it Idolatry and superstition to learne to read, because the very first letter begins with a Crosse.

The Croſſe they account the marke of the beaſt, and though it be the ancient enſign of Chriſtianity, yet by them it is contemned. All Croſſes they deſie as may-poles; the one they hold profane, and the other they averre to be ſuperſtitious. They can endure no Croſſe but that on Silver or Gold; and for the Croſſe in Cheapeſide, it is the pillar of golden ſuperſtition, the abomination of the City, the City Idoll, and a ſupporter of Idolls, having ſo many images about it, which is as diſpleaſing to their ſight as the Counter in Woodſtreet is to an indebted Citizen. All Ceremonies they account Popiſh, a Surpleſſe the ſmock of the whor of *Babilon*, the ſight wherof is as terrible to them in a Church at noone, as the apparition of a Ghoſt in a Church-yard at midnight. An orthodox and lawfuly called, and allowed Miniſter is not minded amongſt them; for they hold it as lawfull for Artificers, and Laymen, to preach in publike, and thoſe that are moſt inferior, as Coblers, Weavers, Leather-ſellers, Box-makers, Iron-mongers, Felt-makers, and ſuch mechanick fellowes. Theſe and their holy ſiſters (for they may wel be linkt together) are they, who by their unreverent geſtures in the Church diſeſteeme of Church-Prayers; Theſe are they who contemn the publike ſervice of God, and cry down the Lyturgie of the Church of *England*; that ſolemne Lyturgie, celebrous by the piety of Biſhops, and Martyres, hallowed with the bloud of ſome of them who compoſed it, eſtabliſhed by the Lawes of this Land, by ſeverall Acts of Parliament in this Kingdome, atteſted and approved by the beſt of all forraigne Divines, confirmed by the ſubſcription of all the Clergie, accepted of by the moſt and beſt of all the Laity, and hath continued ſince in the raignes of Queene *Elizabeth*, King *Iames*, and our gracious King *Charles*, in the Church of *England*, for the ſervice of God theſe 90. yeares; that this holy exerciſe of Religion ſhould be by them vilified, interrupted, and depraved, what doth it tend to, but the advancing of Hereſie, Schiſme, Profaneneſſe, Libertiniſme, Anabaptiſme, and Atheiſme?

We acknowledge, that ſome parts of our publike Liturgy, may be very well corrected, (and thankes be to God the great Counſell of the King, and the Kingdome have conſulted and determined about it) but the clamours now go very high: Impudence or Ignorance is at this time grown ſo frontleſſe, that it is confidently expected by many, that all formes of publike worſhip ſhould be utterly abrogated, and that our booke of Common-Prayer ſhould bee quite aboliſhed, as they would have Epiſcopacy everlaſtingly extirpated.

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to heare us good Lord; which they are not aſhamed to ſay are ridiculous Invocations like magick ſpels, and no better than conjuring. Theſe moderne Zealots (forſooth) are offended at the veſtments and habits of the Clergie; every thing though never ſo laudable, decent, and neceſſary, if contrary to their opinion, is by them accounted profane, or ſuperſtitious. They make no reckoning of the Church of God, than of a barne, or a ſtable, either of theſe is all alike to them. Barnes and Stables are for threſhers and hoſtlers: the Church is the Houſe of God: yet they are ſo baſe minded, as to conjecture a barne or ſtable good enough for him, whom the heaven of heavens cannot containe, the high and lofty one that inhabiteth Eternity. They account their own houſes as holy as the Church; Tis ſtrange Divinity, and yet I hold no inherent holineſſe in either. I have read of a ſort of Hereticks about the yeare of our Lord 1126. who would have all Churches defaced and demoliſhed as needleſſe Fabricks, and unneceſſary ſtructures; for God dwels not in temples made with hands. Sure theſe Separatiſts are of their minds; If they were not, they would mind the Church better then they do; But theſe love to ſtand without at the Church doore: I am ſure they have no preſident for it out of the Word of God, that whilſt the preacher and people are praying within, they ſhould ſtand prating without. That deſcription of S. *Paul* may be properly predicated of them: they are lovers of their own ſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, diſobedient, unthankfull, unholy, without naturall affection, truce breakers, falſe accuſers, incontinent, fierce, deſpiſers of others, heady, high minded, φιλήδονοι, *magis quam*, φιλόθεοι, lovers of pleaſure more than lovers of God, having a forme of godlineſſe, but denying the power thereof, 2 *Tim.* 3. 2, 3, 4. That likewiſe of S. *Iude* may be truly applyed to them, they defile the fleſh, deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evill of dignities, 8 ver. Theſe are they who ſeparate themſelves, ſenſuall, having not the Spirit, 19 ver. And who theſe perſons are, who ſay they have the Spirit, the ſubject of this ſmall Tract doth ſufficiently declare, the Separatiſts. They are offenſive to God in the contempt of his Ordinance, whoſe commandement is, that every ſoule ſhould be ſubject to the higher powers; and they are injurious to the King and State, whoſe power they deſpiſe, and government they affront. Their lives are hypocriticall, their poſitions ſchiſmaticall, their thoughts perilous, their words malicious, their Acts miſchievous, and their opinions impious. They hold it a matter arbitrary or indifferent, which they diſpenſe with at their own wils & pleaſures, to behave themſelves irreverently, unmannerly, undecently, and diſorderly in Gods Houſe, in his preſence, and that under pretence of avoyding ſuperſtition, *Dum vitant ſtulti vitia, in contraria currunt*: what is this, but to avoyd *Scylla*, and fall upon *Charybdis*? to run from one extreame to a worſe, *ex fumo in flammam*, out of the ſmoake into the flame. This is the reaſon they have made ſo many uproares, the like in priſtine ages unparalleld

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We acknowledge, that ſome parts of our publike Liturgy, may be very well corrected, (and thankes be to God the great Counſell of the King, and the Kingdome have conſulted and determined about it) but the clamours now go very high: Impudence or Ignorance is at this time grown ſo frontleſſe, that it is confidently expected by many, that all formes of publike worſhip ſhould be utterly abrogated, and that our booke of Common-Prayer ſhould bee quite aboliſhed, as they would have Epiſcopacy everlaſtingly extirpated.

They affirme that that which is called the Liturgy is the ſame with the Maſſe, either a Lethargy of worſhip, or a Maſſe of Idolatry; wherein is no purity, but all papiſtry. In the Service-booke they ſay there are foppiſh and fooliſh Tautologies, as in theſe words, *The Lord be with you and with your Spirit*: And in the *Letany*, there are vaine and frivolous repetitions of words, as *Good Lord deliver us*, and *We beſeech thee*

to heare us good Lord; which they are not ashamed to say are ridiculous Invocations like magick spels, and no better than conjuring. These moderne Zealots (forsooth) are offended at the vestments and habits of the Clergie; every thing though never so laudable, decent, and necessary, if contrary to their opinion, is by them accounted profane, or superstitious. They make no reckoning of the Church of God, than of a barne, or a stable, either of these is all alike to them. Barnes and Stables are for threshers and hostlers: the Church is the House of God: yet they are so base minded, as to conjecture a barne or stable good enough for him, whom the heaven of heavens cannot containe, the high and lofty one that inhabiteth Eternity. They account their own houses as holy as the Church; Tis strange Divinity, and yet I hold no inherent holinesse in either. I have read of a sort of Hereticks about the yeare of our Lord 1126. who would have all Churches defaced and demolished as needlesse Fabricks, and unnecessary structures; for God dwels not in temples made with hands. Sure these Separatists are of their minds; If they were not, they would mind the Church better then they do; But these love to stand without at the Church doore: I am sure they have no president for it out of the Word of God, that whilst the preacher and people are praying within, they should stand prating without. That description of S. *Paul* may be properly predicated of them: they are lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, disobedient, unthankfull, unholy, without naturall affection, truce breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of others, heady, high minded, φιλήδονοι, *magis quam*, φιλόθεοι, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having a forme of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof, 2 *Tim.* 3.2,3,4. That likewise of S. *Iude* may be truly applyed to them, they defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evill of dignities, 8 ver. These are they who separate themselves, sensuall, having not the Spirit, 19 ver. And who these persons are, who say they have the Spirit, the subject of this small Tract doth sufficiently declare, the Separatists. They are offensive to God in the contempt of his Ordinance, whose commandement is, that every soule should be subject to the higher powers; and they are injurious to the King and State, whose power they despise, and government they affront. Their lives are hypocriticall, their positions schismaticall, their thoughts perilous, their words malicious, their Acts mischievous, and their opinions impious. They hold it a matter arbitrary or indifferent, which they dispense with at their own wils & pleasures, to behave themselves irreverently, unmannerly, undecently, and disorderly in Gods House, in his presence, and that under pretence of avoyding superstition, *Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt*: what is this, but to avoyd *Scylla*, and fall upon *Charybdis*? to run from one extreame to a worse, *ex fumo in flammam*, out of the smoake into the flame. This is the reason they have made so many uproares, the like in pristine ages unparalleld

paralleld motions and commotions in our Churches of late dayes, in the Cathedrall of S. *Paul*, within these few months, and in S. *Olaves* Church in the old Iewry, on Sunday in the afternoone being the 8. of *May*, I know not by what unhappy fate, there was at that present congregated a company of rude Rascals, to the number of above 100, who as soon as the right Rev. pious and learned Bishop came up into the Pulpit in his Lawn sleeves and other vestments suitable to a Prelate, they presently like an unmannerly and ill-bred crue of unruly curres, made such a hideous clamour in the Church of God, crying joyntly, most impudently and with one accord, *A Pope, a Pope, a Pope*, to the astonishment of the man of God, & to the admiration and amazement of the L. Major, the *Parliament* Gentlemen, and other noble and worthy auditors that were then present. Some of the varlets ran out of the Church, others by the L. Majors officers were thrust out of the Church, and the doore shut upon them: And I wish this cursed Sect may be ever excluded as from our Churches, so from our Cities, Assemblies and societies: I am sure, in the purest times of the Primitive Church, there were *Ostiarii*, Doore-keepers, to debar from ingresse into the Church notorious Hereticks, obstinate Idolaters and profane livers. I would not be accounted uncharitable, therefore my opinion is, that these sons of tumult bare no violent malice to the Right Reverend Bishops person, (for he is the object of every mans love) only I imagine their inveterate spleene aymd at his function. A Pope and a Bishop are all one with them, when these turbulent Schismatickes were in the street, they fell to picking of quarrels, and broke many glasse wind owes in the Church, in the time of the Sermon, they were so audacious and impudent as to say, that they who were in the Church were at Masse, and that the Lord Major was a Papist, whom God and the world knowes to be a Gentleman of an approved and unblemished integrity, and an unfained Protestant of the Church of *England*. One thing I have more to relate, that on of the rascals was the same day apprehended, & examined by some of the Parliament Gentlemen after Sermon in the Lord Majors house, & was by his Lordship committed, of whom hereafter ye shall heare more; for the present, I am sorry that such an occasion is offered me to trouble the Readers patience so much, with the relation of this viperous generation, and with such unsanctified sons of mischiefe as these are; Only give me leave, before I leave them, to leave this wish to them, that these Brothers of Schisme and Sedition, with their Sisters of Faction and insurrection (for they of that sexe are as bad, being of the same sect) may in due time (as I hope shortly they will) suffer exemplary and condigne punishment according to their demerits.

FINIS.

VVarning peece for London

Being

A True Relation of the Bloody Massacre

OF THE

PROTESTANTS

IN

PARIS,

By the Papists and Cavileers:

In which Bloody Massacre, they murdered many of the chiefe of the Noblity, with thousands of Men, Women and Children, which knew nothing till the Murtherers brake into their Houses, and murdered them, flinging their dead bodies into the open Streets and stinking Ditches.

Wherein you may take notice of the Barbarous and Bloody Religion of the PAPISTS, by their many Conspiracies and Treasons against Queen ELIZABETHS own person, and 88. the Gunpowder-plot, and the unheard of Cruelty they have and still do use in this their Rebellion in Ireland,

Which should make all true Protestants to beware of them, notwithstanding their faire pretences or Oath.

London, Printed for *Joseph Hunscott*, 1642.

A Declaration of the furious Out-rages of FRANCE, with the ſlaughter of the Admirall.

IT were to be wiſhed that the memory of freſh ſlaughters, and of that butcherly murthering that hath lately been committed in a manner in all the Towns of *France*, were utterly put out of the minds of men: For ſo great diſhonour, and ſo great infamy hath thereby ſtayned the whole French Nation, that the moſt part of them are now aſhamed of their own Country, defiled with two moſt filthy ſpots, falſe-hood and cruelty; of the which, whether hath been the greater it is hard to ſay. But forasmuch as there flie every where abroad pamphlets written by flatterers of the Court, and men corruptly hired for reward, which do moſt ſhamefully ſet out things fayned and falſly imagined, inſtead of truth, I thought my ſelf bound to do this ſervice to poſterity, to put the matter in writing as it was truely done indeed, being wel enabled to have knowledge thereof, both by mine own calamity, and by thoſe that with their own eyes beheld a great part of the ſame ſlaughter.

In the yeer of our Lord, 1561, when there ſeemed to be ſome perill of troubles to ariſe by reaſon of the multitude of ſuch as embraced the Religion (which they call reformed (for before that time the uſuall manner of puniſhing ſuch as durſt profeſſe that Religion, was, beſides loſſe and forfeiture of all their goods to the Kings uſe, to burn their bodies) at the requeſt of the great Lords and Nobility, there was holden an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, in the Kings houſe at Saint *Germains* in *Lay*, neer to the Town of *Paris*; at which Aſſembly, in preſence, and with the Royall Aſſent of King *Charles* the ninth, which now raigneth, it was decreed, That from thenceforth it ſhould not be prejudiciall to any man to profeſſe the ſaid Religion, And that it ſhould be lawfull for them to have publique meetings and preachings for the exerciſe thereof, but in the ſuburbs of Towns only.

At this aſſembly, *Francis* Duke of *Guiſe*, being deſcended of the Houſe of *Lorain*, and at that time grand Maſter of the Kings Houſhold, was not preſent. But when he was informed of this Decree, he boyled with incredible ſorrow and anger, and within few dayes after, at a little Town in *Campagne*, called *Waſſey*, while the profeſſors of the ſaid Religion were there at a Sermon, he, accompanied with a Band of Souldiers, ſet upon them, and ſlew men and women to the number of two hundred.

There was among theſe of the Religion (for ſo hereafter, according to the uſuall phraſe of the French tongue we intend to call them) *Lewes* of *Burbon*, of the Blood royal, commonly called the Prince of *Conde*, after the name of a certain Town, a man of great power, by reaſon of his kindred to the King. Therefore when the Duke of *Guiſe* moſt vehemently ſtrived againſt that Law, and as much as in him lay did utterly overthrow it, and troubled the common quiet thereby eſtabliſhed, *Gaſper de Coligni*, Admirall of *France*, and *Francis d' Andelot* his brother, Captain of the *Fantarie*, and other Princes, Nobles men, and Gentlemen of the ſame Religion, came daily by heaps to the Prince of *Conde*, to complain of the outragious boldneſſe, and untemperate violence of the Duke of *Guiſe*.

At that time *Catherine de Medices*, Pope *Clements* brothers daughter, and mother of

King *Charles*, born in *Florence*, a City of *Italy*, had the governance of the Realm in the Kings Minority. For though by the Law of *France*, neither the Inheritance, nor the Administration of the Realm is granted to women, yet through the cowardly negligence of *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, the ſaid *Katherine de Medices*, the Kings mother, againſt the cuſtome of the Realm, was joyned with him in that Office of protectorſhip. She fearing the preſumption and fierce pride of the *Guiſans*, wrote to the Prince of *Conde* with her own Hand: which Letters are yet remaining, and at the Aſſembly of the Princes of *Germany* at *Franckford*, holden under *Ferdinand* the Emperour, were produced, and openly read about ten yeers paſt; wherein ſhe earneſtly beſought him, in ſo great hardneſſe and diſtreſſe, not to forſake her, but to account both the mother and the children, that is, both her ſelf and the King, and the Kings Brethren, committed to his faith and naturall kindeneſſe, and that he ſhould with all ſpeed provide for their common ſafety: aſſuring him, That ſhe would ſo imprint in the Kings minde his travell taken in that behalf, that he ſhould never be loſer by it.

Within few dayes after, the Duke of *Guiſe* well knowing how great authority the name of the King would carry in *France*; and to the intent that he would not ſeem to attempt any thing rather of his own head, than the priuity of the King; and having attained fit partners to joyn with him in theſe enterpriſes, he got the King into his power. Which thing known abroad, and many hard encombrances thereupon ſuddenly riſing, and a great part of the Nobility of *France* marvellouſly troubled with it, the Prince of *Conde*, by advice of his friends, thought it beſt to take certain Towns, and furniſh them with gariſons; which was the beginning of the firſt civill warre. For the prince of *Conde* alleaged the cauſe of his taking armour, to be the defence of the Kings Edict, wherein conſiſted the ſafety of the Common-weal, and that it could not be repealed without moſt aſſured undoing of the Nation of *France*, and deſtruction of the Nobility, by reaſon of the exceeding great multitude of thoſe that dayly joyned themſelves to that Religion. Of which number ſuch as being of Noble Birth, were in power, dignity, wealth, and credit above the reſt, thought it not meet for them to ſuffer the puniſhments and cruelty accuſtomed to be extended upon the profeſſors thereof, beſide that, they held them diſcontented, that the Duke of *Guiſe*, a new-come ſtranger, tranſlated from the Forreſts of *Lorain* into France, did take upon him in *France* ſo great courage, and ſo high dominion and power. Thereto was added the Queen-mothers ſingular care (as was reported) for conſervation of peace, and repreſſing the rage of the *Guiſans*. Upon which opinion it is certain, That above twenty thouſand men having regard onely to the Queens inclination, joyned themſelves to the ſide of thoſe of the Religion, and to the defence of their profeſſion, which at that time had beſieged the force of the Kings power.

After certain Battels, and many loſſes on both parts, and the Duke of *Guiſe* ſlain, within a yeer peace was made, with this condition, That they of the Religion ſhould have free liberty thereof, and ſhould have aſſemblies and preachings for the exerciſe of the ſame in certain places.

This peace continued in force, but not in all places, during five yeers: for in the moſt Towns and Juriſdictions, the Officers that were affectionate to the Romiſh ſide, whom they commonly call Catholikes, did all the diſpleaſures they could to thoſe of the Religion. Therefore, when *Ferdinando Alvares de Toledo*, commonly called Duke of *Alva*,

was leading an Army not farre from the frontiers of *France*, against those of the *Low Countrey* which embraced the reformed Religion, against the will of the King of *Spain*, the Queen-mother caused to be leavyed and brought into *France* six thousand *Switzers* for a defence, as she caused it to be bruted; but as the successe hath proved, for this intent, That the Prince of *Conde*, the Admirall, and other Noble men of the Religion, if they escaped the Treasons prepared for them, and listed to defend themselves by force, and try it by Battell, might be suddenly oppressed ere they were provided. For the Courtiers which then had the managing of these matters, did not at that time well trust the Souldiers of *France*. Many things pertayning to the course of that time, and the renewing of the War, must here for haste to our present purpose be necessarily omitted.

When the War had endured about six months, peace was made with the same Conditions that we have above rehearsed, That all men should have free liberty to follow and professe the Religion reformed. For this was ever one and the last Condition upon all the Wars. But within few dayes or months after, it was plainly understood, that the same peace was full of guile and treason, and finally, That it was no peace, but most cruell Warre, cloaked under the name of Peace. For forthwith all those Towns which they of the Religion had yeelded up, were possessed and strengthened with Garrisons of Souldiers of the contrary side, living onely one Town on the Sea-coast in the parts of *Xantoigne* commonly called *Rochell*. For the men of that Town about two hundred yeers past, had yeelded themselves to the Kings Power and Allegiance, with this Condition, That they should never be constrayned against their will to receive any Garrison Souldiers.

Also the Prince of *Conde*, and the Admirall were advertised, That there was Treason again prepared to entrap them by *Tavagnes*, a man given to murther and mischief, which had lately been made Marshall of *France*, and that if they did not speedily avoid the same, it should shortly come to passe, that they should be deceived and taken by him, and delivered up to the cruelty of their adversaries.

Upon the receit of these advertisements, they immediatly make haste to *Rochell*, carrying with them their wives and young children, which was the beginning of the third Civill Warre, the most sharp and miserable of all the rest.

There was at that time in the Court, *Charles* Cardinall of *Lorain*, brother to the Duke of *Guise*, which (as is above said) was slain in the first War; one accounted most subtill and crafty of all the rest, but of a terrible, cruell, and troublesome disposition, so as he was thought intollerable even at *Rome* it self. This man, they of the reformed Religion reported to be the most sharp and hatefull enemy of their profession, and him they abhorred above all other for the cruelty of his nature, and named him the fire-brand of all civill flames. He at the beginning of the third Civill Warre, perswaded the King to publish an Edict, That no man professe any Religion but the Romish or Popish, and that whosoever would embrace any other, should be counted as Traytors. In that same Edict Printed at *Paris*, the sentence was expresly contained, and for the strangeness of the matter, and for that it stained the Kings name with the most dishonourable spot of perjury, and breach of Faith, it was in other impressions afterward omitted. And it was further then declared, That albeit the King had in many Edicts before that time permitted the freedome of Religion, yet his meaning ever was to re-

retain and cauſe to be retained of all men, the onely Romiſh or popiſh Religion within his Realm.

After many overthrows on both parties given and received, whereas the end of this third War was thought likely to be harder, by reaſon of the breach of Faith in the yeers before, and on the other ſide the ſtate of the Realm, by reaſon of the waſte that the Cities were brought unto, and the extreme poverty of the mean people, and husbandmen, did require ſome Treaty of Compoſition, the King ſent Meſſengers to the Admirall, to ſignifie unto him in the Kings name, That the King himſelf had at length found out a moſt ſure way of peace and concord, namely, That the Armies of both parties joyned together, ſhould go into the *Low Countrey* againſt the Duke of *Alva*, which had been the author of the late calamities in *France*. He ſignifieth further, That he had great cauſes of quarrels againſt the King of *Spain*, and this principally, That he had invaded and held by force, ſuddenly ſlaying all the Souldiers there, an Iſland of the new-found world, called *Florida*, which had been taken by the French King, and kept under his Dominion; and likewiſe the Marqueſdom of *Finall*, the inhabitants whereof had but a little time before yeelded themſelves to the Kings ſubjection and allegiance. He ſaid that the moſt ſtedfaſt band of concord ſhould be that forraign War, and that there could no other better mean be deviſed to drown the memory of the former diſſentions in eternall forgetfulneſſe.

To the performance whereof, he ſaid it was a matter of moſt apt opportunity, that *Lodovic* Count of *Naſſaw*, Brother to the Prince of *Orange*, had been now two yeers in the Admirals Camp, to whom the Admirall gave principall credit in all things, and that by him and his fellows of the *Low Countrey*, and other whom he underſtood to favour his part, it might eaſily be brought to paſſe that certain Cities might be ſurpriſed, and thereby great advantage be attained to the atchieving of the War.

The Admirall hearing theſe things was marvellouſly troubled. For albeit he doubted not of the Kings fidelity, yet therewithall many things fell into his minde to be conſidered: as the power of the Cardinall, and the reſt of the *Guiſans*, who were well known to have been at all times moſt affectionate to the King of *Spain*. For the Duke of *Guiſe* had left a ſon, a very young man, called *Henry*, to whom the Queen had given all the Offices and places of honour that his father had born before, being unfit thereto by age, and againſt the ancient Laws and Cuſtomes, and alſo through the trayterous infidelity of certain of the Kings Councellors, whom ſhe knew for their affection to popiſh Religion, to be moſt addicted to the Spaniſh King, and that divers of them had great yeerly penſions of him, and did diſcloſe unto him the affairs of the Realm. He remembred how hereby it came to paſſe, That the ſame Kings Ambaſſadour (which among ſtrange Nations ſeemed utterly incredible) was admitted into the privy Councell of *France*; and that one *Biragio* a *Lumbard*, and (as it is reported) a Traytor to his own Countrey, otherwiſe altogether unlearned, and ſpecially ignorant of the Civill Law, was yet for the ſubtilty of his wit advanced to ſo great honour, that he executed the Chancellors Office, *Michael Hoſpitall* being diſplaced, a man known to be ſuch a one, as there was not in all degrees of men, any either more wiſe, or more learned, or more zealouſly loving his Countrey. Herewithall he conſidered the ſlanderous cavillations of his

his adverſaries, to whom hereby might ſeem an occaſion given, as if the Admirall were of a troubleſome nature, and could not abide any quietneſſe, nor could long reſt at home without ſome tumultuous ſtirre. Hereunto the meſſengers replyed as they were able, and therewithall alleadged this cauſe of ſo ſudden hatred againſt the Spaniſh King, that one *Albenie*, late returned out of *Spain*, had informed the King, and the Queen-mother for certain, That King *Philip* a few months before, had poyſoned his wife the French Kings ſiſter, and had ſpred many rumours of her thorowout all *Spain*, ſuch as for the honour of many perſons, are meet not to be diſcloſed. But nothing moved the Admirall ſo much as the cheerfull earneſtneſſe of *Lodovic* of *Naſſaw*, who as ſoon as he was advertiſed of that purpoſe of the Kings, omitted nothing that he thought might ſerve to encourage the Admirall thereunto.

The Admirall perſwaded hereby, nothing fearing the infidelity of thoſe of the Court, gave his minde to hearken to Compoſition. And ſo was the third Civill War ended, and the peace concluded with the ſame Conditions that were before, That every man ſhould have free liberty to uſe and profeſſe the Religion.

Within few months after this, divers Princes of *Germany*, that favoured the Religion reformed, and amongſt thoſe the three Electors, the Palſegrave, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, ſent their Ambaſſadours into *France*, to the King, to gratulate unto him for the new reconciliation of his ſubjects. And becauſe they accounted it greatly to behoove themſelves, that the ſame concord ſhould remain ſtedfaſt, and of long continuance, they promiſed, That if any would for that cauſe procure trouble, or make Warre upon him either within his own Dominions, or without, they and their followers ſhould be ready to defend him. To this Ambaſſage the King firſt by words, and afterwards by a book, ſubſcribed with his own hand, anſwered, and gave his Faith, That he would for ever moſt ſacredly and faithfully obſerve his Edict of Pacification.

Hereby ſo much the more willingly the Admirall ſuffered himſelf to be drawn to the ſaid purpoſes for the *Low-Countrey*, although oftentimes calling to minde the nature of the Queenmother, he uſed to ſay to divers, and eſpecially to *Theligny*, to whom he afterward married his daughter, That he greatly ſuſpected the rolling wit of that woman. For (ſaid he) ſo ſoon as ſhe hath brought us into that preparation againſt the *Low-Countrey*, ſhe will leave us in the midſt.

Nevertheleſſe, the Count of *Naſſaw* writeth to his brother, and they conferring their advices together, ſend Meſſengers to the King, That if it pleaſe him to deal with the matter of the *Low-Countrey*; they will ſhortly ſo do, that he ſhall by their many and great ſervices, well perceive their affection and devotion toward him. The King writeth again to them in moſt loving tearms, ſaying, That their Meſſage moſt highly pleaſed him, and he gave to them both his hearty thanks.

About the ſame time *Maximilian* the Emperour, pitying the ſtate of the Prince of *Orange* (as he ſaid) treated by his Ambaſſadours with the King of *Spain*, and had in manner obtained that the Prince ſhould have all his goods reſtored unto him; but with this Condition, That he ſhould have no houſe within the Territory of the *Low Country*; but ſetling his reſidence and dwelling elſewhere, he ſhould freely enjoy all his Revenues. Which matter being reported to the French King, he immediately ſent Meſſengers

gers to the Prince of *Orange*, willing him to look for nothing by that dealing of the Emperour, saying that it was but a fraud and guilfull device, intended for this purpose, Only to break up his leavying of Souldiers that he had begun in *Germany*, and assuring him, That if he would credit and follow him, he would give him ayd sufficient to recover his Estate.

The Prince of *Orange*, perswaded by these promises of King *Charles*, continued his Mustering, and determined a while to bear the charges, though they were heavy to him, while such things as were necessary for the War were in preparing. In the mean time *Lodovic*, in disguised apparell, went to *Paris* to the King, Forasmuch as the season of the yeer by this time seemed not commodious to leavy an Army, for the winter was at hand, by assent they deferred the matter till the next Summer.

These things thus hanging, the Prince of *Orange* his Captains by Sea, did oftentimes set upon the Spaniards and Portugalls, and such Ships as they took, they brought into the Haven of *Rochell*, which then was in the power of the Prince of *Condees* part; and there they openly uttered and sold their prizes to the men of the Town, and other Merchants of *France*, whereupon the Ambassadour of *Spain* made often complaints to the Kings Privy Councell.

And forasmuch as they thought it very available to this enterprise, that *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* might be brought into league with them, the King committed the dealing in that matter to the Admirall. For, a few months before, the King had with most sweet alluring Letters, gotten him to the Court, where he was most honourably entertained: and to take from him all occasion of distrust upon his adversaries, or of otherwise suspecting of the Kings, or Queen-mothers affection to him, first, all the *Guisans* of a set purpose departed the Court. Then the King gave the Admirall free liberty to take with him such company, and with what furniture he would: and because it was thought that he had more confidence in the Marshall Cosse, then in the rest, therefore the King commanded the said Marshall to be ever at hand with the Admirall, and to assist him in the Kings name, if any need were.

The matter of the league with *England*, the Admirall so diligently and industriously handled, that within short space after, by the Ambassadours assent, and by faith given and received, and Oaths solemnly taken on both parts, it was confirmed. Concerning the procurement of other Leagues and Amities, such as might seem to further the enterprise of the *Low Countrey*, the Admirall also travelled in the Kings name, and by his commandment, and had in a manner brought all these things to an end. And of all those Leagues, the first and principall condition was, That the liberty of Religion should continue, and that the King should most diligently and sincerely observe this Edict of Pacification.

Though these things seemed to be handled secretly, yet by the Letters both of *Birago* the Vice-chancellor, of whom we made mention before, and of *Morvilliers*, whom from his hypocriticall leanesse children commonly called the Chimera or bugge of the Court, and by advertisements of Cardinall *de Pelve*, a man most fit, either to invent or execute any Treason, they were carryed to the Bishop of *Rome*, who by advice of his Cardinalls, sent by and by one of their number, called *Alexandrine*, in the midst of most sharp Winter into *France*, with these instructi-

inſtructions to perſwade the King to enter into the ſociety of the league of *Trent*, whereof the firſt and principall Article was, That the Confederates ſhould joyn their powers and make warre upon the Turks and Hereticks, meaning by the name of Hereticks, all thoſe Princes that did permit the uſe of the reformed Religion, within their Dominions.

The Cardinall *Alexandrine* was honourably received in the Court, but yet diſmiſſed without atchieving his purpoſe. For ſo was it bruted among the People, and commonly beleeved throughout *France*: Albeit, he himſelf ſecretly ſeemed to return very merry and cheerfull to the Pope; and as it is reported, did ſometime ſay, That he received ſuch anſwer of the King as was needfull, not to be publiſhed, And that the King and Queen-Mother had largely ſatisfied him.

Foraſmuch, As it was thought a matter greatly availing to the enterpriſe of the Low-Countrey, to ſend certain Ships into the Engliſh Seas; That if any ayde ſhould be ſent into the Low-Countrey to the Duke of *Alva*, out of *Spain*, it might ſo be ſtopped, *Strozzi* and the *Baron de la Garde* were appointed for that purpoſe, to whom the King gave in Commandment to Rigge forth certain Ships of *Burdeaux* and *Rochell*, well Armed and well appointed, and to provide with all ſpeed all things needfull for thoſe Ships. The Ambaſſador of *Spain* ſomewhat moved with this preparation, made divers complaints to the Kings Counſell, on the behalf of the King his Maſter, and yet never received any other Anſwer, But that the King thought it not likely, and that he would ſend Commiſſioners to *Burdeaux* and to *Rochell*, with Letters and Commandment, that there ſhould be no preparation made to the Sea, and if any had been made, it ſhould be enquired of. What inſtructions were ſecretly and cloſely under hand given to theſe two Captains of that Navy, we do not certainly know. But this no man can doubt of, But that they had Commiſſion to diſtreſſe all ſuch Ships, wherein any Spaniſh Souldiers ſhould be tranſported into the Low-Countrey, And that all this preparation to the Sea, was ordained againſt the Spainſh King, and the Duke of *Alva*.

And moreover, That the Admirall at the ſame time, received Commandment from the King, to ſend Eſpialls into *Peru*, an Iland of the new found World, moſt plentifull of Gold above all the other, now being in the Spaniards Dominion, to learn if there were any good enterpriſe to be attempted, or atchieved for the getting of it. Which matter was committed to a certain Gentleman, one of the Admiralls train, who went thither accompanied with a certain Portingall, a man moſt skilfull of thoſe Navigations, whom the Admirall had joyned with him by the Kings Commandment, and is not yet returned.

Now it cannot be expreſſed how many, and how great tokens of moſt loving minde the King at that time ſhewed to the Admirall, and to the County *Rochfoucault*, and to *Theligny*, and to the reſt of the chief Noblemen of the Religion. Firſt, All ſuch things as in the former warres had been taken away in the Towns, Ferms, and Caſtles of the Admirall and *d'Andelot*, the King cauſed to be ſought out and reſtored. If there were any other whom the King underſtood to be beloved and eſteemed of the Admirall, or to have attained any ſpeciall honour in the ſaid late warres, thoſe he liberally benefited and rewarded. To the Admirall himſelf he commanded one day to be given a hundred thouſand pounds of his own treaſure, in recompence of his former loſſes. When his

Brother the Cardinall *Chaſtillion*, endowed with many great and wealthy benefices, was departed his life, the King gave him the fruits of one whole yeer. Alſo the King wrote to *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, That he ſhould do him a moſt acceptable pleaſure, if he did not onely deal more gently with thoſe that in the former warres had ayded thoſe of the Religion, but alſo would uſe clemency and mildeneſſe toward all other that profeſſed the ſame Religion within His Dominions.

And for that there was old enmity between the Guiſians and the Admirall, whereby it was to be doubted, that perillous contentions would ariſe in the Realm of *France*, the King willed it to be ſignified to them both in His Name, That they ſhould for His ſake, and the Common-weals, give over thoſe diſpleaſures, and He preſcribed them a certain form of Reconciliation and Agreement; the ſame whereof, the Foundations had been laid almoſt ſix yeers before in the Town of *Molins*, where the King calling to him the greateſt eſtates of His Realm, after conſultation and deliberation had upon the matter, pronounced the Admirall not guilty of the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, wherewith he was charged by the young Duke of *Guiſe* and his Kinſmen: And ſo the King by the adviſe of His Counſell had ended that controverſie.

Furthermore, The Cardinall of *Lorain* (who as we have ſaid, was the very forger of all the former warres) to take away all jealouſie of new practiſes, was departed to *Rome*, and took with him his familiar friend the late created Cardinall *Pelvey*, one reputed a moſt ſubtill and crafty perſon, under pretence of going to the election of a new Pope in place of the old Pope then lately deceaſed.

But there was none greater, and more aſſured token of publike peace and quietneſſe then this, That the King purpoſed to give His Siſter *Margaret* in marriage to the Prince *Henry*, the Sonne of the Queen of *Navarre*; which Prince had in the laſt warre defended the cauſe of the Religion, and been Soveraign of their Army. Which marriage the King declared, That it ſhould be the moſt ſtreight bond of civill Concord, and the moſt aſſured teſtimony of His good will to thoſe of the Religion.

Yea, and alſo becauſe it was alleaged, That the ſaid Prince *Henry* was reſtrained in conſcience, ſo as he might not marry the Lady *Margaret*, being of a contrary Religion, a Catholike, and given to the Rites of the Romiſh Church, the King for anſwer ſaid, That He would diſcharge her of the Popes Laws; And notwithſtanding, the crying out of all His Courtiers to the contrary, He permitted him, That without all Ceremonies, in the Porch of the great Church of *Paris*, the marriage ſhould be celebrate in ſuch a form, as the Miniſters of the reformed Church miſliked not.

Which thing being by report and Letters, ſpread through the World, It cannot be expreſſed how much it made the hearts of thoſe of the Religion, aſſured, and out of care, and how it caſt out all fear and jealouſies out of their minds, what a confidence it brought them of the Kings good will towards them. Finally, How much it rejoyced forraign Princes and States, that favoured the ſame Religion. But the Admirals minde was much more ſtabliſhed by a Letter, which about the ſame time *Theligny* brought him with the Kings own Hand and ſealed, wherein was contained, That whatſoever the Admirall ſhould do for the matter of the intended warre of the Low-Country, the King would allow and ratifie the ſame, as done by his own Commandment. About that time *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw*, with the Queen of *Navarre*, a Lady moſt zealouſly affected to the

Religion,

Religion, came to the French Court. The league was made between King *Charles* and the Prince of *Orange*, and the Articles thereof put in writing. The marriage was appointed to be holden in the Town of *Paris*. For which cauſe the Queen of *Navarre*, during thoſe few dayes, repaired thither, to provide things for the ſolemnity of the Wedding. For the ſame cauſe, the King ſent to the Admirall one *Cavaignes*, a man of an excellent ſharp wit, whom for the Admiralls ſake, the King had advanced to great honour, requiring the Admirall to go before to *Paris*, as well for the ſaid preparation, as alſo for the matter of the warre of the Low-Country, promiſing, that he himſelf would within few dayes follow after him; Aſſuring him, that there was now no cauſe for him to feare the threatnings and mad outrages of the Pariſians. For in aſmuch as the ſame towne is above all other given to ſuperſtitions and is with ſeditious preachings of Monks and Friers dayly enflamed to cruelty, it is hard to expreſſe how bitterly they hated the Admirall and the profeſſors of that Religion. Whereto was added a griefe of their minde conceived certain dayes before, by reaſon of a certain ſtone croſſe gilted and built after the manner of a ſpire ſteeple, commonly called *Gaſtignes* croſſe, which the Admirall with great earneſt ſute obtained of the King to be overthrown: for he alleaged, that being erected in the midſt of the rage of the civill warre, as it were in triumph to the reproach of one of the Religion, it was a monument of civill diſſention, and ſo a matter offenſive to peace and concord.

The King well knowing this deadly hate of the Pariſians to the Admirall, wrote his letters to Marcell the provoſt of the marchants (which is the higheſt dignity in *Paris*) with ſharp threatnings if there ſhould be raiſed any ſtirre or trouble by reaſon of the Admirals coming. To the ſame effect, alſo the Duke of *Anjow* the Kings Brother, and the Queen-Mother wrote to the ſame Marcell and the reſt of the Magiſtrates of *Paris*, So that now there ſeemed utterly no occaſion left for the Admirall, to fear or diſtruſt. And within few dayes after, the King ſent *Briquemault* a man of great vertue and eſtimation, to the Admirall, with the ſame inſtructions, ſaying, That the matter of the Low-Countrey could not well be dealt in without his preſence.

The Admirall perſwaded by thus many means, and filled with good hope and courage, determined to go to *Paris*, where ſo ſoon as he was arrived, and had been honourably and lovingly entertained of the King and His Brethen, and the Queen-Mother, and conſultation entred among them, about the preparation for the Low-Countrey, he declared to the King at large, how the Duke of *Alva* was in levying of great power, and preparing an Army, and that if the King ſhould diſſemble his purpoſe, it would come to paſſe, that many hereby would ſhew themſelves ſlower and ſlicker to the enterpriſe, and that now were offered great means to do good, which if he let ſlip, he ſhould not ſo eaſily recover the like again hereafter. And therefore it was beſt to take the advantage of this opportunity.

A few dayes before, *Lodovick* of *Naſſaw* went ſecretly into the Frontiers of the Low-Countrey, and took with him as Partners of his journey and Privy to His Counſell, three Frenchmen of great credit with the Admirall, namely *Saucourt*, *la Noue*, and *Genlis*, to whom the King had given in charge to ſee if they could by any means attempt and poſſeſſe any Towns bordering upon his Realm. They gathering divers other Gentlemen into their company, went ſpeedily into the Low-Countrey, the Admirall not

knowing of it. Who as ſoon as he underſtood of their going thither, wrote unto them, that he much marvelled what they meant, ſaying, that he well knew there could be no power gotten ready before forty dayes end, and that they ſhould be well adviſed to do nothing raſhly, nor to overthrow with haſte their devices that ſeemed not ripe to be executed.

The County of *Naſſaw* inflamed with the fight and deſire of his Countrey, and fearing the mutableneſſe of the King, did firſt at the ſudden ſet upon *Valentiennes*, but being repulſed by the Spaniſh Souldiers that were in Garriſon in the Caſtle, he haſtily departed to *Montz*, and took the Town, being a place very ſtrong by nature and well furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the warre. Which thing being by report and meſſengers ſpread abroad in the Low Countrey, and carried into *France* and *Germany*, both encouraged all them of the Religion with great hope, and alſo ſeemed to have now plainly and openly deciphred and diſcloſed the minde of the French King. Moreover, *Genlis* returning to *Paris*, when he had made report to the King of all the matter as it had proceeded, eaſily obtained of him, that by his aſſent he might leavy certain Bands of footmen and horſemen of *France*, and carry them to ſuccour *Montz*. But by the way when he was entred into the Bounds of the Low-Country, having with him to the number of four thouſand footmen, and about four hundred horſemen, they were beſet by the Duke of *Alva*, and the moſt part of them diſtreſſed; which thing was well known to have been wrought by the means of the *Guiſians*, which by daily Meſſages and Letters, advertiſed the Duke of *Alva* of their purpoſes and preparation. Which falſehood of theirs, many moſt affectionate to the Romiſh Religion, were highly offended with, becauſe a great number addicted to the ſame Romiſh Religion were in that company.

With this loſſe, and with the reſcue of the Town of *Valentiennes*, the King ſeemed to be much troubled for he feared leaſt his Counſells being diſcloſed to the Spaniſh King, would at length breed ſome cauſe of quarrell and warre. Howbeit, when he began to remember, that a great part of his ſecrets was already revealed to the Duke of *Alva*, he oftentimes reſolved to utter his minde plainly, and to make open warre. But he was withdrawn from that purpoſe by certain men, which the Admirall had long before conceived, that they would ſo do. Howbeit, he gave the Admirall liberty to ſend whatſoever he thought meet to further the Prince of *Orange* his enterpriſe, and as great ſupply either of footmen, or horſemen as he could to the Army, which the Prince of *Orange* had levyed in *Germany*. When the Admirall for that cauſe had made requeſt, that he might levy thirty troopes of horſemen, and as many Enſignes of footmen, he eaſily obtained it.

For the entertainment of theſe footmen it behoved to have money; wherefore at the requeſt of the Admirall, the King called for his Treaſurer, and commanded him to deliver to the Admirall ſo much money as the Admirall ſhould think meet, and charged him, that he ſhould not in any wiſe after the uſuall manner of the accompts of Finances, write the cauſes of the receipt, but only ſet it down in this forme: This ſumme of money was paid to the Admirall ſuch a day by the Kings commandment, for certain cauſes which the King hath commanded not to be written: and to this warrant the King ſubſcribed with his own hand.

Alſo the King wrote to *Monducet*, his Ambaſſador in the Low-Countrey, to travell as earneſtly as he could, for their deliverance, that were taken at the overthrow of

Genlis,

Gentis, which commandment it is ſaid that *Monducet* did moſt faithfully and diligently execute.

Not long before this, *Joan* Queen of *Navarre* above mentioned, died in the Court at *Paris* of a ſudden ſickneſſe, being about the age of forty and three yeers, where, as the ſuſpition was great that ſhe died of poyſon, and her body was for that cauſe opened by the Phyſitians, there were tokens of poyſon eſpyed. But ſhortly after, by the detection of one *A. P.* it hath been found that ſhe was poyſoned with a venomed ſmell of a pair of perfumed Gloves, dreſſed by one *Renat*, the Kings Apothecary, an Italian, that hath a Shop at *Paris* upon Saint *Michaels* Bridge, neer unto the Pallace; which could not be eſpyed by the Phyſitians, which did not open the head, nor looked into the Brain. It is well known that the ſame man about certain yeers paſt, for the ſame intent, gave to *Lewes* Prince of *Conde* a poyſoned Pomander, which the Prince left with one *le Groſſe* his Chirurgion: *le Groſſe* delighted with the ſame, was by little and little poyſoned therewith, and ſo ſwelled, that he hardly eſcaped with his life.

By her death, the kingdom came to Prince *Henry* her ſon, to whom, as is above ſaid, the Kings ſiſter was promiſed and contracted.

Things being, as it ſeemed thorowout all *France*, in moſt peaceable eſtate, and the concord of all degrees well eſtabliſhed, the day was appointed for the marriage of the King of *Navarre*, which day all they that fancied the Religion eſteemed ſo much the more joyfull to them, becauſe they ſaw the King wonderfully bent thereunto; and all good men judged the ſame a moſt aſſured pledge and eſtabliſhment of Civill concord; whereas on the contrary part, the *Guiſans*, and other enemies of common quietneſſe, greatly abhorred the ſame Marriage.

When the day came, the Marriage was with Royall pomp ſolemnized before the great Church of *Paris*, and a certain Form of words ſo framed, as diſagreed with the Religion of neither ſide, was by the Kings Commandment pronounced by the Cardinall of *Burbon*, the King of *Navarr's* Uncle; and ſo the Matrimony celebrate with great joy of the King, and all good men, the Bride was with great trayn and pomp led into the Church to hear Maſſe, and in the mean time the Bride-groom, who miſliked theſe Ceremonies, together with *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, ſon of *Lewes*, and the Admirall, and other noble men of the ſame Religion, walked without the Church door, wayting for the Brides return.

While theſe things were in doing at *Paris*, *Strozzi*, who as we have ſaid, had the charge of the Kings Power at Sea, hovering upon the Coaſt of *Rochell*, did now and then ſend off his Captains and Souldiers in to the Town, under colour of buying things neceſſary; and ſome time he came thither alſo himſelf. The like was done at the ſame time in another part of *France*, by the horſe-men of *Gonzague*, Duke of *Nivers*, neer to the Town of *la Charité*, which hath a Bridge over the River of *Loyre*, and remained till that time in the power of thoſe of the Religion, by reaſon of the great number of them there inhabiting. This Troop was of thoſe horſe-men which the King hath accuſtomed to keep in ordinary wages in every Countrey, whereof the moſt part were Italians, Condtrey-men to their Captain *Lewes Gonzague*, to whom the Queen-mother had given the daughter and heir of the Duke of *Nivers* in Marriage. They requeſted of the Towns-men, That they might make their Muſters within the Town, ſaying,

ſaying, That they had received warrant from the King ſo to do, and ſhewed the Kings Letters therefore. At *Lions* the Governour of the Town, commanded a view to be taken of all thoſe that profeſſed the Religion, and their names to be written in a Book and brought unto him; which Book ſhortly after, according to the ſucceſſe, was called the bloudy Book.

After the marriage ended at *Paris*, which was the time that the Admirall had appointed to return to his own houſe, he moved the King concerning his departure. But ſo great was the preparation of playes, ſo great was the magnificence of Banquets and ſhews, and the King ſo earneſtly bent to thoſe matters, that he had no leyſure, not onely for waighty affairs, but alſo not ſo much as to take his naturall ſleep. For in the French Court, Dancings, Maskings, Stage-playes (wherein the King exceedingly delighteth) are commonly uſed in the night time: And ſo the time that is fitteſt for Counſell and matters of Governance, is by reaſon of nightly riotous ſitting up, of neceſſity conſumed in ſleep. So great alſo is the familiarity of men, and the women of the Queen-Mothers train, and ſo great liberty of ſporting, entertainment, and talking together, as to forraign Nations may ſeem incredible, and be thought of all honeſt perſons a matter not very convenient for preſervation of noble young Ladies chaſtity. Moreover, if there come any Pandor or Bawde out of *Italy*, or any Schoolmaſter of ſhameſull and filthy luſt, he winneth in ſhort time marvellous favour and credit. And ſuch a multitude is there begun to be of Italians, commonly throughout all *France*, ſpecially in the Court, ſince the adminiſtration of the Realm was committed to the Queen-Mother, that many do commonly call it *France-Italian*, and ſome tearm it a Colony, and ſome a common Sink of *Italy*.

Theſe madneſſes of the Court, were the cauſe that the Admirall could not have acceſſe to the Kings ſpeech, nor entrance to deal in waighty matters. But when they that were ſent from the reformed Churches, to complain of injuries commonly done to thoſe of the Religion, underſtood of the Admirals purpoſe to depart, they did with all ſpeed deliver to him their Books and Petitions, and beſought him, not to depart from the Court, till he had dealt in the cauſe of the Churches, and delivered their Petitions to the King and His Counſell. For this cauſe the Admirall reſolved to deferre his going for a while, till he might treat with the Kings Counſell concerning thoſe requeſts: For the King had promiſed him that he would ſhortly intend thoſe matters, and be preſent with the Counſell himſelf.

Beſides this delay, there was another matter that ſtayed him. There was owing to the Rutters of *Germany*, which had ſerved on the part of the Religion in the laſt warre, great ſummes of money for their wages, in which matter the Admirall travelled with incredible earneſtneſſe and care.

Concerning all theſe affairs, the Admirall (as he determined before) having acceſſe and opportunity for that purpoſe, moved the Kings privy Councell the tweuty ſecond day of *Auguſt*, which was the fift day after the King of *Navarr's* marriage, and ſpent much time in that treaty. About noon, when he was in returning home from the Counſell, with a great company of Noblemen and Gentlemen; behold, a Harquebuzier out of a Window of a houſe neer adjoyning, ſhot the Admirall with two bullets of lead through both the Armes. When the Admirall felt himſelf wounded, nothing at all

amazed,

amazed, but with the ſame countenance that he was accuſtomed, he ſaid, through yonder Window it was done; go ſee who are in the houſe. What manner of treachery is this? Then he ſent a certain Gentleman of his company to the King to declare it unto him. The King at that time was playing at Tennis with the Duke of *Guiſe*. Aſſoon as he heard of the Admirals hurt, he was marvellouſly moved as it ſeemed, and threw away His Racket that he played with on the ground, and taking with Him His Brother in Law, the King of *Navarre*, He retired into His Caſtle.

The Gentlemen that were with the Admirall brake into the houſe, from whence he received his hurt, there they found only one woman, the keeper of the houſe, and ſhortly after alſo a Boy, his lacky, that had done the deed, and therewithall they found the Harquebuze lying upon the Table in that Chamber, from whence the noyſe was heard: him that ſhot they found not, for he in great haſt was runne away out at the back Gate, and getting on horſe-back, which he had waiting for him ready ſadled at the door, he rode a great pace to Saint *Anthonies* Gate, where he had a freſh horſe tarrying for him if need were, and another at *Marcelles* Gate. Then by the Kings Commandment a great number rode out in poſt into all parts to purſue him; but for that he was ſlipped into bywayes, and received into a certain Caſtle, they could not overtake him.

At the ſuite of the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, and others; the King by and by gave Commiſſion for inquiry to be made of the matter, and committed the examining thereof, to three choſen perſons of the Parliament of *Paris*, *Thuan* and *Morſant*, and *Viol* a Counſellor.

Firſt, It was found, That the ſame houſe belonged to a Prieſt, a Canon of Saint *Germain*, whoſe name is *Villemure*, which had been the Duke of *Guiſes* Schoolmaſter in his youth, and ſtill continued a retainer toward him. Then the woman which we ſaid was found in the houſe, being taken and brought before them, confeſſed that a few dayes before, there came to her one *Chally*, ſometime a Maſter *d'Hoſtel* of the Duke of *Guiſes* houſe, and now of the Kings Court, and commanded her to make much of the man that had done this deed, and to lodge him in the ſame Bed and Chamber where *Villemure* was wont to lye, for that he was his friend and very familiar acquaintance, and that *Villemure* would be very glad of it. The name of him that ſhot, was very diligently kept ſecret. Some ſay it was *Maurevet*, which in the third civill warre, traiterouſly ſlew his Captain *Monſieur de Mouy*, a moſt valiant and noble Gentleman, and ſtraightway fled into the enemies Camp. Some ſay it was *Bondot*, one of the Archers of the Kings guard. When the womans confeſſion was brought to the King, he immediately called *Monſieur de Nance*, Captain of His guard, and commanded him to apprehend *Challey*, and bring him to Him. *Challey* aſſoon as he heard the ſtroke of the peece, fled into the Kings Caſtle called the *Louure*, and hide him in the Duke of *Guiſes* Chamber, from whence he conveyed himſelf away aſſoon as he had heard of the Kings Commandment. When *de Nance* was informed of his departure, he anſwered that *Challey* was a Gentleman of good worſhip, and there was no doubt, but when need were, he would appear before the King and the Magiſtrates.

While theſe things were doing, and the Admiralls wound in dreſſing, *Theligny* went by his commandment to the King, and moſt humbly beſought him in the name of his Father-in-Law, That His Majeſty would vouchſafe to come unto him, for that his life

ſeemed

ſeemed to be in perill, and that he had certain things to ſay, greatly importing to the Kings ſafety, which he well knew that none in his Realm durſt declare to His Majeſty. The King courteouſly anſwered, That he would willingly go to him; and within a little while after he ſet forward. The Queen-mother went with him, and the Duke of *Anjow*, the Duke of *Mompenſier*, a moſt affectionate ſubiect to the Church of *Rome*; the Count *de Rhetz*, the Queen-mothers great familiar, *Chavigny*, and *Entragny*, which afterwards were chief ring-leaders in the butchery of *Paris*.

When the King had lovingly ſaluted the Admirall as he was wont to do, and had gently asked him ſome queſtions concerning his hurt, and the ſtate of his health, and the Admirall had anſwered with ſuch a milde and quiet countenance, that all they that were preſent, wondered at his temperance and patience, the King being much moved (as it ſeemed) ſaid, The hurt, my Admirall, is done to thee, but the diſhonour to me: but by the death of God (ſaith he) I ſwear I will ſo ſeverely revenge both the hurt and the diſhonour, that it ſhall never be forgotten. He asked him alſo how he liked of the Judges that he had choſen, to whom he had given Commiſſion for examining the matter. The Admirall anſwered that he could not but very well like of thoſe that His Majeſty had allowed of, yet he beſought him, If he thought it good, That *Cavagnes* might be called to counſell with them, albeit that it was no hard matter to finde out; for it was no doubt (ſaid he) that this good turn was done him by the Duke of *Guiſe*, the revenge whereof he referred to God. This only he moſt heartily and humbly beſought of His Royall Majeſty, that the fact might be duely enquired upon. The King anſwered that he would take earneſt care of it, and revenge that injury with no leſſe ſeverity, then if it had been done to himſelf. Then the Kings brethren and their mother withdrawing themſelves a while, the Admirall, as it was afterward known by his own report, began to adviſe the King to have in memory thoſe things that he had often told him, of the dangerous intentions of certain perſons; and he told him, That though he himſelf had received a great wound, yet there was no leſſe harging over the Kings head: and that long ago there was Treaſon in practiſing againſt his life, which if he would do wiſely, he ſhould avoyd betimes. Further he ſaid, That although ſo ſoon as God ſhould take him to himſelf out of this life, he doubted not but that his fame ſhould be brought into ſundry ſlanders by envious perſons, and ſuch as owed him evill will, by reaſon of the late Warres, nevertheleſſe he had oftentimes diſcloſed unto the King the authors of the diſſentions, and opened the cauſes thereof, and God was his witneſſe of his moſt faithfull heart to the King and the Common-weal, and that he had never holden any thing dearer then his Countrey, and the publique ſafety.

The King after ſuch anſwer made hereunto as he thought beſt, ſpake aloud, and heartily entreated the Admirall to ſuffer himſelf to be removed into his Caſtle of the *Louure*, for that he thought ſome perill, leſt there ſhould ariſe ſome ſedition among the commons already in diſorder, or any ſtirre in that mad and trouble ſome City. Whereto this ſpeech of the King tended, could not then be underſtood. For though the commonalty of *Paris* hath ever been accounted the moſt fooliſh and mad of all other, yet is it ever moſt eaſily appeaſed, not onely with the coming and preſence of the King, but alſo with the very ſound of his name. The Admirall moſt humbly and

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largely thanked the King, & made his excuse upon the counsel of the Phisitios, which feared that making would encrease his paine, and therefore had taken order that he should not be stirred out of his place. Then the Count *De Rhetz* turning to certaine Gentlemen of the Admirals friends, said, I would the Admirall would follow the Kings counsell, for it is to be feared that some such stir may arise in the Towne, as the King shall not easily be able to appease. Which speech being uttered, although no man did yet suspect whereto that advice tended, yet the Admirall & his friends thought it good to request of the King to assigne unto him certaine of the Souldiers of the guard for his safety. The King answered that he very well liked of that advice, and that he was fully determined to provide as well for the Admiralls safety as for his owne, and that he would preserve the Admirall as the ball of his eye, and that he had in admiration the constancy and fortitude of the man, and that he never before that time beleeved that there could be so great valiantnesse of courage in any mortall person.

Therewith the Duke of *Anjow* the Kings brother commanded *Cossin* Captaine of the Kings Guard, to place a certaine band of Souldiers to ward before the Admirals gate. There could hardly a man be found more hatefull against the Admirals part, nor more affected to the Guisians than this *Cossin*, which the successe plainely proved, as hereafter shall appeare. The Duke of *Anjow* further added, that he thought it should be good for the Admirall, if moe of his friends and familiars that lodged in the *Fauxbourges*, did draw nearer unto him; and forthwith he commanded the Kings herbingers to warne those to whom they had assigned lodgings in that street, to remove from thence, and to place the Admirals friends in their roomes. Which counsell was such, as none could possibly be devised more fit for those things that followed. For those which might have by flighe escaped out of the suburbs were now holden fast inough, being enclosed not only within the wals of the Towne, but also within the compasse of one narrow street. The next day after, the undermasters of the streets commonly called Quartermen, surveied all the victualing-houses and Inns from house to house, and all the names of those of the Religion, together with the place of every of their lodgings they put in bookes, and with speed delivered over the same bookes to those of whom they had received that commandement.

After noone the Queene mother lead out the King, the Duke of *Anjow*, *Gonzague*, *Tauagnes*, the County *De Rhetz*, called *Gondin*, into her Gardens called *Tuilliers*. This place because it was somewhat far from resort, she thought most fit for this their last consultation. There she shewed them, how those whom they had long beene in wait for, were now sure in hold, and the Admi all lay in his bed maimed of both his armes and could not stirre, the King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde* were fast lodged in the Castle, the gates were kept shut all night & watches placed, so as they were so snared that they could no way escape, and the Captaines thus taken, it was not to bee feared that any of the Religion would from thenceforth stir any more. Now was a notable opportunity (said she) offred to dispatch the matter. For all the chiefe Captaines were fast closed up in *Paris*, and the rest in other Townes were all unarmed and unprepared, and that there were scarcely to be found ten enemies to a thousand

ſand Catholikes: that the Pariſians were in armor and were able to make threeſcore thouſand choſen fighting men, and that within the ſpace of one houre all the enemies may be ſlaine, and the whole name and race of thoſe wicked men bee utterly rooted out. On the other ſide (ſaith ſhe) if the King doe not take the advantage of the fitneſſe of this time, it is no doubt but that if the Admirall recover his health, all *France* will ſhortly be on fire with the fourth civill warre.

The Queenes opinion was allowed. Howbeit it was thought beſt, partly for his age, and partly for the affinities ſake, that the King of *Navars* life ſhould be ſaved. As for the Prince of *Conde*, it was doubted whether it were beſt to ſpare him for his age, or to put him to death for hatred of his fathers name. But herein the opinion of *Gonzague* tooke place, that he ſhould with feare of death and torment, be drawne from the Religion. So that counſell brake up, with appoyntment that the matter ſhould be put in execution the next night earely before day, and that the ordering and doing of all ſhould be committed to the Duke of *Guiſe*.

The Admirall being enformed of ſtir and noiſe of armour, and threatnings heard every where throughout the Towne, and preparation of many things pertaining to tumult, ſent word thereof to the King: who anſwered, that there was no cauſe for the Admirall to fear, for all was done by his commandement, & not every where, but in certaine places, and that there were certaine appoynted by him to be in armour, leaſt the people ſhould riſe and make any ſtir in the Towne.

When the Duke of *Guiſe* thought all things ready enough, he called to him the aboveſaid Marcell, and charged that he ſhould a little after midnight aſſemble together the Maſters of the ſtreets whom they call Dizeniers into the Towne, for he had certine ſtrange and ſpeciall matters in commandement which his pleaſure was to have declared unto them. They all aſſembled, and the provoſt of Merchants, guarded with certaine of the Rebels called *Pygallart*, made the declaration: he ſaid that the King had commanded that the Rebels which had in theſe late yeares born armes againſt him, ſhould root out the race of thoſe wicked men, & that the chiefetaines and ringleaders of them were faſt enough, as in a priſon, & that the ſame night they ſhould kill and ſlay all the reſt for the reſt as ſoon as poſſibly might be, through the Towne: and that they would take order: & the token to ſet upon them ſhould not be by the common bell, but with tocksein or ringing of the great bell of the palace, which they knew to be accuſtomed onely in great caſes: and the marke for them to be knowne from others ſhould be a white linnen cloth hanged about their left arme, and a white croſſe pinned upon their caps. In the meane time the Duke of *Guiſe* made privy thereunto the Captaines of the Kings Guard, both Gaſcoignes, Frenchmen, and Swizers, and bad them bee ready to goe to it with good courage. Shortly after the Duke of *Guiſe* and the baſtard ſon of King *Henry*, commonly called the Chevalier, with a great band of armed men following them, went to the Admiralls houſe, which *Coſſin* kept beſieged with harquebuziers placed in order on both ſides of the ſtreet.

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IRREGULAR PAGINATION

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When they were broken into the Admirals chamber, *Beauſe* came to him, and drawing his ſword upon him, ſaid, art not thou the Admirall, he with a quiet and conſtant countenance (as we have ſince underſtood by them) anſwered, *I* am ſo cal'd, And then ſeeing the ſword drawn upon him he ſaid, young man, conſider the weak caſe that *I* am now in. But the fellow, after blaſpheming God, firſt thruſt his ſword into the Admirals breſt, then ſtrucke him upon the head, & *Attin* ſhot him through the breaſt with a Piſtoll. When the Admirall was with this wound not quite dead,

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In the meane time their came up the ſtaires into the higher part of the Houſe, one *Bemeſe* Germain, brought up in the houſe of the Duke of *Guiſe*, & to whom it is ſaid, that the Cardinall of Loraine had given one of his baſtard daughters in marriage; and with him came *Coſſin* the *Gaſcoine*. *Attin* a Piccard, a retainer and familiar of the Duke de *Aumal*, one that a few yeares before ſought to murther *de Andelot* by treaſon, and alſo one *Hoſord* an *Avernois*, all weaponed, and armed with ſhirts of maile.

When they were broken into the Admirals chamber, *Bemeſe* came to him, and drawing his ſword upon him, ſaid, art not thou the Admirall, he with a quiet and conſtant countenance (as we have ſince underſtood by them) anſwered, *I* am ſo cal'd, And then ſeeing the ſword drawn upon him he ſaid, young man, conſider the weak caſe that *I* am now in. But the fellow, after blaſpheming God, firſt thruſt his ſword into the Admirals breſt, then ſtrucke him upon the head, & *Attin* ſhot him through the breaſt with a Piſtoll. When the Admirall was with this wound not quite dead,

Bemese gave him the third wound upon the thigh, & so he fel down for dead. When the Duke of *Guise*, which staied in the Court with the other Noble men, heard this, he cryed out alowd, hast thou done *Bemese*? he answered, I have done. Then said the Duke of *Guise*, our Chevalier (meaning King *Henries* bastard above said) unlesse he see it with his eyes, will not beleeve it: throw him downe at the window. Then *Bemese* with the helpe of his fellowes tooke up the Admirals body and threw it downe through the window. When by reason of the wound in his head, and his face covered with bloud they could not well discerne him, the Duke of *Guise* kneeled downe on the ground & with a napkin wiped him & said, now I know him, it is he. And therewithall going out at the gate with the rest of the Lords, he cryed out to the multitude in amour, saying; my companions we have had a good lucky beginning: now let us goe forward to the rest, for it is the Kings commandement: which words hee did oft repeat alowd, saying, thus the King commandeth: this is the Kings will, this is his pleasure. And then he commanded the token to be given by ringing tocksein with the great bell of the palace, and alarme to be raised, and he caused it to be published, that the conspiratours were in armour and about to kill the King. Then a certaine Italian of *Gonzagues* band, cut off the Admirals head, and sent it preserved with spices to *Rome* to the Pope and the Cardinall of *Loraine*. Other cut off his hands, and other his secret parts. Then the common labourers and rascals three dayes together draged the dead body thus mangled and berayed with bloud and filth, through the streets and afterward drew it out of the Towne to the common gallowes, and hanged it up with a rope by the feet.

In the meane time, those of the Noble mens bands brake into all the Chambers of the Admirals house, and such as they found either in their beds, or hidden, they mangled them with many wounds, and so slaughtered them. Of that number were two young children, pages, of honourable birth. There was also the Count *Rochfoucault*, which for the excellent pleasantnesse of his wit, and for his valiantnesse was highly beloved of King *Henry*, and so seemed for the same cause also to be beloved of the King. Him was De *Nance* above said commanded to kill, but he refusing it for their old acquaintance and familiarity: one *Laberge* an *Avernois* offered himselfe to doe it, but with this condition, that the King should give him the Captaineship of horsemen which Count *Rochfoucault* had. There was also slain *Theligny* the Admirals son in Law, a young man of singular towardnesse both of wit and courage, to whom the King these many yeeres had both in words and countenance made shew of so great good wil, as that no man was thought to be more highly in his favor. He crying out, that it was now grievous to him to live, for that he had ever commended to his father in law the faithfulnesse of the King, refused not the death offred him. And many other most flourishing young Noble men and Gentlemen were every where butcherly murthered in that street. Then the Noble mens bands, and *Cossins* souldiers went ransacking from house to house: and the Admirals house and all the other houses were all sacked and spoyled, even in like manner as is used to be done by souldiers greedy of prey, in a Towne taken by assault: and many by this robbery, were of beggers sodainly become rich men. For the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Manpensier*, the

the Cheualier King Henries baſtard, *Gamagne*, *Tauaignes*, and the other great Lords, did with reward of the ſpoyle and bootie encourage the multitude to the ſlaughter, and cried out aloud that this was the Kings will. So all the reſt of the day from morning to evening, the raſcall multitude, encouraged by ſpoyle and robberie, ran with their bloody ſwords raging throughout all the towne: they ſpared not the aged nor women, nor the very babes. In ioy and triumph they threw the ſlaine bodies out at the windowes; ſo as there was not in manner any one ſtreete or lane, that ſeemed not ſtrawed with murthered carcaſes.

While theſe things were thus a doing in the towne, the King of Navarre and the prince of Conde, whom the King had lodged in his owne caſtle of the Lowre, were by the Kings Commaundement ſent for and conveyed unto him. But their company, their ſervitors of their chamber, their friends reteining to them, their ſchoolemaſters, and thoſe that had the bringing up of them, crying out aloud to the Kings fidelitie for ſuccoure, were thruſt out of the chambers, and by the Kings guard of Switzers hewed in pieces and ſlaughtered in the Kings own ſight. But of that number of perſons ſlayne, no mans cauſe was ſo much lamented of many, as Monſieur de Pilles, in whom it is hard to expreſſe whether there were more godly zeale in Religion, or proweſſe in warre. Whereby having in the lite yeares, ſpecially by the defence of the town of Saint Iohn d'Angeli, which the King then beſieged, gotten great honour of chevalrie, he was thought very well beloved and highly eſteemed of the King. Him and Leran ie the ſonne of Odou, by the French Kings commandement (which was not then vnderſtood whereto it tended) the King of Navarre had layed in a Wardrope adioyning to his owne chamber, and cauſed them to lodge there all night. A little afore day, hearing the running of men, and noyſe of Armor, and cries and killings, they roſe in haſte, and immediatly *de Nance*, whom we have before ſpoken of, came to them, and commaunded them in the Kings name to come downe into the Court, and to leave their weapons behind them, and laſtly to depart out of the caſtle. When *de Pilles* ſaw himſelfe thruſt out among the multitude of the murthering ſouldiers, and beheld the bodies of them that were ſlaine, he cried out with a very lowde voice that the King might well heare him proteſting upon the Kings fidelitie, and deteſting his trayterous infidelitie, and therwith he took off a rich cloake which he wore, and gave it to one of his acquaintance, ſaying, take here this token of *Pilles* and hereafter remember *Pilles* moſt unworthyly and ſhamfully ſlaine. Oh my good Monſieur *de Pilles*, ſaid the other, I am none of them: I thanke you for your cloake, but I will not receive it with that condition, and ſo refuſed to take the cloake: and immediately *de Pilles* was thruſt through by one of the guarde with a partiſan, and died. And this end had this moſt valiant and noble gentleman. And then his body was throwen into the quarrey with the reſt, which when they that paſſed by did behold, the ſouldiers cryed out, there they be that made aſſault vpon vs, and would have killed the King. *Leranne* being thruſt through with a Sword, eſcaped and ran into the Queene of *Navarres* chamber, and was by hir kept and preſerved from the violence of thoſe that perſued him. Shortly after, ſhe obtained his pardon of hir brother, and committing him to hir owne Phiſition, reſtored him both to life and health.

 While

While things were in doing at Paris, Strozzi, which (as we have afoteſaid) was come withall his powe to Rochell, ſent a great number of his ſouldiers into the towne, vnder colour of a banket to be made to his friends in the caſtell *la Chein*, but by reaſon of the iealouſie and wathes of the townes men, by whom he ſaw his treaſon was eſpied, he went away without his purpoſe. But they of *la Charite* which as we haue before ſhewed, were trapped by the Italian horſemen, taking leſſe heede to the ſafe keeping of their towue, were a little before night ſuppriſed, and within few dayes after put to the Sword.

The next day following, were many that had hidden themſelves in corners at Paris could be found out, the ſlaughter was renewed: alſo common labourers and porters, and others, to haue the ſpoyle of their cloathes, ſtripped the dead bodies, and threw them into the River of Seane. The profit of all the Robberies came to the hands of theſe labourers, and to the Kings treaſury little or nothing. The onely gaine the King had, was that which might be made of the Vacations, as they terme them, of Offices and of places of charge, whereof he gaue a great part freely away to diuerſe of the Court. For the Admirals Office, he gaue to Marqueſſe *de Villiars*, & ſo forth: for al the reſt, he ſold them to ſuch as gaue ready money for them. For it hath bin the cuſtome now lately of certaine Kings of France (ſuch as among foraigne nations hath not bin heard of) to put to ſale all the profits, rights, and benefits of the crowne, and to keepe a Market for money, of all judiciall offices, and of all the roomes belonging to his treaſure or finances, according to a rate of price ſet upon every one of them: and there is not in manner one in all France, that doth not openly iuſtifie that he bought his office for ready mony, and that no man ought to marvell if he deſire to fill up the empty hole of his ſtock againe. And therefore juſtice is through all France uſually bought for money, and though there be never ſo many murders committed, yet is there no proceſſe awarded to enquire thereof, till preſent coyne be payd to the rakehells and ſcribes.

This butchetly ſlaughter of Paris thus performed, and foure hundred houſes (as is aboveſayd) ſacked, immediatly meſſenges were ſent in poſt into all parts of the Realme, with oft ſhifting their horſes for haſt, to command all other Cities in the Kings name to follow the example of *Paris*, and to cauſe to be killed as many as they had among them of the reformed Religion.

Theſe commandements it is wonderfull to tell how readily and cheereſully the greateſt part of the Cities of France did obey and execute. But the King, fearing (as it was likely) the diſhonour of falſe treacherie and periury, ſent letters to the Governours of his Prouinces, and alſo ſpeedy meſſengers into England, Germany, and Switzerland, to declare in his name, that there was a great commotion and ſeditious ſtir hapned at Paris, which he was very ſorry for, that the Duke of *Guiſe* had raiſed armed men and made an aſſault upon the band that was aſſigned to the Admirall for his guard, and had broken in to the houſe, and ſlaine the Admirall & his houſhold ſervants, & that the King had hardly kept ſaf: from thoſe dangers his owne caſtle of the *Louure* where he kept himſelfe cloſe with his mother and his Bre-

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thren: the true copie of which letter is hereafter inserted, but the same most mighty and by the consent of all Nations commonly called the most Christian King, within two dayes after came into the Parliament accompanied with a great traine of his brethren, and other Princes. The councell being assembled, he sitting in his throne, began to speake unto them, he declared that he was certified, that the Admirall with certaine of his complices had conspired his death, and had intended the like purpose against his Brethren, the Queen his Mother, and the King of *Navar*, and that for this cause he had commanded his friends to slay the said Admirall and all his confederates, and so to prevent the treason of his enemies.

This his testification and declaration, the King commanded to bee written and entred in the records of the Parliament, and that it should be proclaimed by the Heraldes, and published by Printers. And he willed a booke to be set forth to this effect, that the slaughter of the Admirall and his adherents was done by the Kings commandement, for so was his Maiesties expresse pleasure, because they had conspired to kill him and his brethren. and the Queene his Mother, and the King of *Navar*.

And further, that the King did forbid that from thenceforth there should be more assemblies holden, or preachings used of the Religion.

After the Kings oration ended, *Christopher Thuane* President of that Parliament, a man very notable for his light braine and his cruell heart, did with very large words congratulate unto the King, that he had now with guile and subtiltie overcome these his enemies, whom he could never vanquish by Armes and battell, saying therein that the King had most fully verified the old saying of *Lewes* the eleventh, his progenitor King of France, which was wont to say that he knew never a Latine sentence but this one, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*, He that cannot skill to dissemble, cannot skill to be a king. But *Pibrace*, the advocate of the Finances, made a short oration, the sum whereof was to this effect, that although the King had iust and great cause to bee displeased, yet he thought it more agreeable with his Maiesties clemency and goodnesse to make an end of the slaughters and common spoyle, and not to suffer such outrages any longer committed without iudiciall proceeding in the cause: and besought his Maiesty that from thenceforth it would please him to use the Law, which is well knowne to be the onely stablishment of Kingdomes and Empires: and that there had bin already given to the commonaltie too perilous an example to follow. An arrest of Parliament with the Kings Royall assent being made to that effect, there were immediately Heralds and Trumpetters sent round about all the Towne, and an edict proclaimed in the Kings name, that from thenceforth the slaughters and common butcherly murtherings should cease, and that all persons should abstaine from pillage and robberie.

This being knowne, there were diverse speeches used of this matter throughout the Towne, and specially of learned men: The most part said, that they had read many histories, but in all memory of all ages, they never heard of any such thing as this. They compared this case with the horrible doing of King *Mithridates*, which with one Messenger, and with the advertisement of one letter, caused 150 thousand Romans to be slaine; Some compared it with the doing of Peter of Aragon, who slew

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flew eight thousand Frenchmen in *Scicilie*, which Isle they had surprised in his absence. But yet this difference appeared betweene those cases and this, that those Kings had exercised their cruelty upon foreignes and strangers: but this King had done his outrage upon his own subject, being yeelded, not so much to his power, as to his faith & credit. Those Kings were bound by no promise, but such as was given to the strangers themselves: this King was with a new made league bound to the Kings and Princes his neighbours to keepe the peace that he had sworn. Those Kings used no guileful meanes unworthy for the Majesty of a King, to deceive: this King for a bait and allurement abused the marriage of his owne Sister, and in a manner besprinkled her wedding robe with blood, which dishonour and indignitie, no posterity of all ages can forget. Some againe discoursed, that though this wicked advice seemed to many Courtiers to have bin profitable, yet not onely the honour of the King, but also the estimation and good fame of the whole nation was against that shew of profit. They alledged how *Aristides* did openly in the audience of all the people, reject the counsell of *Themistocles*, concerning the burning of the Lacedemonian Navie, although it must needes have followed, that the power of the Lacedemonians their enemies, should thereby have bin utterly weakned. *Furius Camillus* received not the children of the chief Phalisce, betrayed to him by their schoole-master, but stripped him naked, and delivered him to be whipped home with rods by the same children. *Pausanias* hath left it reported, that the posterity of *Philip* of *Macedon* fell into many calamities, for this cause, that he was wont to set light by the conscience of an oath, and his faith given in Leagues. Some cited the law of the twelve tables, *Si patronus clienti fraudem fecit, sacer esto.* if the Patrone or Soveraigne defraud his client or Vassall, be he out of protection. They disputed also that like faith as the vassall oweth to his Lord, the Lord oweth also to his vassall, and for what causes, and for what felonies the vassall loseth his tenancies, for the same causes and felonies the Lord loseth his Seigniorie. Some said that the right hand in ancient time was called the pledge of the Faith of a King, and that if a King shall despise, there is no communion of right with him, and he is no more to be accounted a King, neither of his owne subjects, nor of strangers. Kingly Vertues in times past have bin reported to be these, justice, gentlenesse, and clemencie: but cruelty and outrage have ever bin dispraised both in all persons, and specially in Princes. *Scipio* hath in all ages bin praised, who was wont to say, that he had rather save one Citizen, then kill a thousand enemies, which sentence, *Antonius* the Emperour, surnamed *Pius* the kind or vertuous, did often repeat. It was a most shamefull by-word of young *Tiberius*, to be called Clay, tempered with blood. They say also, as Kings have power of life or death over their subjects, but not without hearing the cause, and the judiciall proceeding: that there can be alledged no greater authority, then the Dictators had at Rome, in whom was the Soveraigne power of peace and war, of life and death, and without appeale, yet was it not lawfull for them to execute a citizen, his cause unheard. Onely theeves and Murtherers take away mens lives without order of Law & hearing their cause. Who can doubt (said they) but that this so great outrage, so great shedding of Christian blood is the fruit of the cursed life of the Courtiers? for (said they) now throughout all France, whoredome and loose lewdnesse of life are so free

free and usuall, that now the most part of the women of *France* seeme to be in manner common: and the wicked blasphemies and continuall execrations and dishonorings of Gods most holy name and Majestie, are such as God cannot longer beare: and true it is, though incredible among forreine Nations, that the Catholikes of France have prescribed themselves this for a speciall marke to be knowne from other men, that at every third word they blasphemously sweare by the head, death, blood, & bellie of GOD: and wonderfull it is, that the King himselfe is so much delighted in this custome of swearing and blaspheming: and this as it were a pestilent infection is spred abroade and common among the very Plough-men and Peasants, so as none among them now speaketh three words without most filthy blaspheming and horrible execration of God. Who can longer beare the vile unchastities, the Bawds and Ruffians of the Court? Finally, very nature it selfe doth now as it were expostulate with God for his so long sufferance and forbearing, and the very earth can no longer beare these monsters.

Now as touching the Admirals supposed conspiracie, who can thinke it likely that he should enterprise any such thing within the walls of *Paris*? For in the Court there is continually watching and warding a garrison of the Kings; and at the entry of his Castle the guards of *Gascoines*, *Scots* and *Switzers*, are continually attending; and the King himself both alwaies before, and specially at that time, by reason of his sisters marriage, had a great traine of Princes, great Lords, Noblemen and Gentlemen about him. Moreover it was well knowne, that in *Paris* within three houres space might be assembled and put in Armour, threescore thousand chosen armed men, specially against the Admirall, whom no man is ignorant that the *Parisians* most deadly hated: beside that, the Noble young men that came thither with the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* by reason of the marriage, & brought with them their wives, their sisters and their kinswomen, thought at that time upon nothing but upon triumph, and exercises of pastime, and gay furniture of apparell and ornaments. Finally, at whither of these two times can it be likely that the Admirall attempted this conspiracie? was it before he was hurt? why? at that time he found the King his most loving, or at least his most liberall and bountifull good Lord: neither could he hope ever to have a more favourable Soveraigne in *France*. Was it then after hee was hurt? as though forsooth he lying sore of two so great woundes, aged, maimed of both his armes, the one whereof the Phisitians consulted whether it were to be cut off, accompanied with three hundred young men, would set upon threescore thousand armed men, or in so small a time could lay the plot for so great, and so heynous a fact: for he lived scarce fortie houres after his hurt, in which time he was enjoyned by the Physitians to forbeare talke. Againe, if he had bin detected of any such crime, was he not committed to *Coffin* and to his keeping, and so environed, all the wries beset about him, and so in the Kings power that if it had pleased the King he might at all times in a moment be caried to prison? why was not orderly inquiry and judiciall proceeding used according to the custome and lawes and generall right of Nations, and witnesses produced according to the forme of Law? but be it, that the Admirall and a few other of his confederats and followers had conspired? why yet proceeded the outragious cruelty upon the rest that were innocent, why upon ancient Matrons? why upon noble Ladies and young Gentlewomen and Virgins

gins that came thither for the honour of the Wedding? why were so many women greate with childe, against the Lawes of all Nations and of nature, before their delivery throwen into the River? why were so many aged persons, many that lay sick in their beds; many Gowne-men, many Councellors, Advocates, Proctors, Physitians, many singularly learned Professors and teachers of good Arts, and among the rest *Petrus Ramus*, that renowned man throughout the world; many young students, executed without hearing, without pleading their cause, without sentence of condemnation? moreover, if the Admirall had slaine the three Brethren, who doubteth but that all Countries, all Cities, all Parliaments, finally, all sorts and degrees of men would have speedily taken Armor, and easily have destroyed all of the Religion, having them enclosed within their Townes, and having just cause to render to all forraine Nations for their common slaughters and killing of men? As to that which toucheth the King of *Navarre*, what can be imagined more absurde and unlikely? had not the Admirall him foure yeares in his power. Did not he professe the same Religion that the Admirall did? which of those of the Religion, which of them I say (as *Cassius* was wont to reason) should have gained or received profit by the killing of the King of *Navarre*? did not the Catholikes hate him? and the Admirall could not hope to have any man more friendly to him, nor by any other mans meanes to have revenge of his injurie, Last, in their houses that were slaine, what Armour, what weapons were found, by which conjectures Judges ule to be led to trace out a fact? These matters wise men throughout the Towne of *Paris* commonly muttered.

But now to returne to our purpose, At such time as the Kings prohibition above said, was proclaimed at *Paris*, not only in other Townes, as at *Orleance*, *Angiers*, *Vizaron*, *Troys*, and *Auxerre*, the like Butcheries and slaughters were used, but also in the Towne of *Paris* it selfe, in the very goales that are ordained for the keeping of Prisoners, if any had escaped the cruelty of the day before, they were now tumultuously slaine by the rageing and out-rageing multitude, in which number were three Gentlemen of great reputation, Captaine *Monins* a man very famous in Martiall prowesse, *Lomenie* the Kings Secretary, a man of great estimation for his long service in the Court, and *Chappes* a lawyer, neere fourescore yeares old, a man of great renowne in the Court of *Paris*. And because we have made mention of *Angiers*, we thinke it good not to omit the case of *Masson de Rivers*. This man was a Pastor of the Church, and esteemed a singular man, both in vertuous neffe of life, and in excellencie of wit and learning, and was the first that had laid the foundation of the Church at *Paris*. As soone as the slaughter was begun at *Paris* *Monsorell* a most cruell enemie of the Religion, was sent to *Angiers* in post, to prevent all other that might carie tidings of the murdering. As soone as he came in o the Towne, he caused himselfe to be brought to *Massons* Houle, there he met *Massons* wife in the entry, and gently saluted her, and after the manner of *France*, specially of the Court, he kissed her, and asked her where her Husband was, she answered, that he was walking in the Garden, and by and by she brought *Monsorell* to her Husband, who gently embraced *Masson*, and said unto him, canst thou tell why I am come hither? it is to kill thee by the Kings commandement at this very instant time, for so hath the King commanded, as thou mayst perceive by these letters, and therewith he shewed him

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his dag ready charged; *Maſſon* anſwered that he was not guiltie of any crime, howbeit this one thing only he beſought him, to give him ſpace to call to the mercy of God, and to commend his ſpirit into Gods hand; which Prayer as ſoone as he had ended in few words, he meekly received the death offered by the other, and was ſhot through with a pellet and died.

Now to returne to *Paris*, the Admiralls body being hanged up by the heeles upon the common Gallowes of *Paris*, as is aforeſaid, the *Pariſians* went thither by heapes to ſee it; and the Queene Mother to feede her eyes with that ſpectacle, had a minde alſo to go thither, and ſhe caried with her the King and both her other Sonnes, but the next night following, the body was conveyed away, and (as it is thought) buried about that time, whereas many of the Court ſecretly muttered that the King ſhould by this fact incurre diſhonour, not only among forreine Nations, but alſo with all poſteritie in time to come for ever. *Merville*, of whom we have made mention before, one that is accompted the principall lewd practiſer and wicked ſycophant of all *France*, and the firſt author and chiefe meanes of bringing the Jeſuites into *France*, came to the Queene Mother and told her, that it was beſt that ſome of thoſe that were lately taken flying and hiding themſelves, ſhould for maners ſake be brought to open judgement, and after the accuſtomed manner ſhould be enquired upon, that they might be condemned by the ſentence of certaine Judges picked out for that purpoſe, and ſo openly executed in ſight of the people. There were called to counſell hereupon *Birage*, *Limoge*, *Thuan*, and *Belleure*. They not only allowed *Merviliers* opinion, but alſo gave advice, that a man of hey made in figure for the Admirall (for his body, as we have ſaid, could not be found) ſhould be dragged by the Bourreau through the ſtreets, his armes and Enſignes of honour broken, his memory condemned, his Caſtles and farmes raſed, his children pronounced infamous, unnoble, and inteſtable, and all the trees in his woods to be hewen downe to the height of ſixe foote. There was among thoſe that were apprehended, one *Cauaignes*, maſter of Requeſts to the King, and *Briquemault*, of whom we have before ſpoken; This *Briquemault* had ſpent his time in ſervice in the old wars, in the time of King *Francis* and King *Henry*, and was for the war accompted a man of great experience among the beſt now living, and was neere about threeſcore and ten yeares olde. As ſoone as they were carried into priſon, there were preſented unto them all the tormenter and the hangman, and they were threatned with torture and tearing their bodies in pieces, unleſſe they would preſently ſubſcribe with their own hands, that they were of councell with the Admirall to kill the King and his brethren, and the Queene Mother, and the King of *Navarre*. They all cried out that they were ready to ſuffer death moſt willingly, foraſmuch as the Kings pleaſure was it ſhould be ſo: but ſo great torture they could not beare, and therefore humbly beſought his royall goodneſſe and clemencie to pardon them that torment, and yet truſting upon the mercy of God, they hoped that they ſhould ſuffer exceeding great paines, rather then ſtaine themſelves with ſo great ſhame, or confeſſe an untrue crime againſt themſelves. They that were firſt aſſigned their judges, hearing their cries and defences, and fearing the judgement of the world, ſaid plainly that they would not draw upon themſelves moſt aſſured infamie for condemning them. Therfore there were new Judges appointed in their places: to them was adjoyned ſuch

a tormenter and notarie, as were thought fitteſt for the purpoſe. And ſo *Briquemault* and *Cavaignes* were quickly condemned by a ſhadowed forme of Law, and led to the gibbet ſtanding in the principall ſtreete of the Towne, and in the ſight of many thouſands of men gazing at them, To this ſpectacle the Queene-mother led the King and her other Sonnes, and her Sonne in law the King of *Navarre*.

It was thought commodious for playing of this laſt act, that Briquemault ſhould in hearing of all the People aske pardon of the King, and for that purpoſe there were ſome ſuborned to put him in minde, that if hee would hee might eaſily purchaſe his life, for the King was of nature full of clemencie and mercy, and if hee would aske pardon of his majeſtie with confeſſing his offence, hee ſhould eaſily obtaine it. Hee anſwered with a valiant and bold courage, that it was not his part but the Kings to aske pardon of God for this fault: and that hee would never crave forgiveneſſe of that offence whereof hee well knew himſelfe and had God to witneſſe that hee was cleare and innocent. Nevertheleſſe, hee beſought God to forgive the King this fault. So were theſe two excellent and famous men with halters faſtened about their necks thrown by the hangman from the ladder and hanged, and therewithall alſo the man of ſtraw made for figure of the Admirall, was tyed faſt and hanged with them, after a prepoſterous order of Law, whereby the Admirall was firſt ſlaine and then condemned.

But whereas in a manner in all Townes there were great ſlaughters committed, yet was there none more horrible nor more outragious then the Butcherly murder at Lions. So ſoone as the Letters from the Court were brought to *Mandelot* governor of the Towne; firſt, by a cryer and trumpet he cauſed to be proclaymed, that all the profeſſors of the Religion ſhould appeare preſently before him at his houſe. They without all delay repaired to him: As ſoone as they were come, he commanded them all to ſuffer themſelves to be led to priſon by ſuch officers as ſhould be aſſigned them. They obeyed his word and followed the officers that led them. By reaſon of the great multitude, they ſorted them into ſundry priſons; then *Mandelot* willed the common Executioner to be commanded in his name to take ſome to helpe him, and to kill thoſe that were in priſon. The executioner anſwered, that he uſed not to execute the Law upon any but ſuch as were condemned, and in publike and open places, and therefore willed him to ſeeke another ſlaughterman if he would. *Mandelot*, thus refuſed by the Executioner, commanded the garriſon Souldiers of the Caſtle to do it, the Souldiers anſwered, that it was againſt their honour, to uſe weapons upon men bound and lying ſuppliant before them; if they had raiſed any rebellion, or had offended or provoked them, they ſaid they would moſt readily have fought with them; being thus refuſed by them alſo, at the laſt he committed the matter to the watermen and Butchers, thoſe fellowes being let into the priſons, went to it with chopping knives and Butchers axes. Such as they found proſtrate at their feete, pittiouſly holding up their hands to heaven, crying upon the mercie of God and men, they did for ſport cut off their fingers and the tops of their hands; and throughout the whole towne was heard ſuch a cry and lamentable howling of women and children, that innumerable people, even ſuch as were zealouſly given even to the Popiſh Religion, did deteſt that cruelty, and indged that not men but outragious ſavage beaſts in ſhape of men were entred into the priſons. It is well knowne, that a great number of honeſt women in the town great with childe,

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were ſo ſlighted with the horror of it, that they were delivered before their time; and out of the Court of the goale called the Arch-Biſhops priſon, the blood was ſeene in the broad day light, to the great abhorring and feare of many that beheld it, run warme and ſmoaking into the next ſtreets of the towne, and ſo down into the River of *Sene*. There was in that ſame Arch-Biſhops priſon an aged man called *Francis Collut*, a Marchant of caps, and two young men his Sonnes, whom he had ever cauſed dilligently to be taught and inſtructed in Religion, when he ſaw the Butchers come toward him with their axes, he began to exhort his Children not to refuſe the death offred by God. For (ſaid he) it is the perpetuall deſtinie of Religion, and that often ſuch ſacrifices doe betide in Chriſtian Churches, and Chriſtians in all ages have ever beene, and for ever to the worlds end ſo ſhall be, as Sheepe among Wolves, Doves among Hawkes, and ſacrifices among Prieſts. Then the old Father embraced his two young Sonnes, and lying flat on the ground with them, crying aloude upon the mercy of God, was with many woundes both he and his Sonnes ſlaughtered by thoſe Butchers: and long time afterward their three bodies had, knit together, yeelded a pitifull ſpectacle to many that beheld them. In the meane time *Mandelot* in jeſt and ſcorne (as it ſeemed) cauſed to be proclaymed by the cryer, that no man ſhould commit any ſlaughter in the towne, and that if any would detect the doers of any ſuch ſlaughter, he would give him a hundred crownes in reward for his information. And from that time they ceaſed not to kill, to robbe, and to ſpoyle. The next day after, which was the firſt day of *September*, the greateſt part of the dead bodies were throwen into the River of *Sene*, and the reſt of them *Mandelot*, to feede and glut his eyes and heart with blood, cauſed to be carried by Boate to the other ſide of the water, and there to be throwen downe upon the greene graſſe neere unto the Abbey called *Eſne*.

There the people of Lions, ſpecially the *Italians*, of whom by reaſon of the Mart there is great ſtore in the Towne, ſatisfied their eyes a while, and did ſuch ſpites as they could to theſe heaps of carcaſes, and ſo exerciſed their cruelty not upon the living onely, but alſo upon the dead. And there hapned one thing which for the abhominable cruelty is not to be omitted. There came to that ſpectacle certaine Apothecaries, and among thoſe bodies they perceived ſome very fat ones, by and by they went to the Butchers, and told them that they did uſe to make certaine ſpeciall medicines of mans greace, and that they might make ſome profit thereof. Which as ſoone as the Butchers underſtood, they ran to the heaps and choſe out the fatteſt, and launced them with their knives, and pulled out the fat, and ſold it for money to the Apothecaries.

While theſe things were doing at Lions, the King being enformed that diverſe of the Religion had left their wives and children, and were fled out of the other townes, and lurked ſome in the woods, and ſome among their friends ſuch as tooke pitty on them, he practiſed with faire words to allure and call them home againe. He ſent to every part meſſengers and letters, affirming that he was highly diſpleaſed with thoſe ſlaughters and horrible butcheries, and that he would that ſuch cruelty ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed: and if the Admirall with a few of his confederates had entred into any ſecret practiſe, it was no reaſon, that ſo many innocents ſhould beare the puniſhment due to a few. Many ſweetly beguiled with theſe words of the King and with the letters of the Governours, retired home againe to their dwellings and hou-

ſes, ſpecially they of *Rheau*, *Diepe*, and *Thobuſe*. There were ſcarce 10 dayes paſſed when they were againe commanded to priſon, where they were all ſhut up. Then were murtherers a new appointed of the moſt baſe and raſcall of the people, to torment them with all kinde of torture, and then to ſlay them. And throughout the whole Realme of *France* for thirty dayes together there was no end of killing, ſlaying and robbing, ſo that at this day there are about a hundreth thouſand little babes, Widdowes and Children, that were well borne, that now Fatherleſſe and Motherleſſe live wandering and in beggerie. About this time the King cauſed to be proclaimed, that ſuch as had any office or place of charge, unleſſe they would ſpeedily returne to the Catholique, Apoſtolique and Romiſh Church, ſhould give over thoſe their temporall roomes. There was no towne nor any ſo ſmall a village or hamlet wherein all the profeſſors of the Religion were not compelled either to goe to Maſſe, or preſently to take the ſword into their boſomes: and in many places it happened that ſuch as being amazed with the ſuddaineneſſe of the matter had abjured their Religion, yet notwithſtanding were afterward ſlaine.

And while theſe things were ſtill in doing, yet the King in the meane while ſent abroad his letters and meſſages into all parts, and cauſed to be proclaimed with Trumpet, that his pleaſure was that the Edicts of pacification ſhould be obſerved: and although they could not have freedome to uſe and exerciſe their Religion in open places, yet they ſhould have liberty permitted them to retaine and profeſſe it within their owne houſes, and that no man ſhould meddle with or diſturbe the goods and poſſeſſions of thoſe of the Religion.

And the ſame King which but few dayes before, had by letters directed to all the Governours of his Provinces ſignified that his couſin the Admirall was ſlaine by the Duke of Guiſe to his great ſorrow, and that himſelfe was in great danger, the ſame King I ſay, now cauſed it with ſound of Trumpet to be proclaimed that the traytorous and wicked Admirall was ſlaine by his Will and Commandement. He that in few dayes before had by new authority confirmed the libertie of Religion permitted by his Edicts of pacification, the ſame King did now not onely take from the profeſſors thereof their offices and honours, but alſo preſcribed them in preciſe forme of words a forme of abjuring and deteſting their Religion. Which things leaſt any man ſhould doubt of, we ſhall hereafter ſet downe the very true copies of the ſaid Letters, Edicts and Abjuration.

The Kings Letters, to the Governours of *Burgundie*, whereby hee chargeth those of the house of Guyse, for the murder committed upon the *Admirals* person, and for the sedition which happened at *Paris*, and commandeth that the Edict of pacification should be kept and retained.

COVSIN, you have perceived what I wrote vnto you yesterday, concerning my Cousin the Admirals wounding, and how ready I was to doe my endeavour to search out the truth of the deed, and to punish it, wherein nothing was left undone or forgotten. But it happened since that they of the house of Guyse, and other Lords and Gentlemen their Adherents (whereof there be a small number in this City) when they certainely knew that the Admirals friends would proceed to the revenge of his hurt, and because they were suspected to be the authors thereof, were so stirred up this last night: that a great and lamentable sedition arose thereof, insomuch that the Guard by me appointed for his defence about his house was set upon, and he himselfe with certaine of his Gentlemen slaine, and hauock of others made in diuers places of the Citie: which was handled with such a rage, that I could not vse the remedy that I would, but had much ado to employ my Guards and other defence for the safety of my selfe and my brethren within the Castle of Louure, to give order hereafter for the appeasing of this sedition, which is at this houre well appeased thankes bee to God, and came to passe by a particular and private quarrell of long time softered between those two houses. Whereof when I foresaw that there would succeed some mischieuous purpose, I did what could possibly to appease it, as all men know. And yet hereby the Edict of Pacification is not broken, which I will to be kept as straightly as euer it was, as I have given to understand in all places throughout my Realme. And because it is greatly to bee feared, that such an excesse might kindle vp my Subiects one against another and cause great murmurs throughout the Cities of my Realme; whereby I should be greatly grieved, I pray you cause to be published and understood in all places of your government that every person abide and continue in the safegard of his own house, & to take no weapons in hand nor one to hurt another vpon paine of death commanding them to keepe and diligently to obserue our Edict of Pacification. And to make the offenders and resisters and such as would disobey and breake our will to bee punished: you shall assemble out of hand as great force as you can as well of your friends as of them that be appointed by me and of others, aduertising the Captaines of Castles and Cities in your government to take heed to the safegard and preseruation of the said places, so that no fault ensue on their behalfe aduertising me also so soone as you can, what order you have given herein, and how all things have passed within this circuit of your government. Hereon I pray God to keepe you cousin, in his holy safegard. From Paris the xxiii. of August. signed CHARLES and underneath BRVLARD.

Another Letter from the King to the Lord of Orye, his Lieutenant generall in Tourraine, upon the same matter that the former Letter was.

MOnsieur de Orie you have understood how my cousin the Admiral was hurt the last day and in what readinesse I was to doe as much as in mee lay, for the tryall of the fact, and to cause so great and speedy iustice to be done as should be an example throughout all my Realme, wherein nothing was omitted. Since it is so happened that my cousins of the house of Guise, and other Lords and Gentlemen their adherents, which are no small partie

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in this Town, as all men know having ground certain intelligence that the friends of my said cousin the Admirall intended to pursue and execute upon them the revenge of this hurt, for that they had them in suspicion to be the cause and occasion thereof, have made such a stirre this night passed, that among them on both parts hath beene raised a great and lamentable tumult: the Guard that was set about the Lord Admirals house, was distressed himself slaine in his house, with divers other Gentlemen, as also great slaughter hath been made of other in sundry places and quarters of the Towne, which hath beene done with such furie, that it was impossible for mee to give such remedy as was to be wished, I having enough to do to employ my Guard and other forces to keep my selfe in safety in the Castle of Louure, to the end to give order for the appeasing of the whole uproare, which at this houre (thankes bee to God) is well quenched, for that the same happened by the particular quarrell that hath of long time beene betweene those two houses: whereof alwaies having some doubt that some unhappie effect would ensue, I have (as is well knowne to all men) before this time done all that I could for to appease it: nothing in this last fact tending to the breach of my Edict of Pacification, which contrary wise I will in all things to bee maintained, as at any time heretofore as I doe give it to understand throughout my Realme. And forasmuch as it is greatly to be feared that this may stirre up and cause my subjects to rise one against another, and to commit great slaughters in the townes of my Realme, whereof I would be marvellously sorry, I pray you that immediately upon the receit hereof, ye cause to be published and done to understand in all places of your charge, that every man as well in towne as in Country, remain in rest and surety in his house, and doe not take armes one against another, on paine of death, and that more diligently than at any time heretofore, yee cause the last Edict of Pacification to bee kept and carefully maintained and observed: To the intent aboveſaid, and to punish such as shall doe to the contrary, and to distresse all such as shall rise and disobey our pleasure ye shall immediatly assemble all the strength that yee are able, as well of your friends bound of our allowance as others, advertising the governors, and captaines of Townes and Castles within your charge, that they take good heed to the suretie and safe-keeping of their places, in such sort as there ensue no default, informing me with speed of such order as you shall take therein, and how all things shall proceed within the compasse of your authoritie. I have here with mee my brother the King of Navarre, and my cousin the Prince of Conde, to take such hap as my selfe. I pray the creator, Monsier de Prye, to hold you in his holy safeguard. From Paris this xxiiij. of August. Thus signed CHARLES. and underneath DINART. These Letters are all of one argument as the former bee, and written all in one forme, and all one day to Monsier de Prye the Lievtenant of Tourraine.

The Kings LETTERS to the Officers of Burges, upon the same matter that the former were.

OVR loving and faithfull, we doubt not but by this time you know of the sedition which to our great griefe happened in Paris a few dayes sithence, wherein my cousen the Admirall, and certaine others of his side were slaine; and a great murder committed upon diverse in many places of this Citie. And least the newes thereof should change the quiet estate, wherein Burges hath hitherto beene maintained since the Edict of pacification, if remedie were not foreseene, it is the cause that wee writ this letter presently unto you, whereby wee command and expressely ordaine that evrie

rie one of you according to his charge do see that no commotion or insurrection be against the inhabitants of the said City, nor that no murder be committed, as it is to be feared, by those which pretend to breake the Edict of Pacification and thereby would execute a revenge of their long & private grudge, to our incredible vexation and anguish of minde. For this cause it is your part to give to understand and publish throughout that City of ours and other places pertaining to it, that every one should quietly and peaceably keepe their houses, without taking weapons in hand, and offending one the other, upon paine of death, and well and diligently to keep our Edict of Pacification. And if any goe about to contrary this our intent and minde, to cause them to be punished and rigorously chastised by penalties imposed on such offendors in our ordinances, having a watchfull and diligent eye to the safeguard of that our City, in such sort that no inconvenience arise in your service towards us, as you would have us to know, that you are our loyall and obedient Subjects. Given at Paris the xxvij day of August, 1572. Thus signed, CHARLES and below. De nulf-ville.

A Letter of the Treasurer of the leagues of the Switzers, written by the Kings Commandement unto the said Leagues, of the same argument that the former Letters were.

NOble Seigniours, *Monsieur de la Fontaine*, Ambassador for the King your assured and perfect friend and confederate, and I his Treasurer in this Country, having commandement of his Majesty to communicate with you, as with them whom he accounteth his chief and sure friends, of a chance which lately happened in the City of Paris, his own person and Court then being there, whereof he received so much more griefe and displeasure, because it fell on such a time as he feared least, or looked for such a thing. The matter is this. On the 27. day of August last the Admirall as he went from Louure, was with an harquebuze shot hurt in the hand and arme, whereof when his Majesty was advertised, he commanded incontinent that search and punishment were had of the offender, and the authors of such a mischiefe: whereunto when he had readily laid his hand by his Officers, and committed the inhabitants of the house, where the harquebuze was shot, to prison they which were the cause first of the mischiefe (as it may easily be presupposed) because they would prevent the inquisition thereof, heaping one transgression upon another, on the 23. and 24. of the said moneth assembled a great troupe of people in the night, and moved the people of Paris to a very great sedition, who in a rage set upon the Admirals lodging, and enforcing the Guard which his Majesty had set for the Admirals surety and keeping, slew him with certaine other gentlemen in his company, as the like also was committed upon others in the City, the matter growing in the very same instant to such an outrage and commotion, that whereas his Majesty had thought to provide remedy for appeasing thereof, he had much a doe with all his Guards to keep his house at Louure, where he lodged with the two Queenes his mother and the Spouse the Lords his brethren, the King of Navar and other Princes. Think therefore yee noble Seigniours, in what a perplexity this young and couragious King now standeth, who, as a man may say, hath held in his hand thornes in stead of a Scepter ever since his comming to the Crown for that great troubles which have almost ever since bin in his Realme, and therefore by the good and wise counsell and assistance of the Queene his mother and the Lords his brethren, thought to enjoy and establish a more sure repose in his Realme,

and a more happy government for himſelfe and his ſubjects, after he had taken away (as hee thought) all occaſions of diſſentions amongſt his ſubjects by the meanes of his Edict of Pacifications, and of the Marriage of the King of Navarre to the Lady his Siſter, and the Prince of Cõde to Madame de Nevers; Beſides all this, to the intent nothing ſhould bee left undone that might ſerve for the quieting of all things and eſpecially for the Admirals ſafegard his Majeſty as every man knoweth, hath done his endeavour to the uttermoſt, to appeaſe and reconcile his principall and moſt dangerous enemies unto him. And ſo God the true Judge of the Kings Majeſties good and pure intent brought to paſſe, that the peoples rage being quieted within a few houres, every one went home to his houſe, and the King had ſpeciall regard to nothing more than to ſee nothing attempted or innovated contrary to his Edicts of Pacification, & the repoſe of his Subjects as well of the one Religion as of the other. And for that purpoſe hath ſent to divers of his Governours and Officers in his Provinces, to looke diligently to the obſerving of his Edicts, with expreſſe commandement to hold their hands there that every one might perceive that the chance at Paris happened for ſome private quarrell, and not for any purpoſe to alter this Edicts, which his Majeſty will in no wiſe ſuffer. Which is the principall thing, noble Seigniours that his Majeſty hath commanded us on his part to aſſure you, and to let you underſtand the dangers that depend over him and his neighbours, not ſo much for this ſedition, for he truſteth in God that ſhall grow no further, and his Majeſty will keep his Realme in as good repoſe as it hath bin ſince his laſt Edict of Pacification, but for the great muſtering and aſſembling men of war in many places, ſpecially in the low Countries, where it is yet uncertaine on which ſide God will give the victory, nor whether the Conquerour will employ his force after his conqueſt Wherefore his Majeſty prayeth you, continuing the good love and intelligence which hath alwaies bin betwixt the Crowne of France and his allied and confederate friends the Seigniours of the Leagues, to have good regard to him, and his Realme, in caſe that need ſhall require, as he will have to you and your proſperous eſtate if it be requiſite, employing in the meane while your great and ſingular wiſedome to the preſervation of the union of the Nation in League, which is the onely cauſe to make you, not onely able to ſend ſuccour to your friends, but alſo maintaine your ſelves in eſtimation, that you may be a terrour to your neighbours, how great ſoever they be, his Majeſty promiſing you in all occurrents as much friendſhip, favour and aſſiſtance, as you can deſire, and to be as entire and perfect a friend, as ever your Nation had any.

A Declaration of the King, concerning the occaſion of the Admirals death and his adherents and complices, hapned in the City of Paris the 24. of Auguſt. 1572.

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BY THE KING.

HIs Majeſty deſiring to have all Seigniours, Gentlemen, and other his ſubjects, underſtand the cauſe of the murder of the Admirall & his adherents and complices, wch lately hapned in this City of Paris the 24. day of this preſent moneth of Auguſt, leaſt the ſaid deede ſhould be otherwiſe diſguiſed and reported than it was in deed: his Majeſty therefore declareth that which was done, was by his expres commandement, and for no cauſe of Religion, nor breaking his Edicts

of

of Pacification, which hee always intended, and ſtill mindeth and intendeth to obſerve and keepe yeast was rather done to withſtand & prevent a moſt deteſtable and curſed conſpiracie begun by the ſaid Admirall the chiefe Captaine thereof, and his ſaid adherents and complices, againſt the Kings perſon, his eſtate, the Queen his Mother and the Princes his brethren, the King of Navar, & other Lords about him. Wherfore his Majeſty by this declaration and ordinance giveth to underſtand to all Gentlemen and others of the Religion which they pretend reformed that he mindeth and purpoſeth that they ſhall live under his protection, with their wives and Children in their houſes in as much ſafegnard as they did before, following the benefit of the former Edicts of Pacification, moſt expreſly commanding and ordaining, that all governors and Lieutetenants gereral in every of his Countries and provinces, and other Iuſtices and Officers to whom it appertaineth, do not attempt nor ſuffer to be attempted any thing in what ſort ſoever, upon the perſons and goods of them of the Religion, their wives, children and families, on pain of death againſt the faulty and culpable in this behalfe. And nevertheleſſe to withſtand the troubles, ſlanders, ſuſpicions, and defiances that may come by ſermons and aſſemblies, aſwell in the houſes of the ſaid Gentleman, as in other places, as it is ſuffered by the ſaid Edicts of Pacification: it is expreſly forbidden, and inhibited by his Majeſty to all gentlemen and others of the ſaid Religion, to have no aſſemblies for any cauſe at all, until his Majeſtie hath provided and appointed otherwiſe for the tranquillity of his Realme, upon paine of diſobedience and confiſcation of bodie and goods. It is alſo expreſly forbidden under the paine aforeſaid that for the aforeſaid occaſions, none ſhall take or retaine any priſoners, or take ranſome of them, and that incontinently they certifie the governours of every province, and the Lieutenant generall, of the name and quality of every ſuch priſoner, whom his Majeſty hath appointed ſhall be releaſed and ſet at liberty, except they be of the chiefe of the late conſpiracie or ſuch as have made ſome practiſe or deviſe for them or had intelligence thereof: and they ſhall adverтiſe his Majeſty of ſuch, to know his further pleaſure. It is alſo ordained, that from henceforth none ſhall take or arreſt any priſoner for that cauſe, without his Majeſties commandement or his Officers, nor that none be ſuffered to rome, abroad in the fields, to take up dogs, Cattel, beefes, Kine, or other beaſts goods, fruits, graine, or any thing elſe, nor to hurt the labourers by word or deed, but to let them alone about their worke and calling, in peace and ſafety. At Paris the xxviij. of Auguſt. 1572. Signed, CHARLES, and underneath, FIZES.

The Kings Letters to the Officers of Burges, *of the ſame argument that the former Declaration was.*

OVr truſtie and welbeloved, we conſidering that under the colour of the death of the Admirall, and his adherents and complices certaine Gentlemen, and others our ſubiects profeſſing the Religion called Reformed, might riſe and aſſemble together to the prejudice and hinderance of the tranquilitie which we have alwais deſired ſhould be in our Realme, the doing of the ſaid murder being counterfeited and given out otherwiſe then it was. We have therefore made a declaration & ordinance, which we ſend you, willing you to publiſh the ſame incontinently by ſound of trumpet, and ſetting the ſame in ſuch places of your Iuriſdiction, where cryes & proclamatiõs are uſually made, to the end that every one might know it, & though we have

always bin diligent obſervers of our Edicts of pacification, yet feeing the troubles and ſeditions which might ariſe amongſt our ſubjects by occaſion of the ſaid murder, as well of the Admirall as of his companions. we command you, & ordain that you particularly forbid the principals of the Religion pretended reformed, within your juriſdiction, that they have no ſermons nor aſſemblies either in houſes, or any other places to take away all doubt and ſuſpition which might bee conceived againſt them. And likewiſe that you adverтiſe ſuch as dwell in the Cities of your Juriſdiction, what you judg meet to be done, to the intent they might in this point follow our mind, and keep them quiet in their houſes, as they may do by the benefit of our Edict of pacification, & there they ſhal be under our protection and ſafeguard: but if they will not ſo retyre themſelves after you have given them warning, then ſhall you ſet on them with all ſtrength and force, as well by the provoſts of the Marſha's & their archers as others whichyou can gather together by bell ringing or otherwiſe, ſo that you hew them all to peices as enemies to our Crown. Beſides what commandements ſoever wee have ſent by word of mouth either to you, or others in our Realm when we were in feare, upon juſt occaſion, knowing the conſpiracie that the Admirall had begun of ſome miſchance that might fall unto us, we have and do revoke, willing you and others that no ſuch thing be executed, for ſuch is our pleaſure. Given at Paris the 30. of *Auguſt* 1572. Thus ſigned, *Charles*, and underneath, *De Nulf-ville*. Publiſhed in judgment.

Remembrances and Inſtructions ſent by the King to the Count of Charny his generall Lieutenant in Burgundie, of the ſame argument.

THe King conſidering the commotion lately happened in Paris, wherein the L. Admirall *Chaſtillon* with other gentlemen of his ſide were ſlain, becauſe they had miſchevouſly conſpired to ſet upon the Kings Majeſties perſon, the Q. his mother the princes his brethren the K. of Navar, and other Princes and Lords near about them, and upon his eſtate: and leaſt they of the Religion called Reformed, not knowing the cauſes of the ſaid Rebellion, ſhould ariſe and put themſelves in arms as they have done in the troubles that be paſſed, and deviſe new practiſes and fetches againſt the weale of his Majeſty and tranquillity of his Realm, if he ſhould not cauſe the truth of the matter to be known to all Gentlemen & others his ſubjects of the ſame religion how it paſſed, and what his pleaſure and mind is in their behalfs. And thinking that for remedy hereof it is very needfull for the Governors of the Provinces in his Realme to goe round about their governements: for this occaſion hee willeth that the Count of Charny great Eſquire of Fraunce, and his Majeſties Lieutenant generall for the government of Burgundie, ſhall go diligently through all Cities and places of the ſaid government, and as he arriveth in every place, he ſhall deviſe the beſt wayes that he can to make peace. union and quietneſſe amongſt the Kings Subjects, as well of the one Religion as of the other. And to bring it the better about, he ſhal gently call before him in open or private place as he ſhall ſee beſt cauſe for his Majeſties ſervice herein, the Gentlemen of the places, and the Burgeſſes of the Cities of his government that be of the Religion, and ſhall declare unto them & cauſe them to underſtand the truth of the ſaid commotion leaſt any have miſreported it to them, otherwiſe than it was in deed: And ſhal tel them, that under the colour of the L. Admiralls hurt wherfore his Majeſtie would haue cauſed Iuſtice to be done according to the good order that he had appointed, the ſaid Admirall and Gent. of his

his Religion which were in the City with him, without looking for the execution of the ſaid Juſtice had made a miſchievous, unhappy, and deteſtable conſpiracy againſt the Kings Majeſties perſon, the Queene his mother, the Lords his brethren, the King of Navarre and other Princes & Lords with them, and againſt the whole eſtate, even as certaine of the chiefe and adherents of the ſaid conſpiracy (acknowledging their fault) have confeſſed. Wherefore his Majeſty was conſtrained (to his great griefe) to reſiſt and prevent ſo miſchievous pernitious, and abhominable a purpoſe. And that which he ſuffered to bee done on Sunday the 24. of Auguſt upon the Admirall and his complices, was not for any Religion nor to goe againſt the Edict of Pacification, he entending nevertheleſſe that they of the Religion ſhould ſtill live and abide in all liberty and ſafety, with their wives children and families in their houſes as he hath and will maintaine them if they be content to live quietly under his obedience as he deſireth. For the which cauſe he willeth, that the Counte Charnye ſhall offer and give to them his letters of ſafegard in good and authentick forme, which ſhall be of as good force and vertue, as if they ſhould come to be taken from his owne Majeſty: and by the authority of them, they ſhall be preſerved from all wrongs, violences, and oppreſſions: enjoying and forbidding moſt expreſſly all his Catholicke Subjects whatſoever they are to attempt nothing upon the perſons, goods, or families of any of the Religion, which keepe themſelves quietly in their houſes on paine of death. And if any be ſo raſh or evill adviſed, to doe againſt this injunction or to violate the ſafegard promiſed, his Majeſty willeth that ready and rigorous puniſhment be done to the intent that their example may ſerve to hold in others not to doe the like: which is the true and onely meanes of aſſurance that his Majeſty can give to them of the Religion, with his word and promiſe which hee giveth them to bee their good and benigne Prince, protector and preſerver of them and of all that toucheth them, ſo long as they live and continue under his obedience without doing or enterpriſing any thing againſt his will and ſervice. And becauſe his Majeſty hath often known that the enterpriſes and conſultations taken in hand by them of the Religion againſt his ſervice, have bin concluded amongſt them at Aſſemblies, at Sermons, which Gentlemen had liberty to cauſe to bee made in their houſes and Lordſhips, therefore my L. of Charnye ſhall particularly give to underſtand to Gentlemen which were wont to have ſuch Sermons, that his Majeſty in conſideration that nothing hath more moved and ſet on the Catholicks againſt thoſe of the Religion than ſuch Preachings and Aſſemblies, and if they continue, it is certain that it will be a cauſe to encreaſe and maintaine the ſaid commotions, deſireth that they ſhould cauſe them to ceaſe off untill he hath otherwiſe provided and appointed, and that they apply themſelves hereunto as a thing greatly ſerving the effect of his intention, which is gently to bring his ſaid Subjects to a true and perfect amity union and concord one with another, committing al diviſions and partialities to oblivion. And becauſe this may ſeeme hard at the beginning, my L. of Charnye ſhall cauſe it to be faire and gently ſpoken to them, leaſt they enter into ſome ſtrange conjecture or ſuſpition. For ſo his ſaid Majeſty would proceed in all true ſincerity towards them which conforme themſelves to his will and obedience, wherein he exhorteth them to live, with all the beſt perſwaſions that he can, and ſhall aſſure them in ſo doing to be ſurely maintained and preſerved as his other Subjects the Catholicks, as his Majeſty would that he ſhould doe. And to the intent his ſaid Subjects the Catholicks ſhould know how to uſe and behave themſelves herein my L. of Charnye ſhall tell them, that his Majeſties pleaſure neither is nor hath bin that any wrong or

oppreſſion ſhouldbe done to them of the ſaid Religion, which like good and loyall Subjects will gently keepe themſelves under his obedience. Declaring unto the ſaid Catholicks, that if they forget themſelves and hurt thoſe of the Religion which in ſuch ſort behave themſelves toward his Majeſty, and thoſe alſo which for that end have received of his Majeſty or of my L. of Charnye letters of ſafe conduct, he will cauſe them to be puniſhed and chaſtiſed in the field, as tranſgreſſors of his commandements, without any hope of grace, pardon, or remiſſion. Which the ſaid L. of Charnye ſhall expreſſe and declare unto them with as plaine words as is poſſible, and cauſe it alſo to be ſtraightly executed. And that after following his Majeſties intent, he hath pacified them by this meanes, which is the way that his Majeſty beſt liketh of, and ſearched the direction to aſſure a tranquility betwixt the Subjects and to ſet ſome aſſurance betwixt the one and the other, ſuch as ſhall conforme themſelves herein to his ſaid Majeſties will, he will comfort, and make them the beſt and moſt gentle entertainement that he poſſibly can. But if any of the Religion become ſelfe willed & ſtubborne to his Majeſty, without having regard to his ſaid warnings, and ſhall aſſemble in Armes together, making practiſes and deviſes againſt the weale of his ſervice then the L. of Charnye ſhall run upon them and hew them in pieces before they have power to fortifie themſelves and joyne together. And therefore he ſhall aſſemble as much force as he can, as well of the ordinary, as of other men of war, Souldiers, Foot-men of the Garriſons, and inhabitants of the Catholicks within the Cities of his Government, and ſhall beſiege them which hold and make themſelves ſtronge in Cities about his government, ſo that the victory and authority may remaine in his Majeſty.

At Paris the 30. of Auguſt, 1572. Signed, *Charles:* and underneath *Brulard.*

The Kings Letter to the L. of Gwich, whereby it may plainely be perceived, how they would ſearch out all them of the Religion which had any charge in hand during the troubles.

MY L. of Gwiche. I underſtand that the 3. brethren Daggonels, and one Poreher the beſt at the ſigne of the Adventure, Moſſoner, Criſpine, and Captaine Griſe, which were the principall in the faction in Burgundie, and were the cauſe of the taking and recovering of the City of Maſcon in the late troubles, and of all the decay which happened in that Country, be kept priſoners in Maſcon. And becauſe I underſtand they hope to eſcape out by ranſome (which I would in no wiſe ſhould be done) I ordaine and command that you keepe them ſafe, for as much as I hope by their meanes to diſcover a great many things which greatly touch the weale of my ſervice. And if there be any other priſoners of the new Religion in Maſcon, which have him factious, you ſhall likewiſe keepe them, ſo that they eſcape not by paying ranſome for I would not for any thing in the world that there ſhould be taking of ranſome among my Subjects. And thus my L. of Gwiche I pray God keepe you in his hol, tuition. Written at Paris the 14. of Septem. 1572. Seigned, Charles, *and underneath,* Brulard.

The

The Kings Letters to Monſieur De Gordes *his Lieutenant Generall in Dauſphine, wherein hee ſendeth him word that the beſt proofe of his doings is the accuſations and complaints of them of the Religion againſt him, whereunto he ſhould have care to anſwer.*

M. *De Gordes*, by your letters of the firſt of this month I perceived the order which you appoynted in your Government ſince the advertiſement which you had of the execution of the Admirall & his adherents: and ſince I am ſure you forgot nothing which you thought might ſerve for your aſſurance of thoſe places wherof you had occaſion to doubt. And to the intent you ſhould have the more means to make your ſelf known I have prepared that the ſouldiers of Corſica which I had appointed to go into Prouince, ſhould return to you, & therupon have written to my Couſin the Count of Tend, who will not fail to ſend them unto you, for as much as there is no need of them now in that country. Hee ſhould alſo ſend you word for the time of their departing, to the end that you might have leaſure to provide to receive them, & appoint their places where they ſhould be in garriſon, I have ſeen that which you writ to me concerning the continual payment in Dauſpaine, what is due for the laſt year, wherupon I wil adviſe of the ſtate of my finés the means that may be and according therunto there ſhal be no fault, but they ſhall be provided for. For the reparation of the bridge of Grenoble, they of the ſame place muſt deviſe the means wherein they ſhould beſt help themſelves therein, & when they have advertiſed me I wil appoint the neceſſary proviſion. Touching the ſouldiers appointed of the Baron of Adrets, becauſe the occaſion why I appointed them to be levied now ceaſeth, I have written to him to ſend them back and diſmiſſe them again: wheerfore there is no need to make proviſion for their maintenance, nor likewiſe to tell you any thing els concerning the anſwers which you have made to the remembrances which they of the Religion haue preſented againſt you. For your doings are wel known and plain unto me, & therupon J wil take no better proofe than their accuſation. Wherfore you ſhall put your ſelf to no more pain on that ſide. Moreover I have herewith ſent you a copie of the Declaration which I made of the Admirals death & his adherents & made to be underſtood that it ſhould be obſerved and followed, & that all murders ſackings, and violencies ſhould ceaſe. Nevertheles I have heard complaints of divers places that ſuch extraordinary ways continue, which is a thing that doth much diſpleaſe me. By the meanes wherof I adviſe you in doing this charge once again put unto you that you give order throughout your government to cauſe all hoſtility force and violence to ceaſe, and that the ſaid declaration be ſtraightly obſerved and kept with puniſhing thoſe that withſtand, ſo rigorouſly, that the demonſtration thereof may ſerve for an example ſeing my intent is that they ſhould be puniſhed as behooveth, & to mark them which wink or diſſemble therat. This preſent letter ſhal ſerve alſo for an advice of the receipt of thoſe letters which you wrote the. 5. of this preſent, whereby you ſend me word, that you received no meſſage by word of mouth from me, but onely letters of the 22. 24. & 28. of the moneth paſſed, wherof put your ſelf to no further paine, for that charge was only for ſuch as then were neare about me, which is all that I have at this time to ſay unto you Praying here upon the Creator to keep you in his holy and worthy tuition. Writ at Paris the 4. day of *September*. Signed *Charles*, and beneath *FIZES*. And above, To *M. De Gordes* Knight.

The

The Kings Letter to the Duke of Guiſe, his Lieutenant generall in Champaigne and in Brye

COuſen, although in all my former Letters I have given you to underſtand well enough how much I deſire that all my Subjects as well of the Nobility as others which profeſſe the new Religion and quietly uſe themſelves in your government ſhould by you be maintained & preſerved in all ſurety under my protection and ſafegard without giving them any hinderance by trouble in their perſons goods, and families: yet nevertheleſſe I have bin advertiſed that in certaine places of my Realm there have bin many ſackings and pillings done by ſuch as dwell in the houſes of the ſaid new Religion, as well in the fields as in the Cities, under colour of the commotion which happened in my City of Paris the 24. day of Auguſt laſt, a thing beyond all meaſure diſpleaſant and diſagreeable unto me, and for the which I would have proviſion and remedy. Wherfore I pray you, Couſen, that above all things as you deſire that I ſhould know the good affection you beare to the good weale of my ſervice, you take that matter next your heart to preſerve and maintaine within your government according to that which I have ſo plainely told and written to you heretofore, that all ſuch of the new Religion which behave themſelvee quietly, take no wrong or violence whether it be for the preſervation of their goods or perſons, no more than to my Catholick ſubjects. And where any wrong or outrage ſhall be offered them againſt my will, as I have before declared. ſo doe I now by theſe preſents declare, I will and intend that you ſhall make ſome evident and notorious puniſhment of ſuch as are herein culpable, ſo that their correction may ſerve for an example of all other, that I may ſee my ſelfe throughly obeyed herein as I would be, and my commandements received amongſt all my Subjects in another ſort than they have bin heretofore. Aſſuring you Couſen, that the beſt newes that I ſhall receive from you ſhall be to heare ſay that you chaſtiſe thoſe well, of whom I am diſobeyed. And thus Couſen, I pray God to keepe you in his holy tuition. Written from Paris the 28. of September, 1572.

Signed Charles, *and underneath* Brulart.

Remembrances ſent by the King to all Governours, and Lieutenants of his Provinces, to put out and remove all thoſe of the Religion from their eſtates and charges, although they would abjure the ſame, ſaving ſuch as have but ſmall eſtates and offices, to whom his Majeſty permitteth continuance, on condition that they abjure the ſaid Religion according to the forme of Abjuration ſent for that purpoſe.

THe King conſidering how much his Officers and Magiſtrates of Iuſtice, and ſuch as have the adminiſtration and dealing of his Fynes and payments, which be of the new Religion, are ſuſpect and hated, and put his Catholick Subjects in great miſtruſt if they ſhould preſently exerciſe their offices after theſe freſh commotions for cauſe that the ſaid offices be in their hands that now keep them: therefore leaſt the people ſhould thereby be brought to a new occaſion of ſtir, and they of the new Religion be in danger or hazard of their owne perſons, although they would abjure their ſaid new Religion, and profeſſe the holy faith and Catholick Religion of *Rome*: his Majeſty deſiring to avoyd the new miſchiefes and troubles which may come hath adviſed to diſcharge the ſaid officers from the exerciſe of the ſaid offices, untill he ſhall otherwiſe appoint. And yet nevertheles, in the meane while, if the ſaid officers be obedient unto his wil,

and

and live quietly in their houses, without attempting, practising or making any thing in hand a-gainst his service, they shall receive their wages, and they that will resigne their said offices to Ca-tholique persons and come to his Majesty shall be very honourably provided for. And as touch-ing other small offices without wages, which cannot be troublesome, as Notaries, Sergeants, and such where the officers have none authority, which cannot be so odious, nor mistrustfull to the people, as the other, his Majesty is advised, that such small Officers which will abjure the sayd new religion, and professe the faith Catholike, Apostolike and Romish & herein live continually hereafter, shall continue in the exercise and enjoying of their estates: but they that will continue in their new opinion, shall depart from their offices, untill his Majesty hath otherwise provided. And this is for the mischeif and inconvenience that may betide them, if they should exercise their said estates, because of the great mistrust and suspition which the Catholikes have conceived of them of the new Religion. Nevertheless his Majestie well considering that the most part of the said officers have none other way to live, but the exercise of their said offices, willeth that they shall be in choyse to resign to Catholike and capable persons, and then to come to him for that effect, and he will grant them the greatest favour and moderation of his treasurie that is possi-ble. The which resolution and pleasure of his Majestie he willeth to be declared to the said offi-cers of the new pretended opinion, as well by Governors and Lieytenants generall of his Provin-ces, as by them of his Courts of Parliament, of the chambet of his accounts, of the Court of his ayds, them of his great Counsel, of the Treasury of France, the generalls of his fines, his baylifs, Seneschals, Provosts, Judges or their Lieytenants and every one of them as shall appertain. And to this intent his Majestie willeth and intendeth that every one of them in their calling shall send particularly and apart for every of the said officers of the new Religion, which be of their in-corporation, charge and jurisdiction, and shall admonish them in this behalfe, conforme them selves to his Majesties minde, and if any of them in authority, because of their said estates, wil re-turn to the bosome of the Catholike and Romish Church, it shall bee said to them that his Ma-jesty liketh very wel of it, & that he taketh a great and singular affection therin, and it shal give him the greater assurance and credit of their good will, and that his Majestie will not bar them from his service hereafter, but will provide for them as their behaviour shall deserve. And not-withstanding, for the reasons aboveſaid, he willeth that they shall cease from the exercise of their estates and offices untill he otherwise appointeth. And because that in many places of the Realm they have proceeded by way of ceasing the goods of them of the new Religion which be dead or absent, and hide themselves: and sometimes of those which be in their own houses, although his Majestie gave to understand by his Declaration of the xxviii of August last, that he would and intended that they of the new Religion should enjoy their goods, nevertheless, to the intent there should be no doubt of his purpose, and that no mistrust might arise thereupon, he declareth, willeth, and intendeth again, that according to his declaration of the 28. of Au-gust, they of the new Religion which be living whether they be present or absent, and be not cul-pable or charged with the last conspiration, or to have attempted against his Majesty or his e-state, since his Edict of Pacification, shalbe restored to their houses, and put in possession of all and singular their goods, moveable or unmoveable. And that the widows and heirs of them that be dead, may and shall succeed them and apprehend al and singular their goods, & that they shall be maintained in them and kept under the protection and safeguard of his Majesty so that no hurt shall be done or said unto them in any manner of wise or sort. Willing for this purpose

that all neceſſary ſuerty ſhall be given them, and that all Officers, Magiſtrates, Majors & others which have publick charge ſhal maintaine them in all ſafety, forbidding all perſons of what eſtate quality or condition ſo ever they bee, not to hurt them in perſon or goods upon paine of death. And nevertheleſſe his Majeſty willeth, that they of the new opinion ſhall ſubmit themſelves and promiſe upon paine to be declared rebells and traitours to his Majeſty, that they ſhall hereafter live under his obedience without attempting any thing to the contrary, or taking their parts that doe attempt againſt his Majeſty and eſtate, or things againſt his ordinances and to acknowledge none but his Majeſty, or ſuch as he ſhall appoint under him to have authority to command them. And if they know any that ſhall enterpriſe againſt his Majeſty and ſervice, to reveale them incontinent to him and his officers, as good and faithfull ſubjects. And to take away all doubt and ſuſpition as well from the Nobility as others, becauſe that in the Declaration of the 24. of the laſt moneth, theſe words are contained (*Except they be thoſe of the chiefe, which had commandement for thoſe of the new opinion, or thoſe which made practiſes and deviſes for them, or thoſe which might have had intelligence of the ſaid conſpiracy.*) His Majeſty declareth that he meaneth not of things done and paſt during the troubles which were before the Edict of Pacification in Auguſt. 1570. and that there ſhall be no inquiſition thereof, and none ſhall be troubled in goods or perſon therefore (but for that reſpect they ſhall enjoy the benefit of the Edict of Pacification) but that the ſaid words extend onely to thoſe which bee found to be guilty or acceſſary to the laſt conſpiracy done againſt his Majeſty and eſtate, and that other which are impriſoned, ſhall be ſet at liberty. And as touching them which will make profeſſion of their faith, and returne to the Catholick Religion, his Majeſty deſireth that his Governours and officers ſhall excite and comfort them as much as they can, to that effect, and execution of that good will: and that their friends and Kinsfolks ſhould alſo be exhorted to doe the like for their part. And if any ſhould hurt them in goods or body, his Majeſty willeth ready and ſpeedy execution to be done on them. And to the intent that they may follow the forme which hath bin kept, in profeſſing the faith which they doe make that returne to the Apoſtolick and Romiſh Church, there is ſent herewith a memory thereof. From Paris the 22. day of September. 1572. Seigned *Charles*, and beneath *Pinart*.

The Forme of Abjuration of hereſie, and confeſſion of Faith, which they which have ſwarved from the faith, and pretend to be received into the Church, ought to make.

This is the Abjuration which they cauſed all of the Religion to make in France, to ſave their lives. Printed at Paris by Nicholas Roffet, dwelling in the new ſtreet of our Lady, at the ſigne of the Mower: with the Kings Priviledge.

FIrſt, they which have ſwarved from the Faith, and deſire to returne into the compaſſe of our holy Mother Church, ought to preſent themſelves to their Curates or Vicars to bee inſtructed of that which they ought to doe: that done, they ſhall be ſent unto the reverend Biſhop of the Dioces, or his Chancellour or Officiall, to make the ſaid Abjuration and confeſſion in manner and forme following.

I, N. borne at. &c. in the Dioces of. &c. and dwelling. &c. acknowledging by the grace of God the true faith Catholick and Apoſtolick, from the which I have through my fault gone aſtray

astray and separated my selfe since, &c. and desirous to returne to the flock of Christs true sheepefold, which is the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church, confesse to have Abjured and cursed all the Errours and Heresie of the Lutherians, Calvinistes, and Hugonotes, and all other Heresie whatsoever wherewith I have heretofore beene diffamed or touched: and I agree to the faith of our holy Mother the Church, and I desire you in the name of God, of his son Iesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin his mother Mary, and of all the Saints of Paradice, that it would please you to receive me into the flock and sheepfold of Gods people, which live under the obedience of the Pope ordained our Saviour Jesus Christs Vicar in the said Church, submitting my selfe patiently to abide and willingly to do pennance which it shall please you to enjoyne mee for the absolution of my faults committed, whilst I was in the foresayd Sects, whereof I aske and require pardon of God, and of his said Church, and of you (that bee appointed my Pastor by GOD the Creator) absolution with such pennance as you shall judge to bee wholsome for the satisfaction of my sinnes and offences. And to the intent you should know that I have and doe make this abjuration from my heart, I confesse moreover before God and you, that I believe that which is contained in the Simbole or Creede of the Apostles, and Athanasius, and other confessions of Faith made and approved by the whole Councells of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church: that is: I believe in one onely God, the Father Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord our Lord Iesus Christ, the onely son engendred by God the Father before the constitution of the world, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, engendred not Created, Consubstantiall with the Father by whom all things were made, who for us men, and for our salvation, discended from heaven, &c. *As in the beleef of Morning prayer.* I believe likewise, acknowledge and confesse all that which is contained in the bookes as well of the olde as of the new Testament, approved by the said holy and Apostolike Church of Rome, according to the sence and interpretation of the holy Doctors received by the same, rejecting all other interpretation as false and erroneous. I acknowledge the seven Sacraments of the said Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Church, that they were instituted by our Lord Iesus Christ, and that they bee necessarie for the Salvation of Mankinde, that all of them are not of necessity to bee conferred to all, that is to say. I confesse that the said seven Sacraments are these, *Baptisme, Confirmation, Eucharist* which is the Sacrament of the altar, *Pennance, extreame Unction, Order, and Marriage*, and that the said Sacraments confer grace, and that of them, Baptisme, Confirmation and Order, cannot bee reiterated without Sacrilege. That the said Sacraments have the effect which the said Church teacheth, and that the forme and usage wherewith they be ministred to Christians, is holy and necessary. I acknowledge also that the holy Masse is a sacrifice and oblation of the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ under the forme of bread and wine mingled with water; which substances of bread and wine under the said formes (are in the Masse by the words which serve for consecration, said and pronounced by the Priest) transubstantiated and transformed into the substance of the said body and blood of Iesus Christ. Notwithstanding, that the qualities and accidents remaine in the sayd formes after the said Consecration; and that the Masse is wholsome and profitable as well for the quicke as the dead. I acknowledge and confesse the concomittance, that is to

say, that in receiving the body of Jesus Christ under the forme of bread alone, I receive not the bloud of Jesus Christ. I confesse that Prayer and intercession of Saints for the quick and the dead is holy, good and healthfull for Christians, and is not contrary (for any respect) to the glory of God. That prayers made in the Church for the faithfull which are dead, doe profit them for the remission of their sins, and lessening of their paines incurred for the same. That there is a Purgatory where the soules abiding are succoured by the prayers of the faithfull. I confesse that we must honour and call upon the Saints which raigne with Jesus Christ, and that they make intercession for us to God, and that their Reliques are to bee worshipped. That the commandements and traditions of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romish Church as well they which pertaine to the forme and Ceremonies of divine Service, and to assist the same, which I thinke be to draw Christian people to pitty and turning to their God, as fasting, abstaining from meates, observation of holy dayes, and Ecclesiasticall pollicy, according to the tradition of the Apostles and holy Fathers continued since the Primative Church till this time, and afterwards brought into the Church by the ordinances of Counsels, received in the same of long and ancient time, or of late, bee good and holy, to the which I will and ought to obey, all prescribed and appointed by the Holy Ghost, the Author and director of that which serveth for the keeping of Christian Religion, and of the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romane Church. I believe also and accept all the Articles of Originall sin, and of Justification. I affirme assuredly that wee ought to have and keepe the Images of Jesus Christ, of his holy Mother and all other Saints, and doe honour and reverence unto them. I confesse the power of indulgence and pardons to bee left in the Church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them to be very healthfull, as also I acknowledge and confesse the Church of Rome to bee the Mother and chiefe of all Churches, and conducted by the Holy Ghost: and that other pretended particular inspirations against the same, come of the suggestions of the Divell, the Prince of dissention, which would seperate the union of the Mysticall body of the Saviour of the World. Finally, I promise faithfully to keepe all that was ordained at the last generall Counsell of Trent, and promise to God and you, never more to depart from the Catholick, Apostolick, and Romane Church: and if I doe (which God forbid) I submit my selfe to the penalties of the Canons of the said Church, made, ordained, and appointed against them which fall back into Apostasie. To which Abjuration and Confession I have subscribed.

The King's Letter to M. de Guyse and other Lieutenants and Governours of his Provinces, by the which he wholly abolisheth and subverteth all the Edicts of Pacification, and willeth that onely the Romish Religion should take place in his Realme.

THe King knowing that the Declaration which hee made upon the occasions which lately chanced in the City of Paris, the remembrances and instructions of his will which hee sent round about to all Governours of his Provinces, and Lieutenants generall therein, and particular Letters to the Seneschals, and his Courts of Parliament, and other Officers and Ministers of Justice, have not hitherto stay the course of murders and robberies done in the most part of the Cities of this Realm to his Majesties great displeasure: hath advised for a more singular remedy, to send all the said Governours into every of their charges and governments, assuring him-

selfe,

ſelfe, that according to the quality and power which they have of his Majeſty they can well follow and obſerve his intent, the which more fully to declare, his Majeſty hath cauſed his Letter Patents to be diſpatched, which ſhall be delivered them. Beſides the contents whereof M. de Gaſſe the Governour and Lieutenant generall for his Majeſty in Champaigne and Brye, ſhall call before him the gentlemen of the new Religion abiding within his government and ſhall tel them that the Kings will and intent is to preſerve them their wives children and families, and to maintaine them in poſſeſſion of their goods ſo that on their part they live quietly, and render to his Majeſty obedience and fidelity as they ought: in which doing the King alſo will defend them, that they ſhall not be moleſted or troubled by way of Juſtice or otherwiſe in their perſons and goods by reaſon of things done during the troubles and before the Edict of Pacification of Auguſt, 1570. And afterwards he ſhall lovingly admoniſh them to continue no longer in the Error of the new opinions, and to returne to the Catholick Religion reconciling themſelves to the Catholick Romiſh Church, under the Doctrine and obedience whereof, Kings his predeceſſors and their Subjects have al waies holily lived, and this Realme hath bin carefully conducted and maintained: Shewing to them the miſchiefes and calamities which have happened in this Realme, ſince theſe new opinions have entred into mens ſpirits: How many murders have beene cauſed by ſuch which have fallen from the right way holden by their Anceſtors. Firſt they made them ſeparate themſelves from the Church, then from the next of Kindred, and alſo to be eſtranged from the ſervice of their King as a man may ſee ſince his raign. And although the Authors and heads of that ſide, would have covered their doings under the title of Religion and conſcience: yet their deeds and workes have ſhewen well inough that the name of Religion was but a viſarde to cover their driftes and diſobedience, and under that pretence to aſſemble and ſubborne people, and to make them to ſweare in the cauſe under the title of diſobedience, and by ſuch waies to turne them from the naturall affection which they owe to the King, and conſequently from his obedience, being notorious that what commaundement ſoever the King could make to them of the new Religion, they have not ſince his raigne obeyed him otherwiſe then pleaſed their heads. And contrariwiſe, when their ſayd heads commaunded them to ariſe and take to their weapons to ſett upon Cities, to burne Churches, to ſack and pil, to trouble the Realme and fill it with bloud and fire, they which went ſo aſtray to follow them, forgot all truſt and duty of good ſubjects, to execute and obey their commandements. Which things if the Gentlemen will conſider they ſhal eaſily judge how unhappy and miſerable their condition ſhal be if they continue therein. For they may well thinke of themſelves that the King being taught by experience of ſo great a danger, from the which it hath pleaſed God to preſerve him and his eſtate, and having proued the miſcheifes and calamityes which this Realme hath ſuffered by the enterpriſes of the heads of this cauſe their adherents and complices that hee willingly bee ſerved with any Gentleman of his Subjects that bee of any other Religion than the Catholick, in the which alſo the King following his Predeceſſors, will live and dye. He willeth alſo to take away all miſtruſt amongſt his Subjects and to quench the riſing of diſcords and ſeditions, that all they of whom he is ſerved in honourable places, and ſpecially the gentlemen which deſire to be accompted his good and lawful Subjects & would obtaine his favour & be employed in charges of his ſervice, according to their degrees and qualities, doe make profeſſion hereafter to live in the ſame Religion that he doth: having tryed that diſcords and civill warrs will not ceaſe in a ſtate

where there be many Religions, and that it is not possible for a King to mantain in his Realm diversities in Religion, but that he shall lose the good will and benevolence of his subjects, yea and they which are of a contrary Religion to his, desire nothing in their heart more than the change of the K. and of his estate. for the reason aboveſaid, the D. of Guise, to bring the matter to this passe, shall take pains to perswade the Nobility and others infected with the said new opinion, to returne of themselves, and of their own free wil to the Catholike Religion, and to abjure and renounce the new without any more expresse commandement from the King. For howsoever it bee, his Majesty is resolved to make his subjects live in his religion, and never to suffer whatsoever may betide, that there shall bee any other form or exercise of Religion in his Realm then the Catholike. The said D. of Guise shall communicate with the Principall officers and Magistrates, having the principall charge and administration of Iustice in Cities of his Government, his Majesties declaration, to the intent they should know his mind, and the good end whereunto he tendeth for the uniting and quietnesse of his subjects, to the intent the said M. de Guise & the said Officers & Magistrates, should with one concord, intelligence & correspondence proceed to the effect above said, so that fruit & quietnes may thereof ensue, such as his Majesty desireth not onely for himselfe, but for the whole Realme. The Bayliffes and Stewardes which are not in Religion accordingly qualified, shall within one moneth resigne their office to Gentlemen capable, and of the quality required by the Edict, which may keep and exercise the same. And to the intent this should be done, his Majesty doth now presently declare them deprived after the said month, if they do not then resign, that they shall have no occasion or colour of excuse to delay their resignations, and yet permitteth them in the mean while to resigne without any fine paying. All Bayliffs and Stewards shalbe resident at their offices upon paine of losse of the same, and if they cannot so be, then they shalbe bound to resigne. All Archbishops and Bishops shall likewise be resident in their Dioces, and such as for age and other disposition of persons cannot preach the word of God, nor edifie the people, and do no other functions appertaining to their charge and dignity, shall be bound to take a conductor to comfort them, & to employ themselves to the duty of their charge. To the which conductor they shall appoint an honest and reasonable pension according to the fruits and revenue of their living. Also persons and Vicars shalbe resident at their benefices, or else shall be admonished to resign them to such as will be resident, and do their duty. Archbishops and Bishops shall take information of them which hold abbyes, prioryes, and other benefices in their Dioces, of what quality soever they are, & how they do their duty in the administration of them, whereupon they shall make proofe by word unto the Governors, which shall send them to the King to provide therein as reason shall move him. They shall compell the Curates actually to abide at the places of their benefices or else shall appoint other in their steads according to the disposition of the Canons. At *Paris* the 3. day of *November*, 1572. Signed, *Charles*.

Letters of Monsieur De Gordes *the Kings Lieutenant in Daulphine to certaine of the Religion in his government, whereby he exhorteth them to come back again to the Religion of Rome, and how the King is determined to suffer none other.*

Sir

SIr I am ſufficiently advertized of your behaviour, but you ſhould remember what advertiſements I have before ſent you to turn to the Catholike religion of your ſelf, which is the beſt hold and ſtay that you can chuſe for your preſervatiō & health, putting from you al thoſe which perſwade you to the contrary, who would abide to ſee any commotion or diſorder rather then abate any point of their opinion. And by this meanes you ſhall make evident to the K. the will which you ſay you have to obey his Majeſty, counſeling you for as much as I deſire your wel doing, that is the beſt for you to do, without looking for any more open commandement: otherwiſe aſſure your ſelf, there can but evill come of it, & that his Majeſty would bee obeyed, And thus I pray God to adviſe you and give you his holy grace. From *Grenoble the 6. of Decemb.* 1572. your entire good friend, *Gords.*

The Anſwer of the Gentlemen, Captaines, Burgeſſes, and other being in the Towne of Rochell, to the commandements that have beene given them in the name of the King, to receive Garriſons.

WE the Gent, Capt. Burgeſſes and other now being in the Town of Rochel, do give anſwer to you Monſieur N. and to ſuch commandements as you give us in the name of his Majeſty, that we cannot acknowledg that that which is ſignified unto us, & the proclamation which you require that we ſhould cauſe to be publiſhed, do proceed from his Majeſty. And thereof we call to witneſſe his Majeſty himſelf, his letters of the 22. & 24. of Auguſt, his owne ſigner, and the publiſhing of the ſame letters, by the which his ſayd Majeſty layeth all the fault of all the trouble lately happened, and of the cruell ſlaughter done at Paris, upon thoſe of the houſe of Guiſe, protecting that he has enough to do to keep himſelfe ſafe within his Caſtle of Louure with thoſe of his guard. And wee ſhall never ſuffer our ſelves to be perſwaded that ſo foul an enterpriſe and ſo barbarous a ſlaughter hath at any time entred into the mind of his Majeſty, much leſſe that the ſame hath bin done by his expreſſe commandement, as the paper importeth which you have exhibited unto us, nor that his Majeſty hath bin ſo ill adviſed, as himſelf to cut off his own arms, or to defile the ſacred wedding of madam his own ſiſter with the ſhedding of ſo much noble & innocent blood & with the ſhame of ſo cruell a fact to deſtein the nation of France & the blood royall which hath heretofore ever among all nations born the name of frank and courteous: nor that he hath had minde to deliver matter to any writers to ſet forth a tragicall hiſtory ſuch as antiquitie hath never heard ſpeak of the like & ſuch as poſterite cannot report without horror. But that it was firſt laid at Rome, and afterward hatched at Paris, by the authors of all troubles of Fraunce. And howſoever it be, we are ready to maintaine that out of the mouth of his Majeſty doth not proceed hot and cold, white and black, and that hee doth not now ſay one thing and by and by another, as he ſhould if the paper that you preſent unto us had paſſed from him, proteſting that he will inviolably keep his edict, and immediately breaking the ſame in declaring that he commanded thoſe murders to be committed, having alſo made proteſtation before that it is to his great grief, and done by the outrage and violence of thoſe of Guiſe againſt whom he was not able to make ſpeedy reſiſtance in time as his Majeſty deſired. And in this quarrell we the Gent. Captains, and other that maketh you this anſwer are ready to try it by combat man to man, or otherwiſe, to maintaine the honour of our King againſt all

thoſe

those that so prophane holy things, and as much as in them lyeth doe by such words & odes re-
lainously defile the excel encie of his Majesty and of the noble Princes of his bloud. Which
may right well conjecture and estimate, by the slaughters that are yet in doing, as well in the
Town of Paris as elsewhere, upon so many noblemen, gentlemen and other, men, women and
children, and upon a great number of yong Schollars (the maintenance under God, of Realms &
common-weales in time to come) and to many other barbarous, unnaturall and unmanly acts ge-
nerally committed. We think therefore and judge that herein treason is enterprised against the
person of his Majesty and of my Lords his brethren, and that the Guisians mean to invade the
Crown of the Realm as they have of long time practised. & how so ever it be, we say that his
Majesty is forced by the power that they have taken upon them and usurped by meane of the
rebellious stir of the commons of Paris. As for that which they say that the Admirall and those
of the Religion had conspired against the K. Majesty and his brethren, these be allegations of as
great truth and of as good likelyhood, as their manner of proceeding in justice hath bin orderly,
beginning at execution before examination of the fact. But it is now no need to tarry for time to
discover it for the matter is plain to be seene with eye and groped with hand and all those of the
Romish Religion that have remaining any drop of nature of man, doe confesse it and hold down
their heads for shame cursing both with heart and mouth the cruell executors of this abhomina-
ble enterprise and the wicked disturbers of common quiet, which can yet no more suffer, than they
hetherto have done that this poore Realm should long enjoy the benefit of that peace, which
the King alone next under God, had wisely caused to be made and to bee accordingly observed,
whereof this realm began to feele the good taste, to the great contentment of all persons, except
the enemies of peace and of this realm, namely the Guisians. Finally, when his Majesty being
out of their hands and power shall declare what is his pleasure, we will endeavour to obey him
in all things, wherein our consciences, which are dedicate to God alone, shall not be wounded, in
which case we will rather forsake the earth than Heaven, and our fraile and transitory houses
rather than the heavenly Mansions. *But hitherto the law of Nature, and the duty that we owe to
our naturall Prince, to the preservation of his Crown, and to the safety of our lives, our wives
and children, doth command us to stand upon our Guard and not to put it in the mercy of those
that have received the same bloudy Commission from the Guisians under the pretended name of
the King, to use us in the same manner as they have wickedly, traiterously & unnaturally dealt with
those about his Majesty, and as it were under his wings, and under the skirts of his robe, which
the traitours strangers have stained with the true French blood, without that his Majesty hath
bin able to remedy it, nor to stay their cursed attempts: so much lesse is he able now so farre
off to defend us as he would, which his Majesties good will being knowne unto us, doth
arme us for our defence, and for the safegard of our lives, and of the privileges
which he hath given us, untill such time as he shall be able by himselfe
to defend us against his enemies and ours.*

FINIS.

16

ARCHI-EPISCOPAL PRIORITY INSTITUTED BY CHRIST,

PROVED

By plaine Testimonies of Scripture.

Asserted

By the Ancient Fathers.

And whereunto all the moderne Divines of the Protestant side doe fully assent, without contradiction of any one man.

By SAMUEL DANIEL *Master of Arts.*

1 KING. 7.21.

And he set up the Pillars in the Porch of the Temple: And hee set up the right Pillar, and called the name thereof Jachim: *And he set up the left Pillar, and called the name thereof* Boaz.

GAL. 2.7,8.

But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospell of the Vncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospell of the Circumcision was unto Peter: *for he that wrought effectually in* Peter *to the Apostleship of the Circumcision: the same was mighty in mee toward the Gentiles.*

Printed *Anno* 1642.

To the godly and indifferent Reader.

COurteous Reader, I foreſee that at the firſt view of the title of this Booke, you will thinke ſtrange to heare ſuch an aſſertion affirmed, never being purpoſely maintained in a particular theme and poſition by any Divine untill this time. But I pray you firſt reade, and then judge: I hope you ſhall find that it is no new broached doctrine, but aſſerted by many learned Divines of our owne religion, and contradicted by none; I know no Divine, that denies that Peter had a prioritie of order in the Church of the Iewes; I will ſay no more, I onely deſire you to reade the diſcourſe, and I hope you ſhall finde it a doctrine, not only aſſented to by all our beſt Divines, but maintained by all the ancient Fathers, who have written on that Subject; yea, which is moſt of all, delivered both to them and us, by Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſo plainly in the Scriptures; that in my judgement, there can be nothing more plaine. I grant all the Arguments, that are brought by me from the Scriptures, to prove Saint Peters prioritie in the Church of the Iewes, and Saint Pauls in the Church of the Gentiles, are not demonſtrative, and their concluſions neceſſarie: the moſt part are, and the Arguments ſo ſtrong, that I, in my moſt ſerious meditations cannot imagine, how they can bee anſwered; and thoſe Inferences

that are but probable, being joyned together are ſtrong enough.

Nam, quæ non proſunt, ſingula, multa juvant.

As for the places of Scripture ſet downe in my firſt paralell, I grant they doe not all beare witneſſe for three degrees of Church Governours, the moſt part doe, and all the reſt are plaine enough for two, even for the firſt two Biſhops and Presbiters, which is ſufficient to ſhew the Imparitie of Church-men, and the divine right of Epiſcopall Government; If ye aske me why I have not ſet downe the paralell places for the contrarie opinion of my opponents? I anſwer, becauſe I find not one place in all the New Teſtament to prove a paritie of Church Governours, nor yet denying an Imparitie; If any Divine will produce one place, from which, ſo much as a probable concluſion may be inferred, for the Paritie of Church-men, *I will ſay (as the Proverb ſpeakes)* Erit mihi magnus Apollo. *Well Reader, I begge not thy favour, I hope the truth ſhall procure thy affection, if thou wilt be pleaſed but to reade diligently, and conſider ſeriouſly the doctrine delivered in this diſcourſe, and with indifferencie of judgement ponder the reaſons on both ſides, and the perſpicuitie of Scripture, from the which theſe reaſons are drawne; and I hope in the mercie of God, he will make the truth manifeſt to thy underſtanding, which the Lord grant for Chriſts ſake: Farewell.*

Archiepiſcopall prioritie Inſtituted by CHRIST.

IOſephus (*de bello Judaico*) affirmes, that in the dayes of *Ptolomeus*, *Philopater*, *Gabbæus* and *Theodoſius*, two Samaritans, kept a diſputation at *Alexandria*, againſt *Adronicus* and other *Jewes*, for defence of their Temple which ſtood upon Mount *Gerizim*, and undertooke to bring proofes of their aſſertion out of the Law: But they could not doe it, and therefore the King adjudged them to die; Now I profeſſe before all the world, if I doe not prove from the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, the Order eſtabliſhed by Chriſt, for the Government of his Church under the Goſpell to be *Hierarchicall*, I ſhall be content to ſuffer for my preſumption: only, let mee have one thing granted, that if my Opponents doe not prove their *Paritie* of the Miniſters of the Word, and mixt Government, by cleere evidence of Scripture, and convincing Arguments, that they be ſubject to the ſame puniſhment.

But oh! if that Law of the *Locrians* were in force in this Kingdome, that they who petition for the change and aboliſhing of old Lawes, and eſtabliſhing of new, ſhould come with ropes about their necks, willingly offering themſelves to ſuffer for their attempt, if they did not prove the New better then the Old; Alas! I ſay, what would become of many of my Opponents, who are not once able to produce one cleare and plaine teſtimonie of Scripture for their *Paritie*, no not any of the three Armies of my opponents, neither thoſe who are for the Presbiterial Government, nor theſe who ſtand for *Parochiall*, nor that third ſort, who defends the neceſſitie of *Familie exerciſes*, and *ſeparate Congregations*; Nay, which is more, they are not able to prove their Aſſertions, by any neceſſarie and immediate conſequence drawn from any place in Scripture. Now, this muſt be held for a ground: That whatſoever is not ſet downe in Scripture, in plaine and evident termes, nor yet can be drawne from thence by a juſt and immediate conſequence, is only to be counted an humane ordination.

But to come to the point, I will undertake by the aſſiſtance of Gods

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IOſephus (*de bello Judaico*) affirmes, that in the dayes of *Ptolomeus*, *Philopater*, *Gabbæus* and *Theodoſius*, two Samaritans, kept a diſputation at *Alexandria*, againſt *Adronicus* and other *Jewes*, for defence of their Temple which ſtood upon Mount *Gerizim*, and undertooke to bring proofes of their aſſertion out of the Law: But they could not doe it, and therefore the King adjudged them to die; Now I profeſſe before all the world, if I doe not prove from the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, the Order eſtabliſhed by Chriſt, for the Government of his Church under the Goſpell to be *Hierarchicall*, I ſhall be content to ſuffer for my preſumption: only, let mee have one thing granted, that if my Opponents doe not prove their *Paritie* of the Miniſters of the Word, and mixt Government, by cleere evidence of Scripture, and convincing Arguments, that they be ſubject to the ſame puniſhment.

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Spirit, to prove in the following diſcourſe, that our wiſe and provident Maſter, and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as he appointed degrees of Church officers under the Goſpell, ſo hath he alſo eſtabliſhed an order and a prioritie among the chiefe Governours themſelves. For he who is wiſdome it ſelfe, appointing a certaine number of chiefe Governours, of equall power and authoritie, and knowing that equalitie breeds confuſion, moſt wiſely did appoint, who ſhould be their ſpeaker and prolocutor, and order all things in their meetings and aſſemblies; and ſo in this alſo left us a patterne to follow, in after ages, as his Father gave unto *Moſes* a patterne, both of his worſhip, and the government of his Church under the Law.

Now, becauſe this doctrine may be ſubject to miſtaking, and the malevolous may calumniate, I will follow the example of the Apoſtle *Paul*, whoſe wiſdome it was, at all times to prevent calumnies and cavils, as in the Epiſtle to the *Phil.*4.10. to the concluſion of the Epiſtle; being to commend them for their beneficence and liberalitie exerciſed towards him, leſt ſome malecontents ſhould have ſuſpected his ſinceritie and thought, that hee had beene a man that had reſpected more the fleece, then the flocke, and had ſet before his eyes in the courſe of his miniſterie, his owne ends and advantage, hee prevents this miſtake before he inſiſts in amplifying of their love and kindneſſe towards him: I ſpeake not this, ſaith he, in reſpect of want, for I have learned in whatſoever eſtate I am, therewith to be content, *&c.* Even ſo before I enter upon this diſcourſe, I will premiſe the teſtimonies of ſome Proteſtant Divines, and ſome of the preciſeſt ſtraine too, who affirme all that in ſubſtance, which I maintaine in this diſcourſe, and theſe teſtimonies I doe the rather ſet downe in the beginning, becauſe I have reſolved, not to confirme any thing that I am to deliver in all this Treatiſe by the teſtimonie of any Divine, ancient or moderne, but only by the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, wherewith I am able to prove, that the teſtimonies of all the ancients doe alſo accord: and this courſe chiefly I follow, becauſe my opponents uſe to brag of the Scriptures, as if all that they ſay were Scripture it ſelfe, wheras it is nothing elſe but a meere abuſing of the word of God, and throwing of it like a noſe of waxe, which way they will; and as *Tertullian* ſaith, a very murthering of the Scriptures for their owne purpoſe. I know it to bee true, they make the Scripture ſpeake many times, that which neither the Penner nor the Dictator ever minded.

My chiefe purpoſe in this Diſcourſe is to prove, that as Chriſt did ordaine

ordaine certaine men, to be chiefe Governours of his Church: ſo hath he ordained among theſe Governours a Prioritie of order, and a primacie of moderation: but let no man miſtake, and thinke that this Aſſertion doth favour in any wayes, the Popes pretended ſupremacie but let him conſider, that there is a great difference betweene a Primacie and a Supremacie; a dignitie and a degree; a prioritie and a ſuperioritie; a primacie of moderation, and a ſupremacie of Juriſdiction; a dignitie of eſtimation, and a degree of exaltation; a prioritie of order, and a ſuperioritie of power. Primacie of moderation and prioritie of Order, (which cannot be without ſome dignitie and eſtimation) may be, yea muſt be in all companies and incorporations, in all meetings and aſſemblies whatſoever. And Chriſt with his owne mouth did appoint this prioritie of order, among theſe chiefe Governours, whom he authorized himſelfe with equall power and authoritie. Yea, I know no Divine that denyes that *Peter* had a Prioritie of order amongſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, and how can they? for it is evident in the Scriptures, that he had it both *de jure & de facto*, but before I bring Scripture for it, I will produce the teſtimonies of ſome Proteſtant Divines, to prevent cavils, and I will begin with *Calvin*.

Calvin in the fourth booke of his *Inſtitutions, cap. 6. Sect. 8.* ſaith, that the twelve Apoſtles had one among them to Governe the reſt, and it was no marvell, ſaith he, for nature requireth it, and the diſpoſition of men will ſo have it, that in every company, although they be all equall in power, there be one as Governour, by whom the reſt ſhall bee directed. There is no Court without a Counſell, no Senate without a Pretor, no Colledge without a Preſident, no Society without a Maſter. Yea, he ſaith farther, ſpeaking of the Government of the ancient Church, that every Province had an Archbiſhop among their Biſhops, and that the Councell of *Nice* did appoint Patriarchs, which ſhould be in order and dignitie above Archbiſhops. It was done, ſaith he, for the preſervation of Diſcipline, although in this diſcourſe wee may not forget, that it was a thing very rare; For this cauſe therefore were theſe degrees eſpecially appointed, that if any thing ſhall happen in any particular Church, which could not there be decided, the ſame might bee referred to a generall Synod, and if the greatneſſe or difficulty of the cauſe required yet greater conſultation, there were added Patriarchs together with the Synods, from whom there could be no appeale, but only to a generall Counſell. This kind of Government, ſaith he, ſome call an Hierarchie a name unproper, and not uſed in the Scriptures,

Scriptures, as I thinke: for the holy Ghoſt would not have us to dreame of any dominion or rule, when queſtion is made of Church-Government; but omitting the name, if we conſider the thing it ſelfe, we ſhall find, that thoſe old Biſhops would not frame any other kind of Government of the Church, then that which God preſcribed in his Word, ſo that *Calvin* was of opinion, that not only Archbiſhops are of Gods Inſtitution, but alſo Patriarchs.

Piſcator in his Appendix *Ad Analyſin Matthæi, pag.* 22. grants that *Peter* was ſpeaker and prolocutor for the reſt of the Apoſtles: wee grant, ſaith he, that *Peter* anſwered in name of the reſt of the Apoſtles as their mouth, but not as their Prince and Head, this we deny.

Bucerus de vi & uſu miniſterij pag. 565. ſpeaking of Biſhops and Metropolitans, and of their authority over the Churches and Miniſters within their Dioceſſes, and Provinces, he ſaith, it was agreeable to the law of Chriſt.

Hemingius in Enchir, pag. 367. ſaith, that *Paul* by order and dignitie was ſuperiour to *Tim.* and *Tit.* and *Tim.* in degree and order excelled all the other Presbiters of *Epheſus*, and that *Titus* was chiefe Governour of the Cretians. Here this learned Divine acknowledgeth that *Paul* was an Archbiſhop, becauſe in order and dignitie above *Timothy* and *Titus*, and that *Tim.* and *Titus* were Biſhops, becauſe both in order and degree above their inferiour Presbiters, which I thinke no man will ſay was done, but by the ſpeciall ordinance of God.

Iewel in his defence againſt *Harding*, 4. *Art, pag.* 195. ſaith, that the reſt of the Apoſtles honoured Saint *Peter*, as the ſpeciall member of Chriſts body, with all reverence, and ſo by this ſpeech acknowledgeth his primacie of moderation, and priority of order.

Willet Synop. pagina 274. ſaith, that there was a priority of order amongſt the Apoſtles themſelves, although in reſpect of their Apoſtleſhip, they were all of one authority: much more, ſaith he, ſhould there be order and degrees among the Miniſters of the Church, who are inferiour to the Apoſtles. And againe he ſaith, that *Paul* was ordained the chiefe Apoſtle of the uncircumciſion, and *Peter* of the Circumciſion, *Gal.* 2. 2. and further he ſaith, we alſo grant, that *Peter* when hee confeſſed Chriſt for and in the name of the reſt, had a Primacie of order and a priority at that time, who alſo for, and in the name of the reſt, received the Keys of the Church; and thus much ſaith he, *Cyprian* acknowledgeth, *Hoc erant cæteri Apoſt. quod fuit Petrus*, the reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame that *Peter* was, having the fellowſhip of power

and

and honour, but the beginning is from one, that the Church may appeare to be one, *De ſimplicitati prælat.* In theſe words of *Cyprians* quoted by *Willet*, to confirme his preceding doctrine, acknowledgeth firſt a prioritie of order amongſt the Apoſtles, next that *Peter* had this prioritie; thirdly, that *Peter* was chiefe Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, and *Paul* of the uncircumciſion. Fourthly, hee acknowledgeth that when *Peter* confeſſed Chriſt in name of the reſt, and received the keys in name of the reſt, that then he received this Prioritie of order. And laſtly, confirmes all this by the Teſtimonie of *Cyprian.*

Willet in plaine termes ſpeakes for *Peters* prioritie, *pag.* 155. Wee deny not, ſaith he, a primacie of order to have beene in *Peter*, but that hee was the head and commander of the reſt, that we deny.

Chemnitius in his *Harmony*, *cap.* 50. *pag.* 517. grants to *Peter* a primacie amongſt the Apoſtles, but denyes that he hath any ſupremacie above the reſt: as it is, ſaith he, moſt apparent, that *Peter* was chiefe among the Apoſtles, notwithſtanding his dominion over the Clergie, can no wayes be proved.

Lyſerus pag. 1231. *Harmon* ſaith, It is one thing to be firſt for orders ſake among thoſe, who are of equall authority, and another thing to have power and Authority over their brethren, the firſt we grant *Peter* received of his Maſter, but not the ſecond.

Marlorat upon the 1 *Cor.* 9. 5. ſaith, We acknowledge *Peter* to have bin the firſt of the Apoſtles, as it is ever neceſſary in all meetings, that there be one to preſide, but this primacie of *Peters* was not a domination, nor a cõmanding power; yea, he ſaith further, that he had it with the cõſent of all the Apoſtles, ſo that by this it appeares, that *Marlorat* is of this mind, that although the reſt of the Apoſtles grudged at *Iames* & *Iohns* aſpiring to this dignity, yet they were all content that *Peter* ſhould have it. *Dodelius* on the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, written by *Ignatius*, *fol.* 240. confeſſeth that *Peter* was called the mouth of the Apoſtles, becauſe he was *Ordine princeps*, that is firſt and chiefe in order and precedencie.

Fulk Rh. Teſt. Gal. 2. *Anotat.* Therefore it was not lawfull to *Peter*, to whom by God was committed *the chiefe Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion*, to forſake this charge and take upon him, *the chiefe Apoſtleſhip* of the Gentiles; and againe he ſaith, though he came to *Rome*, and preached at *Rome*, and died at *Rome*, yet he was the chiefe Apoſtle of the Circumciſion ſtill, and *Paul* the chiefe Apoſtle of the uncircumciſion and Gentiles; therefore the Pope might more probably have conveyed his title of Supremacie from Saint *Paul* then from Saint *Peter*.

Perkins on the *Galat.cap.*2. The Apoſtle S. *Paul* was ordained by God to be the chiefe Apoſtle of the Gentiles, as St. *Peter* was of the Jewes; and *James* and *Cephas*, and *Iohn*, that were the chiefe Apoſtles, did acknowledge him for their Colleague and gave him the right hand of fellowſhip. *Perkins* upon the 2. *Galat.ver.*9. which Text makes (ſaith he) againſt the Primacie of *Peter*, and ſo by conſequence againſt the Supremacie of the Pope, in regard Saint *Paul* was chiefe Apoſtle of the Gentiles, who were farre more in number then the Jewes.

Cartwright on the *Rhem.Teſt.* (as I remember) on the ſame place of Scripture hath a very good note to the ſame purpoſe.

I could bring the teſtimonies of many other Divines to prove my aſſertion if it were needfull, and that both ancient and moderne, only I will uſe one of Saint *Auguſtines*; He writing upon *Iohn* ſaith, *Petrus Apoſtolus Propter Apoſtolatus primatum, &c.* Peter the Apoſtle, becauſe of his Apoſtolicall prioritie, by the generalitie of a figure, he ſuſtained the perſon of the Church, as concerning Peter himſelfe by nature hee was but one man, by grace one and the firſt Apoſtle, but when it was ſaid to him, *Tibi dabo claves, univerſam ſignificabat eccleſiam*, &c. *Auguſtine* here gives unto Peter a primacie and a prioritie, and this, hee ſaith, he had by grace, that is by the favour and benevolence of his Maſter, and yet when he recived the keyes he received them in the name of the whole Church, ſaith he, that is for the benefit of the whole Church. Now, I hope the teſtimonie of theſe godly and learned Divines, will defend me, from the aſperſion of Poperie: I know all are called Papiſts by my opponents, that in any wayes oppoſeth their tenets concerning the Government of the Church: but the truth is, the Papiſts and my opponents are both in extremities, and none of them can endure Moderation and a middle courſe, wherein I am ſure the vertue conſiſts. Even as the liberall and charitable man, by the covetous niggard, who is the extreame in *defectu*, is called prodigall; And againe by the prodigall waſter, who is the extreame in *exceſſu* is called a niggard; So the meeke, charitable, and moderate Divine by the Papiſt who is the extreame in *exceſſu*, is called a *Puritane*, and by the Puritane who is the extreame in *defectu*, is called a *Papiſt*.

But for any thing that I ſhall deliver here, by the grace of God, I ſhall be as free of poperie as any of the foreſaid Divines, for they doe all maintaine all, that I ſhall ſay, which in any kind may bee thought to ſmell of poperie, and not they only, but all the Commentators that I have read upon thoſe places, out of which I bring my arguments:

Yea,

Yea, I know no Divine that denies *Peter* a primacie of moderation, and a prioritie of order, and yet as I ſaid before, I bring not in their teſtimonies of purpoſe to prove what I am to ſay, but to prevent the cavils and calumnies of the malevolous.

Well, if my opponents mouthes be not ſtopped by this meanes, I hope the cleere evidence of Scripture ſhall doe it, for great is truth and it prevaileth. I may here truly affirme, that the doctrine which I maintaine, is the moſt powerfull means to throw downe the Tower of *Babel*; yea, and to allay the pride of all thoſe who will not be content with that dignity which Chriſt gave unto *Peter*, nor thoſe degrees of Church Governours, which Chriſt with his own mouth appointed for the government of his Church untill his ſecond comming to Judgement, but exalt themſelves above all that is called God, and curſe with bell and candle all thoſe that in the ſinceritie of their hearts, and meekneſſe of ſpirit refuſes to ſweare and ſubſcribe to thier tenets.

I find in the doctrine of the Evangeliſts, that there was a ſtrife and conteſtation among the twelve Apoſtles who ſhould be chiefe among them, and that which gave occaſion of this ſtrife, was Chriſts familiaritie with *Peter*, *James* and *John*, he preferred them much in his reſpects to all the reſt, he tooke them to an high mountaine, and ſuffered them to ſee him in his glory, at the transfiguration, and in the Garden of *Gethſemanie* in his greateſt agonie, he ſuffered alſo thoſe three to bee with him when he raiſed *Jairus* daughter to life, but none of the reſt. This reſpecting of them thus made the reſt to murmure and grudge a little at it, but I am of opinion, that the greateſt conteſtation was among the three Diſciples, whom Chriſt reſpected moſt: for wee ſee that *Iames* and *John*, and their Mother, being jealous of *Peters* preferment, hearing Chriſt, bid *Peter* pay toll for himſelfe and for him, and hearing him promiſe to him the keys of the kingdome of heaven, and to none of the reſt, they tooke occaſion and their Mother to goe to Chriſt, and to deſire of him, that one of them might ſit upon his right hand, and the other upon his left hand in his kingdome (for they dreamed even as all the reſt did, of a temporall kingdome) *Math.*20.20. and *Mark* 10.35. which ſuit of theirs, Chriſt did not altogether refuſe at firſt, but told them that they knew not what they asksd, and alſo asked them, if they were able to drinke of the Cup, whereof hee was to drinke, and be baptized with the Baptiſme, wherewith he was to be baptized, and when it was anſwered yes; Then he tels them that it was his Fathers right to give that which they deſired, and that it was

prepared for others, and was to begin in them of his Father in his owne time; ſo that by Chriſt his Anſwer to *Iames* and *Iohn*, and their Mother, we may eaſily collect by the way, that Chriſt did not condemne the dignity as unlawfull in it ſelfe, but a proud affectation of the dignitie: this he condemnes in his ſpeech to the reſt that tooke offence at *Iames* and *Iohn* their preſumption: Chriſt had promiſed before, that they ſhould ſit upon 12. thrones, and judge the 12. Tribes of *Iſrael*, which very well might have ſufficed them, but they would needs conteſt, who ſhould be chiefe among themſelves, they would not commit it to their Maſters arbitrement, and therefore Chriſt telleth them who muſt be this chiefe; not he that affected it moſt, not he that aſpired to it out of a conceit of his owne worth, but hee that was humble and meeke and lowly, and therefore Chriſt ſaid to them, that he that was leſt among them all (to wit in conceit) he ſhould bee greateſt; yea, further ſaith our Saviour, hee muſt bee like a little child in his owne eyes; A child, although he be the ſonne of a Prince, he will make himſelfe companion to the ſonne of a peaſant: even ſo they that have chiefe place among Gods Miniſters, muſt account all the reſt as brethren, yea as Chriſt ſaith they muſt be ſervants to the reſt, even as Chriſt was. As he that ſerveth, ſo muſt they that have chiefe place under Chriſt in his Church be, as ſervants to the reſt of their inferiour Miniſters: and this made *Origen* to ſay, That he that was called to a Biſhoprick, was called unto the ſervice of the Church, *Homil. 6. in Eſaiam*, and the Counſell of *Carthage* decreed, *4. Can. 34.* whereſoever a Biſhop ſitteth, he muſt not ſuffer a ſimple Prieſt to ſtand before him, and that the Biſhop in the Aſſembly of Prieſts ought to ſit in the higheſt place, but within the houſe let him know, that he is their fellow.

Now I will beg leave of the learned, to vent a certaine conjecture of my owne, which I hope ſhall give offence to none, which conjecture, *Iames* and *Iohn*, and their Mothers petition to Chriſt, and Chriſts anſwer to them againe, has given mee occaſion to apprehend. The affectionate Mother being deſirous of her ſonnes preferment, ſhee comes in all humility, and falls downe before him, and earneſtly intreates him on the behalfe of her ſonnes, that one of them might ſit on his right hand, and another on his left hand in his kingdome, ſhe expected that at this time Chriſt was to reſtore the kingdome to Iſrael, and ſhe would faine have had her two ſonnes, in the moſt honourable roomes of Chriſts Court, little knew they that Chriſts kingdome was not of this world, and therefore hee tells her

and

ſaid her ſonnes both, that they knew not what they asked, and yet he anſwered her according to her owne mind, as he did the Diſciples after his Reſurrection, when they asked him, if he was to reſtore the kingdome to Iſrael at that time; he anſwered, that it was not for them to know the times and ſeaſons, which the Lord had in his owne hand: Even ſo our Saviour Chriſt anſwered the ſonnes of *Zebedee* and their Mother. Theſe dignities, ſaith he, the beſtowing of them is not in my hand, but in my Fathers, and they ſhall bee given of my Father to them, for whom they are prepared.

I am confident that Chriſt by this anſwer of his, doth not meane of any two, that were to be advanced to the higheſt degrees of glory in heaven, for firſt, becauſe this were not to anſwer *ad rem*, for her meaning was of ſome dignities here upon earth, and therefore wee muſt not thinke but Chriſt would anſwer her according to her owne meaning; next we doe not reade of any right hand or left hand that Chriſt ſhall have in heaven, or of any that ſhall ſit upon either of his hands there, wee reade of his Fathers right hand, where Chriſt ſits for the preſent, and ſhall ſit untill his ſecond comming to Judgement, wee reade alſo of degrees of glory in heaven, but not in theſe termes; but the good woman had no ſuch meaning, her meaning was of the greateſt dignities upon earth as Chriſt had to beſtow, and therefore I thinke that our Saviour meanes of two, to whom his Father was to give, the two greateſt dignities in his Church, the event ſhewes moe that Chriſt doth meane of theſe.

For he had advanced the 12. Apoſtles to 12. Thrones, and had given them power to tread on Serpents and Scorpions, hee had promiſed to give them the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, that they might ſhut it upon the impenitent, and open it to the penitent, greater power they could not get, greater dignity they might: it was but honour and dignitie that the ſonnes of *Zebedee* craved, and that upon earth too, they deſired not power and authoritie over their brethren. And this dignitie was no more but a primacie of moderation, and a prioritie of order amongſt the Governours of the Church, that Chriſt had to beſtow upon thoſe, for whom his Father had prepared it; Chriſt was not to diſtribute to any of his Apoſtles ſtate imployment, and places of honour and dignities in the Common-wealth, he left that to bee done by worldly Monarchs.

Now I find in the Scriptures that our Saviour Chriſt gave this prioritie of order, and primacie of moderation, to two of his Apoſtles,

and honoured them, as it were, the one upon his right hand, and the other upon his left hand; theſe two Apoſtles were *Peter* and *Paul*, the one to have prioritie of order in the Church of the Jewes, the other in the Churches of the Gentiles, that Chriſt gave the chiefe precedencie amongſt the 12. Apoſtles to the Apoſtle *Peter*, it is more then evident in the Scriptures, ſo is it alſo for *Pauls* moderation in the Churches of the Gentiles.

The 12. Apoſtles were firſt appointed by their Maſter to be chiefe Governours of the Church of the Jewes, and therefore when Chriſt ſent them out two and two to preach the Goſpell, hee directed them only to the loſt ſheepe of the houſe of Iſrael, and therefore *Peter* having precedencie amongſt them, it behoved to be in the Church of the Iewes only. But the Apoſtle *Paul* makes this manifeſt, *Gal.* 2. where he tels us in plaine termes, that the Goſpell of the Circumciſion was committed to *Peter*; and the Goſpell of the uncircumciſion was committed unto him.

The Apoſtle *Paul* could not ſay this if there had not bin ſome difference betweene their miniſterie, and the miniſterie of the reſt of the Apoſtles; for both the Goſpell of the Circumciſion, and the Goſpell of the uncircumciſion was committed to the reſt of the Apoſtles, and to all others that were to be ordained by them, and advanced to the Apoſtolicall and Epiſcopall charge, by vertue of that commandement, *Goe teach all Nations, &c.* but this is ſaid becauſe of that diſtinction that Chriſt made for order ſake, that the chiefe care of the one ſhould be in the Church of the Iewes, and the chiefe care of the other in the Churches of the Gentiles, ſo that it was lawfull ſtill for the reſt of the Apoſtles to preach to either Iewes or Gentiles, and alſo for *Peter* and *Paul* to preach to either, and ſo we ſee they did when occaſion ſerved. Now who was it that made this diſtinction? Without all queſtion it was Chriſt himſelfe as the Apoſtle *Paul* makes manifeſt, *Gal.* 2. 7. *But when they ſaw* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that the Goſpel over the uncircumciſion was committed to mee, as the Goſpell of the Circumciſion was committed to Peter*: Theſe words can have no ſence, unleſſe there bee ſome difference betweene the charge of the reſt of the Apoſtles, and the emploiment of *Peter* and *Paul*, made by Chriſt himſelfe: for he ſaith, when the Apoſtles ſaw, to wit, the Apoſtles there mentioned, *Peter*, *Iames* and *John* ſaw that the Goſpell of the Uncircumciſion, *&c.* the Apoſtle *Paul* takes it for granted, that the Goſpell of the circumciſion was committed unto *Peter*, as the relative word

(*as*)

(*as*) doth demonſtrate: for theſe Apoſtles ſaw as the one was committed to *Peter*, ſo the other was committed to *Paul*. Theſe Apoſtles made not this difference then, they ſaw that it was made, they did not commit this charge to *Paul*, they ſaw that it was commited by another, even by him, by whom the Goſpell of circumciſion was committed to *Peter*, their Maſter and Saviour Chriſt, which the Apoſtle *Paul* makes plaine for himſelfe, *Gal.* 1. 15. *But when it pleaſed God*, ſaith hee, *that ſeparated me from my mothers wombe, and called me by his grace, to reveale his Sonne in me, that I might preach him among the heathen*; So that the Apoſtle acknowledges, that both he received the degree of Apoſtleſhip from Chriſt, and the dignity in the degree to be the chiefe Apoſtle of the Gentiles: This may be alſo collected out of the words, for in that he ſaith, that the Goſpell of uncircumciſion was committed unto him, as the Goſpell of Circumciſion was committed to *Peter*, he ſheweth cleerely that he hath a prioritie of order in the Churches of the Gentiles, as *Peter* had in the Church of the Jewes.

That *Peter* had this prioritie, beſide the evident teſtimonies of Scripture proving it, as wee ſhall ſee by and by, by Gods grace, his priority is inſinuated in the ſame words, for if there were not ſome ſingularitie in the Apoſtleſhip of *Peter*, *Paul* would not have ſaid, when the Apoſtles ſaw, that the Goſpell of uncircumciſion was committed to me, as the Goſpell of circumciſion was committed unto *Peter*, but he would have ſaid, when the Apoſtle ſaw that the Goſpell of uncircumciſion was committed unto him and *Barnabas*, as the Goſpell of Circumciſion was committed unto them: if he had ſpoken ſo then, we might have truly ſaid, that as there was no difference in degree among them all, ſo there was no diſtinction in dignitie. But I will prove firſt that *Peter* had this prioritie granted him by Chriſt in the Church of the Jewes, and next that hee gave it alſo to *Paul*, in the Churches of the Gentiles, and firſt I will lay downe my grounds out of Scripture, and then forme my Arguments out of theſe grounds. There is one ground for both their precedencies, and it is this, that both their names were changed, wee ſee cleerely that Chriſt gave *Simon* a new name, and called him *Peter*, but who changed the others name it is not revealed. I am verily of that mind, that Chriſt did it too; for in the 13. of the *Acts*, where it is recorded, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* by Gods direction, were ſeparate for the Apoſtolicall charge, it is ſaid there by the Holy Ghoſt, to the Prophets and Teachers at *Antioch*, *Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the worke whereunto I have called*

led them. After this time he is never any more called *Saul*, but once, and then his new name is related, then *Saul*, otherwiſe called *Paul* (ſaith *Luke*) filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo as ſoone as he is ſaid to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, as ſoone is he called *Paul*, and never any more *Saul*.

Now, this changing of the two Apoſtles names was a ſpeciall ſigne of honour and preferment, as the changing of the name of *Abram* to *Abraham*, was not only a ſignification of the multitude of his poſteritie, but alſo a ſigne of his preferment, and the Lords reſpects to him. So the changing of *Iacobs* name, into the name of *Iſrael*, did not only teſtifie that he had prevailed with God, but it was a ſigne of Gods great love to him, and of his prevailing with men. Even ſo the changing of theſe two Apoſtles names, was an argument of Gods great reſpects to them, and of their preferment and advancement in the Church of Chriſt: and alſo it was a ſigne of the great worke, that the Lord was to accompliſh by their Miniſterie, both among Jewes and Gentiles.

For *Peters* precedencie among the Apoſtles, we have many evidences for it in Scripture, for firſt he was one of the three, who was moſt reſpected by Chriſt, and alſo had place of the other two, for he is alwayes firſt named by all the foure Evangeliſts, hee gets a new name by himſelfe, and the other two gets both of them but one name, *Boanarges*, Sons of Thunder. *Peter* againe is more employed in Chriſts affaires, and Chriſt is more familiar with him, then any of the reſt: when there was toll required of Chriſt, he directed *Peter* to caſt an angle in the Sea, and hee ſhould get in the mouth of the firſt fiſh that came to his hand, a piece of money, *Take it* (ſaith Chriſt) *and give it for me and thee*, Math. 17.27. but no word of the reſt, this notes ſome preheminence.

It was *Peter* that anſwered Chriſt, when hee asked his Diſciples, *Whom ſay yee that I am? Thou art Chriſt*, ſaith *Peter*, *the Sonne of the living God*, Math. 16.16. It was *Peter* that drew Chriſt aſide, and would have adviſed him not to goe up to *Ieruſalem*, *Math.* 16.22. It was *Peter* that ſaid to Chriſt, when he ſaw his glory in the Mount; *It is good Maſter being here, let us make three Tabernacles*, &c. *Math.* 17.4. It was *Peter* that anſwered Chriſt in the name of the reſt, *O Lord, wee have forſaken all and followed thee*, Math. 19.27.

But theſe differences are nothing in reſpect of thoſe that were made by Chriſt himſelfe, and firſt as I ſaid before his name was changed by Chriſt;

Chriſt; yea, when Chriſt called him firſt from taking of fiſh, to bee a fiſher of men, he promiſed that hee ſhould be called *Peter*, *Ioh.*1. but as yet his name was not changed, this was a great argument of his preferment; Againe, Chriſt calls him *Peter*, in alluſion to the rocke of Faith, whereupon he was to build his Church, for he is called *Petrus a petra*, he was called a Rocke, becauſe his confeſſion, (*Thou art Chriſt the Sonne of the living God*) was to be ſo ſolid and firme a Rocke, that whoſoever was built upon it, the gates of Hell was not able to prevaile againſt him. Further Chriſt promiſed to give *Peter* the keyes of the kingdome of Heaven, which promiſe he made not to the reſt: hee prayed for him in particular that his faith ſhould not faile, but for none of the reſt, and commanded *Peter* when hee was converted to ſtrengthen his brethren, hee gave not this direction to the reſt, *Math.*22.32. After his Reſurrection he appeared firſt to *Peter* alone, with whom no doubt he had privie conference, and committed to him ſomethings which he did not to the reſt; or otherwiſe to what end ſhould he have appeared unto him before any of the reſt? and after hee had dellvered a generall commiſſion to all, hee gave him a particular Commiſſion to feed his ſheepe, to feed his Lambes; hee required a greater meaſure of love of *Peter* then hee did of the reſt, *Iohn* 21.15. which was an argument, not only that Chriſt had forgiven him much, but alſo that hee had given unto him more then the reſt of the Apoſtles: Chriſt forewarned *Peter* of his manner of death, and encouraged him to ſuffer to the end, *Follow thou mee*, ſaith hee, *Iohn* 21. this hee did not to any of the reſt. By all theſe particulars wee ſee our Saviour Chriſt differenced *Peter* from the reſt of the Apoſtles, which evidently ſhewes that Chriſt gave him ſome dignitie and preheminence, that hee gave not unto the reſt.

The Angell alſo that appeared to *Mary Magdalene* put a difference betweene *Peter* and the reſt, when he directed her to goe tell *Peter* by name, that Chriſt was riſen, but none of the reſt.

The Evangeliſts alſo differences *Peter* from the reſt of the Apoſtles in ſetting downe his name alwayes in the firſt place; Yea, Saint *Math.* who was alſo an Apoſtle, doth not only mention him firſt, but alſo calleth him *Primus*, the firſt Apoſtle *Mathew* 10. he ſaith not *Primum adverbialiter*, but *Primus nominaliter*, the firſt, and this is an evident argument of his prioritie)

The Apoſtle *Paul* alſo beareth witneſſe to this truth in that by way of Emphaſis hee calleth him the Apoſtle of the Circumciſion,

and that Chriſt wrought effectually in *Peter* to the Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, this was not becauſe hee was the only Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, for in that ſame chapter, to wit *Galat.2.* where hee calleth the Apoſtle *Peter*, the Apoſtle of the Circumciſion; hee ſaith alſo, that *James* and *John* were alſo Apoſtles of the Circumciſion, for thus hee ſpeakes: *Peter*, *James*, and *John* gave mee and *Barnabas* the right hands of fellowſhip, that they ſhould goe unto the Jewes, and we unto the Gentiles; *Peter* then is called the Apoſtle of the Circumciſion by way of Emphaſis, becauſe hee had a precedencie of the reſt of the Apoſtles of the Circumciſion. Yea, wee ſee that the Apoſtle *Paul* preferres *Peter* in his account, to the reſt of the Apoſtles, for *Gal.1.* he ſaith, that after three yeares he went up to *Ieruſalem* to ſee *Peter*, he mentions none of the reſt, not *Iames* who was Biſhop of *Ieruſalem*; and 1 *Cor.9.5.* he gives ſome preheminence to *Peter*, *Have not wee* (ſaith he) *power to lead about a ſiſter, a wife, as well as the other Apoſtles and the brethren of the Lord and of Cephas*; In this compariſon, the Apoſtle aſcends by way of Gradation, as if he had ſaid, may not I have a wife to accompanie mee in my travells, as well as the reſt of the Apoſtles? yea, as well as the brethren of the Lord, yea even as *Cephas*, who is in dignitie before all the reſt; yea, would he ſay, we have power as well as any of them, even as well as *Peter* himſelfe.

All theſe Evidences were nothing, if he did not make proofe of his prioritie *de facto*, if he had not exerciſed it, and confirmed it by his practiſe, but this he did, both in his Maſters owne time, as I ſhewed you before; and alſo much more after his aſcention: This, a very novice may perceive, that will but reade the Acts of the Apoſtles; For immediatly after Chriſts aſcention hee takes the place upon him, without any election, or the voyces of the reſt.

Me thinkes if Chriſt had not given him this preheminence, and moderatorſhip, the firſt thing that they would have done, they would have choſen a ſpeaker, and a precedent for order ſake, but this they did not, becauſe they knew Chriſt their Maſter had done it before: Chriſt was more carefull of the government of his Church then ſo: hee ſaw them before his death conteſting for precedencie, & the firſt place, and foreſaw alſo, that after his departure there would bee emulation and ſtrife amongſt them, who ſhould be chiefe, and therefore moſt wiſely he thought good to prevent this ſchiſme and diviſion: For hee knew if they had fallen out amongſt themſelves for this prioritie of order,

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who were to bee the firſt and chiefe publiſhers of the Goſpell, and Witneſſes of all that Chriſt did, and ſaid, It might have beene imputed to him by thoſe, who hereafter tooke occaſion to ſtop the courſe of the Goſpell. They might have ſaid even as the theefe upon the Croſſe, and the other railers that paſſed by ſaid to him, (*and thou bee the Sonne of God, come downe from the Croſſe*) So I ſay, they might have ſaid, and this man had beene ſuch a man as they call him, hee would have prevented this miſorder and contention, hee would have appointed one of the number, to be firſt in order among them, to moderate their aſſemblies, for avoiding of confuſion and diſſention, but bleſſed be the God of order, that would not leave his Church without order.

The Apoſtle Saint *Peter* then without any more Ceremonie obeys his Maſters Commandements, hee commanded him when hee was converted to ſtrengthen his brethren, hee gave him direction both to feed his ſheepe and his lambes, and he like an obedient ſervant will not faile to doe, what he commanded with all expedition.

And firſt hee begins with a Sermon (*ad clerum*) to the reſt of the Apoſtles, and the other Diſciples, and tells them, that it was neceſſarie, that *Judas* ſhould play the Apoſtate, that the Scripture might be fulfilled; and that it was alſo neceſſarie to fill his roome, that the number of thoſe might bee made up againe, whom Chriſt had appointed to be witneſſes, of all that he did and ſaid.

His next Sermon was (*ad populum*) after that the Holy Ghoſt was deſcended, the people that heard the Apoſtles ſpeak with divers tongues, wondred and marvelled at the matter; ſome ſaid that they were drunken, but the Apoſtle *Peter* in his Sermon made it knowne to them all how the matter was, *Act.*2.14. and at the hearing of this Sermon, there was three thouſand converted to the Chriſtian faith. Another Sermon alſo hee made to the people upon the occaſion of healing of a lame Man; at the hearing of which there were five thouſand converted to the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and in effect the moſt part of the hiſtorie of the *Acts* to the 13. chapter concernes the Apoſtle *Peter*, and his ſervice in the Miniſterie: and ſo by all theſe evidences it appeares, that Saint *Peter* was precedent of the Apoſtles.

It appeares alſo in this, that *Peter* was chiefe Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, becauſe his chiefe ſtay for many yeares was at *Ieruſalem*. Although the Apoſtle *Iames* was the peculiar Biſhop of that Citie yet in regard of the generall charge that hee had over the whole Nation,

tion, his moſt frequent abode was there: for both the times that *Paul* went to *Ieruſalem*, both the third yeare after his converſion, and fourteene yeeres there after he found *Peter* there; yea, that his chiefe reſidence was there at that time; it is manifeſt by the Apoſtle *Paul* his reſolution, for he ſaith *Galat.* 1.18. that three yeares after his Converſion he went to *Ieruſalem* to ſee *Peter*, and abode with him fifteene dayes.

The Apoſtle *Peter* alſo maketh manifeſt, that the Goſpell over the Circumciſion, was chiefly committed to him, by directing his Epiſtles onely to the Jewes: for his firſt Epiſtle is only written to the Jewes, whom hee calleth ſtrangers ſcattered throughout *Aſia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*: Now it is moſt certaine, that in all theſe Nations at that time, when he writ his Epiſtle, there were many Gentiles converted to the Chriſtian faith, and yet hee writes to none of them, but to the Jewiſh Nation only, ſo that we may very eaſily perceive, that his chiefe care was of the Jewiſh Church: and that the ſecond Epiſtle was written to them only, it is manifeſt to any, that will reade but the third chapter of the ſaid Epiſtle.

Now the queſtion may be asked, who gave *Peter* this precedencie, and Prioritie of order among the Apoſtles? I anſwer, This queſtion is without all queſtion, for no doubt Chriſt his Maſter gave it him; Againe, it will be asked when it was, that Chriſt gave it him? Anſwer, ſome thinkes that he gave him this dignitie, when he changed his name, and called him *Peter*; ſome againe that he was thus advanced, when hee promiſed to give him the keyes of the kingdome of Heaven. And indeed, both theſe are certaine ſignes of preferment: The deliverie of the Keyes to any, was ever a ſigne of preferment; yea, alſo of Power and Authoritie, for he that hath the keys he goeth thorow all: as when the Husband giveth the keyes to his new-married wife, hee declares that he gives her power over all; even ſo when the Maſter of the family gives the keys to his ſteward, he gives him power over all his affaires: for this ſame cauſe it is that the keys are delivered to a Prince, when he firſt enters in any City of his dominions, it is a ſpeciall ſigne of his power and authority within that City: even ſo when our Saviour gave the keys of the kingdome of heaven to his Apoſtles, he gave them power to rule and govern his houſe, according to his will revealed in his Word, he gave them power to open the gates of heaven to the penitent, and to ſhut them upon the impenitent, ſo the Apoſtle *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 4. 1. Let a man ſo account of us as of the Miniſters

of

of Chriſt, and Stewards of the Myſteries of God: The proofe of this we have *Eſay* 22.20,21,22. where the Prophet *Eſay* at the command of God, threatens *Shebna*, Chamberlain to King *Ezekiah*, and tels him that hee ſhall be driven from his Station, and Civill place, *Eliakim* in his roome, and in ſigne of his preferment and authority, hee ſaith, and the Key of the Houſe of *David*, will I lay upon his ſhoulders, ſo hee ſhall open, and none ſhall ſhut, and hee ſhall ſhut and none ſhall open, that is, hee will give unto *Eliakim* chiefe power in *Ezekias* houſe, and in the City of *Jeruſalem*: whoſe advancement was a figure of the Kingdome of Chriſt. And by the ſpirit of God applyed to Chriſt, *Revelat.*3.7. Which power he conferred upon his Apoſtles, when hee ſaid, *All power is given unto mee both in heaven and in earth: Whoſe ſins yee remit ſhall be remitted, and whoſe ſins you retain ſhall be retained, whoſe ſins yee bind in earth, ſhall be bound in heaven, whoſe ſins yee looſe in earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven*: and this the Spirit of God confirmeth, *Revel.*2.26. where hee promiſeth to that Miniſter of the Church of *Thyatira*, that overcommeth and keepeth his works unto the end, power over the Nations, which is not to be underſtood of civill power and authority (Chriſt meddles not with that) but of ſpirituall power and juriſdiction, even as I received of my Father (ſaith he V.27.) ſo then when Chriſt promiſed to *Peter*, *that hee would give him the keys of the Kingdome of heaven*, out of all queſtion, it was a ſigne of his preferment to ſome dignity, but not of his power and authority above his brethren; for that which hee promiſed to give to him, hee made a covenant to give it to all the reſt as well as him: indeed had he not breathed upon all the reſt, as well as *Peter*, and ſaid to all, *receive the holy Ghoſt, Whoſe ſins yee remit, &c.* I would have perſwaded my ſelfe, that Chriſt had given *Peter* power and authority over the reſt, and not only a priority of order, and a precedencie of Moderation.

Some thinks that our Saviour Chriſt, give not *Peter* this precedency till after the reſurrection, yea, after hee had given the generall commiſſion to all the Apoſtles in common, when hee ſaid to him, *Feed my Sheep, feed my Lambs*: but for my part, I will not diſpute, when hee gave it him, ſure all theſe are evidences that Chriſt, and none other did advance him in that kind, and many more then theſe, as may be collected by the former doctrine, and which I ſhall make more plain hereafter.

Againe it will be asked, how long this precedencie of *Peters* was to continue, for a yeare or halfe a yeare, or how long? truly for any thing

thing can be ſaid in the contrary, he had it for his life time; *What Chriſt hath joyned together, what man dare put aſunder?* Chriſt gave him precedencie, who could then defraud him of it? none of the reſt might, yea, not all the reſt had power to diſplace him: certainly as long as the Chriſtian *Jews* were divided from the *Gentiles* that were Chriſtians, by the Ceremonies of the Law of *Moſes*, which they would needs keepe. The Apoſtle *Peter* tooke a ſpeciall care of the *Iewiſh* Nation, ſo he took a ſpeciall care of *Iews* in *Antiochia*, who were Chriſtians, but zealous of the Law, *Gal.*1. yea, it was condiſcended betweene him and the Apoſtle *Paul*, that it ſhould be ſo: but I believe that the mayn worke which was enjoin'd him by his Maſter, in cõmon with the reſt of the Apoſtles, to teach all Nations, did in the end draw him of that particular charge of the *Iewiſh* Nation; yet I thinke hee ever kept that priority of order amongſt the Apoſtles, which his Maſter conferred upon him, upon all occaſions.

A third queſtion wil be asked, was *Peter* to have ſucceſſors in this precedency? I anſwer, although perhaps he could have no Succeſſors, in reſpect of his precedency over the eleven, whoſe calling was univerſall, and not confined to any particular Place, Congregation, Province, or Kingdom; Yet his precedency in generall among the chief Governours of the Church in all ſeverall Kingdoms and Nations was to have a ſucceſsion, order was requiſite among the ſucceſſours of the Apoſtles, as well as among them, and this order was to be defined according to the diviſion of Kingdomes and Provinces: Saint *Peter* was chiefe precedent in the Churches of *Iews*, in which reſpect he might have Succeſſours, yea, and had them too, and ſo a chiefe precedent was requiſite among the Governours of the Churches of other Kingdoms.

Again this queſtion will be asked, ſince a priority of order, is neceſſary in all Churches, muſt it remayne conſtantly in one perſon, or may it be changed from one to another, that every one may beare his part, and all beare equall burden? *Anſwer.* I ſee no reaſon why it ſhould be changed, except this viciſſitude can be proved by Scripture, Chriſt hath left us a paterne, and this paterne we ought to follow.

Further, it may be asked how this precedent ſhould be elected? I anſwer by him who is Gods Vicegerent here upon earth, for God hath appointed Kings to be nurſing Fathers in his Church, and they ought to have a care, that all things be done decently and orderly, and that Gods will be done in earth as it is in heaven. If the King preſent the

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man, the Church ought to receive him, except they can give a reaſon in the contrary; but it may be replyed, that wee have no paterne for this in the Scripture. I anſwer none, except that wee finde the election of *Matthias* referred to God: and the King is in Gods place, and a God upon earth, *I have ſaid yee are gods*, *Pſal.* 82. and *John* 10. Reply: but this choice was referred immediatly to God, the lots is caſt into the lap.

I anſwer, in the election of *Matthias*, I finde that the Apoſtles had a hand in it, the ſeventy Diſciples and other inferiour Miniſters, for they made choice of *Matthias* and *Barſabas*, and prayed unto the Lord to give forth his determination by lot, but in the election of the ſeven Deacons, the people alſo, the Apoſtles, and all other Churchmen, all three joyned together. Upon other occaſions the Apoſtle only made choice of inferiour Miniſters, *Timothy* by propheſie, and ſo there is no certain patern left us in the Scriptures for the right of nomination. But if it were ſo agreed upon, it were eaſie to deviſe a way how both the people, inferiour Miniſters, the Governours of the Church, and the ſupreame Magiſtrate might have their ſeverall voices in the nomination of Churchmen of the firſt ranke and order, and yet in end the Lord to make the choice, but it were boldneſſe in me to preſcribe. The Lord of his mercy, ſo direct thoſe a right, who have power and authority in their hand, that they may doe all things according to his will, plainly revealed in his Word.

Now I will prove from the former grounds, firſt, that Saint *Peter* had a precedencie of the reſt of the Apoſtles, in the Church of the *Jews*; next that this precedency was given him by Chriſt his Maſter; Thirdly, that this precedencie is not only profitable and expedient, but neceſſary for the Government of all Churches; and this I will do by formall arguments, whereunto I deſire my opponents to anſwer, *Categorice*, without ſubterfugies, prevarications, or circumlocutions, for by ſo doing, the truth ſhall be the more eaſily found out.

The firſt Argument.

Hee whoſe name is always recorded in the firſt place, had place of all the reſt of the Apoſtles.

But Peter *his name is always recorded in the firſt place:*

And therefore Peter *had place of all the reſt of the Apoſtles.*

There-

There can be no reaſon given why Saint *Peter* his name ſhould be always firſt ſet down, but only, becauſe he was firſt not only in gifts and graces, but alſo in dignity, place, and eſtimation. That his name is recorded at all times, firſt, is evident except onely once by the Apoſtle *Paul*, *Gal.*2. who without all doubt, did it by the motion of Gods Spirit, that he might inſinuate, although the Apoſtle *Peter*, was the chiefeſt Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, as he had declared before, Verſe 7. yet it was in order and eſtimation, and not in degree and exaltation: it was a primacie but not a ſupremacie, a prioritie, but not a ſuperiority that he had of the reſt of the Apoſtles.

But I will prove, that the Apoſtle *Peter* was not only named firſt, but that he was called the firſt, and ſo was firſt indeed.

The ſecond Argument

He who is called by the Apoſtle Saint Matthew, *the firſt of the Apoſtles, hee was in deed, and in truth the firſt;*
But the Apoſtle Peter *is called by the Apoſtle Saint* Matthew, *the firſt of the Apoſtles*, Chap.10.2.
And therefore the Apoſtle Peter *was indeed, and in truth, the firſt of the Apoſtles.*

The ſtrength of the propoſition ſtands in this, that hee who was an Apoſtle himſelfe, would never have called *Peter* the firſt of the Apoſtles, and he had not been firſt indeed.

The third Argument.

He that was prolocutor and ſpeaker for all the reſt of the Apoſtles had a priority and precedency of the reſt of the Apoſtles.
But Peter *was ſpeaker and prolocutor, for all the reſt of the Apoſtles.*
And therefore Peter *had a priority and precedencie of the reſt of the Apoſtles.*

The propoſition I thinke will not be denied, for the Conſul in the Senate; the Speaker in Parliament, the Moderator in the Aſſembly, hath a priority and precedency of all the reſt of the Senat, Parliament, and Aſſembly. That *Peter* was ſpeaker and prolocutor for all the reſt, I prove thus

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He that anſwered Chriſt in name of the reſt, and received the promiſe in name of the reſt, was ſpeaker and prolocutor for all the reſt:
But Peter *anſwered Chriſt in name of the reſt, and received the promiſe in name of the reſt:*
And therefore Saint Peter *was ſpeaker & prolocutor for all the reſt.*

I hope my Opponents will deny nothing that is here affirmed, and therefore by their own confeſsion, I conclude, that *Peter* had a priority of order and a precedencie of Moderation amongſt the Apoſtles.

The fourth Argument.

He whom the Angell in particular commanded Mary *to tell that Chriſt was riſen from the dead, and none of the reſt, had ſome ſort of preheminence before the reſt.*
But the Angel commanded Mary *to tell* Peter *by name, and none of the reſt, that Chriſt was riſen again from the dead,* Mark 16.7.
And therefore Peter *had ſome preheminence before the reſt.*

Truly, in my judgment, this is a ſtrong argument to prove that *Peter* was in place and dignity before the reſt of the Apoſtles or otherways, I think the Angell of God would never have mentioned *Peter* by himſelfe, and all the reſt of the Diſciples in groſſe.

The fift Argument.

He whom Paul *preferred in his reſpects to all the reſt of the Apoſtles, had ſome precedency of the reſt of the Apoſtles.*
But the Apoſtle Paul *preferred* Peter *in his reſpects to all the reſt of the Apoſtles.*
And therefore Peter *had ſome precedencie, of the reſt of the Apoſt.*

Now why the Apoſtle *Paul* ſhould reſpect and honour Saint *Peter*, more then the reſt of the Apoſtles, I know no reaſon, except hee had had ſome place and preheminence of the reſt. That hee reſpected him more then the reſt, we find, *Gal.* 1.18. for he ſaith there, that hee went up to *Ieruſalem*, three yeers after his converſion, of purpoſe to ſee *Peter*, and remayned with him 15 days: I will only aske my opponents, for what cauſe he went up to ſee *Peter*, more then *James*, who was Biſhop of *Ieruſalem*.

The ſixt Argument.

He who took precedency upon him de facto, *he had it* de jure.
But Saint Peter *took precedency upon him*, de facto.
And therefore he had it de jure.

Either the propoſition muſt be true, or elſe we muſt ſay, that Saint *Peter* took more upon him, then he had good right to challenge, and ſo in this particular erred *de facto*, which no Divine ever ſaid or dare ſay, and if any man durſt be bold to ſay it, I durſt take the boldneſſe upon me to ſay that it were little leſſe then blaſphemy.

But ſome may ſay that the Apoſtle *Peter* had this right of moderation, *de jure Apoſtolico*: I anſwer, if it were ſo, all were one thing in effect, for that which the apoſtles did, they did it by the motion of the ſpirit, and if the apoſtles did chuſe Saint *Peter* to be their ſpeaker, being a man of moſt ſingular parts, why may wee not, yea, why ſhould wee not follow their example in giving to the moſt worthy for gifts, and graces, the precedency of Government? I think the practice of the apoſtles ſhould be a law to us: But the truth is, there is not ſo much as any ſhew or appearance in the Scripures, that the reſt of the apoſtles conferred this moderation upon the apoſtle *Peter*, but what probability there is, yea, what convincing arguments for his Maſter Chriſts donation of it, I refer to the judicious Reader.

The ſeventh Argument.

He that took a ſpeciall care not only of Jewiſh *Churches throughout the land of* Judea, *but of thoſe* Jews *alſo that ſojourned in other Nations, had the chief care of the circumciſion, and conſequently both of paſtors and people.*
But the Apoſtle Peter *took a ſpeciall care not only of the Chriſtian Iews that lived in the land of Iudea, but alſo of thoſe who dwelt in other nations.*
And therfore Peter *had the chief charge of the Circumciſion, and conſequently both of the paſtors and the people.*

The truth of the propoſition, appeares by his writing to the one, and remayning with the other. Both his Epiſtles are written to the diſperſed Tribes, and that he remayned in *Iudea*, for many yeers after the aſcention of Chriſt is evident, *Gal.* 1. for *Paul* not only, three yeers after his converſion went up of purpoſe to *Ieruſalem*, to ſee *Peter*, but 14 yeers thereafter, when he went up hee found *Peter* there: and that

Peter

Peter had an oversight both of pastors and people, wee find in his first Epistle where he writes to both, and exhorts the Elders (that is) their Ministers both of the first and second order, but in speciall their chief Governours, and forbids them to exercise their power tyrannically over their inferiours, 1 *Pet.*5.1,2,3. and in his second Epistle 1.12. hee saith, that hee will not be negligent to put them alwayes in remembrance of these things, though they know them, and be established in the truth, yea, I think it meet (saith he) Verse 13, as long as I am in this Tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance, and Verse 15. he saith, I will endevour, that you may be able, after my decease, to have these things always in remembrance, so that hereby it appeares infallibly, that *Peter* had the chief over-sight of the Church of the Jews, both at home and abroad, and consequently both of pastors and people.

By these arguments, it is manifest that the apostle *Peter* had a priority, and a precedency in the Church of the Jews: follows to prove that his Master and Saviour Christ gave it him.

The first Argument.

He to whom Christ communicated himself most, with whom he was most familiar, and to whom he did commit his speciall affairs most, yea, whom he purposed to make one of the chief instruments of the advancement of his Kingdom, to him he gave some preferment and advancement, more then he did to the rest of the Apostles.

But to Peter *Christ communicated himself most, with* Peter *he was most familiar, and to him he did commit his speciall affairs most, yea, and him he purposed to make the chief instrument of the advancement of his Kingdom.*

And therefore hee gave Peter *some preferment and advancement, that he gave not to the rest of the Apostles.*

The truth of the proposition appears by this similitude of Kings and princes, if they set their affection upon on man more then another, & chuse him to be their neerest minion, at lest they wil give him some title of honour, above the rest of their Court, that all others may honour him the more, and will advance him to some places of dignity and preheminence, which indeed will make all others to respect him,

and reverence him, becauſe they ſee the Kings affection ſet upon him: when King *Aſſuerus*, reſolved to honour *Mordecai*, hee commanded *Haman* to put his Robe Royall upon him, and to ſet him on his beſt horſe, and to lead him through the City of *Suſan*, and proclaime before him, *Thus ſhall it be done to him whom the King will honour*: how much more, whomſoever the King of Kings deſires to honour moeth en others, in this life will he advance to ſome dignity at leaſt, in the face of the whole world, and proclaime as it were before them, thus ſhall it be done to him whom the King of Kings deſires to honour, and therefore ſince Chriſt had a reſpect to *Peter* more then the reſt of the Apoſtles; it cannot be queſtioned, but hee made him preſident of the reſt, for ſince a preſident was neceſſary for avoiding of ſtriſe and contention, it is very likely, that Chriſt would give it to *Peter*, rather then any other. The truth of the aſſumption wee may ſee in the grounds before laid down.

The ſecond Argument.

If the changing of names be a ſigne of honour and preferment, then Peter *was honoured and preferred by Chriſt before the reſt of the Apoſtles.*
But the changing of names, is a ſigne of honour and preferment:
And therefore Peter *was honoured and preferred by Chriſt before the reſt of the Apoſtles.*

The truth of the propoſition is manifeſt, becauſe our Saviour himſelfe changed *Peters* name, from *Simon* to *Peter*, and ſo if the changing of names be a ſigne of honour and preferment, then *Peter* was without doubt honoured and preferred by Chriſt.

As to the aſſumption, that the changing of names is a ſigne of honour and preferment, I prove it by the changing of *Abrams* name, in *Abraham*, and *Iacobs* name in *Iſrael*, when it pleaſed God to advance them, *Gen.* 32.28. and 41, 45. even ſo when *Pharaoh* preferred *Ioſeph*, he changed his name, and called him, *Zaphnapaanea*. So when *Daniel* was advanced by *Nabuchadnezzar*, he was called *Beltaſhazer*, and upon the ſame occaſion, the three children, *Hanania*, *Miſael*, and *Azaria*, were called, *Zadrach*, *Meſech*, and *Abednego*, *Daniel* 1.7. and *Aſſuerus* changed *Heſters* name, when he took her to be his Queene, and called her *Hadaſſa*, *Eſter* 2.

But

But ſome may reply that Chriſt gave *Iames* and *Iohn* a new name, and called them *Bonarges*, that is, *Sonnes of thunder*; I anſwer, that is rather a title then a name, and if it were a name, it is but an appellative name, and not a proper name; But *Peter* got a name by himſelfe, and a name ſignifying his prioritie and precedencie, and was for the moſt part called by that name, at all occaſions. And further ſome are of opinion, that *Iames* and *Iohn* received alſo, ſome prerogative from Chriſt their Maſter above the reſt of the Apoſtles, for the which alſo there are ſome probabilities in Scripture, all which and ſuch like, are ſpeciall evidences, that Chriſt did not eſtabliſh a paritie among Church officers.

The third Argument.

Hee that tooke this precedencie upon him, after his name was changed, hee received this precedencie when his name was changed;

But Peter *tooke this precedencie upon him, after his name was changed.*

And therefore Peter *received this precedencie, when his name was changed.*

The propoſition cannot be but true for if *Peter* tooke this precedencie upon him, after the changing of his name, who can ſay otherwiſe, but he got it when his name was changed, ſince (as I ſaid before) the changing of names is a ſigne of honour and preferment. As to the aſſumption, that *Peter* tooke this precedencie upon him, after hee received his new name; read the Goſpell of Saint *Mathew*, and ye will find, that the Apoſtle *Peter* is the man, that for the moſt part at leaſt, takes upon him to ſpeake for all the reſt, after this time.

The fourth argument.

If it was about the time that Chriſt changed Peters name, that the Diſciples ſtrove who ſhould be firſt, then by all appearance Chriſt at this time, gave unto Peter *this precedencie.*

But the firſt is true, and therefore the ſecond.

The ſtrength of the Propoſition ſtands in this, that Chriſt being moſt wiſe, would needs take away all occaſion of falling out, and knowing that a precedent was neceſſarie, for avoyding of Schiſme and confuſion, he would ſure prevent this danger.

As to the aſſumption that it was about this time, that the Diſciples ſtrove

ſtrove who ſhould be chiefe. Compare *Mat.* 16. 17. & 18. and *Marke* 9. and *Luke* 9. read theſe chapters, and conſider the doctrine contained in them, and ye will find, that it was about the time that Chriſt changed *Peters* name, that the Apoſtles ſtrove who ſhould be chiefe.

The fifth Argument.

Hee for whom Chriſt payed toll, and for none of the reſt, he gave him a prioritie and precedencie of the reſt.

But Chriſt payd toll for Peter, *but for none of the reſt.*

And therefore Chriſt gave to Peter, *a prioritie and precedencie before the reſt.*

The Propoſition is very probable, for why ſhould Chriſt have bidden *Peter* pay toll for him and himſelfe only, and he had not had ſome preheminence and precedencie of the reſt, ſurely I cannot imagine what other cauſe there can be alleadged.

As to the aſſumtion it is evident, *Math.* 17. 27. Take it, ſaid Chriſt, and pay it for me, and for thee.

The ſixth Argument.

To whom Chriſt promiſed only to give the keys of the kingdome of heaven, hee gave him a prioritie and precedencie of the reſt of the Apoſtles.

But Chriſt promiſed only to Peter, *to give him the keyes of the kingdome of heaven.*

And therefore Chriſt gave Peter *a prioritie and precedencie of the reſt of the Apoſtles.*

The reaſon of the Propoſition is this; That Chriſt ſhould promiſe only to *Peter*, to give him that, which hee made acount to give to all the reſt of the Apoſtles, as well as to him, an evident argument in my mind, of his Prioritie, for it was a ſpeciall encouragement to *Peter*, and he was much comforted, with hope and aſſured confidence, and expectation of great matters; which the reſt of the Apoſtles had not.

But I know it will be ſaid; that the promiſe was made to *Peter* in name of the reſt. I anſwer, it is granted; But I beleeve the reſt of the Apoſtles knew not ſo much themſelves, neither I thinke could they challenge Chriſt of any thing was promiſed to them; yea, the Apoſtle thought verily, that the promiſe was only made to him, for the promiſe of Keys, the changing of his Name, the paying of toll for him,

him, the ſingling out of *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*, to be witneſſes of his transfiguration and raiſing of *Iairus* Daughter, all theſe reſpects Chriſt ſhewed to *Peter* about the ſame time, as may eaſily be perceived in the Harmonie of the Evangeliſts, which occaſioned the murmuring of the reſt, for the which Chriſt reproved them, *Math.* 18. and *Marke* 9. and *Luke* 9.

But I ſee neither danger nor abſurditie to ſay, that the promiſe was only made to *Peter*, Chriſt did not give him the Keyes, before he gave them to the reſt, for after his Reſurrection only, he gave the Keys to them all: with one breath (as it were) he breathed upon them all at once, and ſaid to them, *Receive the holy Ghoſt; whoſe ſinnes yee remit, ſhall be remitted*; The only difference is this, Chriſt gave *Peter* ſome hope and aſſurance which he gave not the reſt.

The ſeventh Argument.

For whom Chriſt prayed in particular that his faith ſhould not faile, and did not ſo for any of the reſt, he gave him a preheminence, and a precedencie before the reſt.

But Chriſt prayed for Peter *in particular, that his faith ſhould not faile, and did not ſo for any of the reſt.*

And therefore Chriſt gave Peter *ſome preheminence, and precedencie before the reſt.*

As to the Propoſition, truly I ſee no reaſon why our Saviour ſhould have prayed ſo earneſtly for *Peter* his perſeverance, and hee had not layd a greater charge upon him, then upon any of the reſt of the Apoſtles, he gave unto all Apoſtolicall power and authoritie, and as ample a charge to teach all Nations, as he gave unto *Peter*, but foraſmuch as he gave unto him a certaine overſight of the Apoſtles, as well as the inferiour Miniſters and People; therefore did his Maſter pray ſo earneſtly for him, that God would ſtrengthen him by his Spirit to reſiſt the great tentations, wherewith hee was to be beſieged, and to inable him with ſuch a meaſure of grace, as the greatneſſe of his charge required.

The aſſumption is manifeſt that Chriſt offered up a particular prayer for *Peter*, which he did not for the reſt of the Apoſtles, *Luke* 22.32. Chriſt ſaith to him, that he had prayed for him that his faith ſhould not faile, and he tells the reaſon too, becauſe he foreſaw that he ſhould be highly tempted by Sathan; at this ſame time hee offered up unto his

his Father moſt ſweet, pithie and powerfull prayers, as yee may read, *Iohn* 17. the reading of which prayers will move any Chriſtian heart, that has the leaſt meaſure of grace in it; O then! how powerfull were theſe to pierce the ſtonieſt heart that ever was, when they diſtilled from the ſacred lips of our bleſſed Jeſu: well, he prayed for all in generall then, but in that he offered up a particular prayer in behalfe of *Peter*, it is an Argument that his Maſter made a particular difference betweene him in the reſt.

The eighth Argument.

Hee whom Chriſt commanded to ſtrengthen his brethren when hee was converted, he gave him ſome preheminence, and charge over the reſt of his brethren.
But Chriſt commanded Peter *to ſtrengthen his brethren, when he was converted:*
And therefore Chriſt gave Peter *ſome preheminence, and charge over the reſt of his brethren.*

The ſtrength of the Propoſition ſtands in this, that he, that is commanded to ſtrengthen another, is commanded either to teach him, and inſtruct him, or to direct him, and admoniſh him, or to comfort him, and incourage him: which ſoever of theſe duties he was commanded to performe on behalfe of his brethren, it argues at the leaſt this ritie and precedencie, leſſe preheminence it cannot por perſwaded, that Chriſt would never have command charge any of thoſe duties towards his brethren, more have directed them to doe the like duties to him, and h ſome charge and overſight of them, that none of them

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As to the aſſumption that Chriſt commanded *Peter* to brethren, when he was converted is evident, *Luk.* 22. 32. *for thee, that thy faith fail not*, ſaith Chriſt, *and when tho ſtrengthen thy brethren.* The ninth Argument.

Hee to whom Chriſt appeared in particular, before he appeared to any other of the Apoſtles, he gave him ſome charge, that he gave not to the reſt of the Apoſtles.
But Chriſt appeared in particular to Saint Peter, *before he appeared to any other of the Apoſtles.*
And therefore Chriſt gave to Peter *ſome charge and employment, that he gave not to the reſt of the Apoſtles.*

The Propoſition cannot be but true, for his appearing to him firſt, before he appeared to any other, is an evident argument in my mind of his prioritie and precedencie, yea, of ſome particular charge that he received from his Maſter, that was not layd upon any of the reſt, joyne the conſideration of Chriſt his appearance here to *Peter*, and the Angell his direction to *Mary*, to tell *Peter* in particular of Chriſts Reſurrection,

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Hee to whom our Saviour Chriſt gave a particular commiſſion, after he had delivered a generall commiſſion to all the reſt of the Apoſtles in common, to him he gave ſome priviledge before the reſt of the Apoſtles.

But Chriſt gave a particular Commiſſion to Peter, *after he had delivered a generall commiſſion to all the reſt of the Apoſtles in common.*

And therefore Chriſt gave Peter *ſome priviledge above the reſt of the Apoſtles.*

The Propoſition I hold it moſt ſtrong, for when, after a generall commiſſion is delivered to an whole collective body, how they ſhall carry themſelves in the duties of their calling, a particular charge againe is given to ſome one of the number, it argues a certaine kind of ſingularitie [illegible] when the Kings Majeſtie being Generall directions to the under officers of the Arells his owne Lievtenant what ſhould bee inly declares his eminence above the reſt: o viſit any particular pariſh of his Dion generall to all the whole Pariſh, and miſter his dutie, doth not the Biſhop herebove the reſt? when our Saviour Chriſt *Philip* and *Nathaniel*, *Iohn* and *Iames*, he called [illegible] time to be Preachers of the Goſpell, and yet hee ſaid to *Peter* only, *Henceforth thou ſhalt catch men.* So to bring a particular after a generall, it ſtill argues a ſingularitie, and ſo this commiſſion which he gives to *Peter* by himſelfe is a mightie argument that *Peter* had ſome ſpeciall overſight in the Church of God, which none of the reſt had, and this was no other thing but a prioritie of order, and precedencie of moderation, in the meetings of the Apoſtles; it is not an argument that he had any power over the reſt, but only a precedencie, to moderate all things diſcreetly, to gather the voyces faithfully, and to take a ſpeciall care that all things be done orderly, and all Schiſme and confuſion ſhunned.

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his Lambes: this commiſsion is not only a ſeverall commiſsion, from that which Chriſt gavè to all the Apoſtles in common, neither is it a particular commiſsion in reſpect of *Peter*, to whom it is only given, but alſo particular in reſpect of the perſons whom it concerns, it concerns not all Nations, all people and languages, but certaine particular perſons whom Chriſt calleth his ſheepe here and his lambes; now all thoſe whom the Apoſtles in generall are commanded to teach, cannot be called Chriſts ſheep or his lambs, for they were cõmanded to teach all in generall without exception, *Goe preach the Goſpel to every creature*, ſaith Chriſt, *Marke* 16. by every creature here is meant all men, as I thinke all men will confeſſe: but all men are not Chriſts ſheepe, nor Chriſts lambes, and therefore ſome particular perſons muſt be underſtood here: now who are theſe?

I anſwer, Some thinke that by ſheepe here is underſtood ſtrong Chriſtians, and by lambes weake Chriſtians, but this cannot be: becauſe at this time I thinke there was not many ſtrong Chriſtians, it was hard then to diſcerne betweene the ſtrong and the weake, even the Apoſtles themſelves were but weake at this time, as we may perceive by that queſtion which they proponed to Chriſt, to wit, if he was to reſtore the Kingdome to *Iſrael* at that time. They minded ſtill a temporall kingdome, and as long as they expected ſuch a kingdome, no man will ſay that they were ſtrong Chriſtians, they were but all weak untill the Pentecoſt, at which time the holy Ghoſt ſtrengthened them abundantly. Neither can be underſtood by ſheep, antient Chriſtians, and by lambs new converts, for all that did ſtick to Chriſt at this time, they were no doubt Chriſts antienteſt Diſciples, that had beene for a long time in his companie, that had long heard his doctrine, and ſeene his miracles: neither can be underſtood Gods elect who are called his ſheepe in the Scriptures, and alſo his lambs, for then there ſhould be no difference between the two words Lambs and Sheep, but they doe ſignifie divers things as all Interpreters accords, and certainly the elect cannot be underſtood here, becauſe it will follow that *Peter* did know who was elect, and who not, and ſo this commiſſion given to *Peter* had beene contrary to the generall commiſsion given afore to all; neither is underſtood inferiour Miniſters and the people, for all the reſt of the Apoſtles had this overſight as well as *Peter*, and layd upon them all by Chriſt in the generall commiſsion: but by all probabilitie, is underſtood here by ſheepe, the reſt of the Apoſtles, and by Lambs the 70. Diſciples, and all thoſe that were to be joyned to them in either of the functions, & this commandement is equivalent to that which he gave

him

him before his death, ſaying, *when thou art converted ſtrengthen thy brethren, Luk.22.32.* but howſoever, underſtand whom ye will of all theſe forementioned diviſions, it is a particular commiſsion given to the Apoſtle *Peter*, after the Generall was given to all, which is an argument of his particular over-ſight over all, both Paſtors and people, for I hope wee will not except any ſorts of Paſtors out of the number of Gods ſheep.

I gant that threefold confeſsion which Chriſt expoſtulates of *Peter*, had a reference to *Peters* threefold denyall, for as *Peter* denied his Maſter thrice, ſo his Maſter to teſtifie his earneſt repentance would have him to make a threefold confeſsion, for every time that he denyed him, he would have him to make as many confeſsions, and profeſsions of his love to him, but there is a great difference between *Peters* confeſsion and his Maſters commiſsion, the confeſsion came from *Peter*, and reſted as it were in Chriſt, the commiſsion contrary wayes proceeded from Chriſt, and was terminate in *Peter*, that Chriſt then gave *Peter* this commiſsion, was becauſe of the generall charge he had over all.

The eleventh Argument.

Whom Chriſt forewarned of the manner of his death, and encouraged him patiently to endure unto the end, and did not ſo to any of the reſt, was in dignitie and eſtimation above the reſt by Chriſt his owne ordinance.

But *Chriſt forewarned* Peter *of the manner of his death, and incouraged him to endure patiently to the end, and did not ſo to any of the reſt:*

And therfore Peter *was in dignitie and eſtimation above the reſt, by Chriſts owne ordinance.*

The truth of the Propoſition ſtands in this, that if Chriſt had not preferred *Peter* to ſome dignitie above the reſt, hee would not have uſed him ſo reſpectively, and incouraged him ſo many and divers wayes, and not the reſt of the Apoſtles.

The aſſumption is manifeſt, *Joh.21.18.19. Verely, verely, I ſay unto thee, When thou waſt young, &c.*

The twelfth Argument.

Hee that was appointed by Chriſt, to be the chiefe Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, received from Chriſt a prioritie and precedencie of the reſt of the Apoſtles.

But *the Apoſtle* Peter *was appointed by Chriſt, to be the chiefe Apoſtle of the Circumciſion:*

And therefore the Apoſtle Peter *received from Chriſt, a prioritie, and a precedencie of the reſt of the Apoſtles.*

Either this primacie which our Saviour Chriſt gave unto *Peter*, did conſiſt in a prioritie and precedencie, or in a ſuperioritie of power and Authority, but this cannot be granted, becauſe we ſee no warrant for

it in Scripture at all, and therefore of neceſsitie this prioritie and precedencie for orders ſake muſt be granted him.

As to the aſſumption, that Chriſt appointed S. *Peter* to be the chiefe Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, is manifeſt, *Gal.* 2.7. where the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith, that the Goſpell of the Circumciſion was committed to *Peter*, and that the reſt of the Apoſtles ſaw that it was committed unto him; Now I ask, by whom ſaw they that it was committed unto him? by Chriſt only ſure; for none other could commit it unto him, but either Chriſt or his Apoſtles the Apoſtle did not commit it, for they ſaw it was committed by another, and conſequently by Chriſt; and this *Willet* in his *Synop. pag.* 156. affirmeth, that Chriſt himſelfe made this diſtinction; But here it will be objected, that the Goſpell of the Circumciſion, was committed to all the reſt as well as *Peter*. I anſwer, it was committed to all the Apoſtles alike, to preach the Goſpell to all Nations, but the Church of the Jews was chiefly recommended to *Peter*, for even by that particular commiſsion which Chriſt gave to *Peter*, to feed his ſheep, to feed his lambs; Some underſtand this particular charge of *Peters*, over the Jewiſh nation, for our Saviour Chriſt before called them his ſheepe, when he firſt gave them all a commiſsion to goe to the loſt ſheepe of the houſe of Iſrael; and indeed this charge before Chriſts death was layd upon all alike, but after his Reſurrection he inlarged their charge, and commanded them to teach all Nations, and withall gave the ſpeciall overſight of the Jews to S. *Peter*, as is moſt cleer & evident by the teſtimony of the Apoſtle *Paul*, *Gal.* 2.7.

The neceſſity of this precedencie comes to be ſpoken of in the third place, of the which I wil ſpeak but a little: that a ſpeaker & a precedent is neceſſary, nature, reaſon, and experience teacheth us; yea, that it is neceſſary, both *neceſsitate medij*, *& neceſsitate præcepti* (as we ſpeak) it is moſt certain. *Neceſsitate medij*, becauſe otherwiſe there could neither be government nor order in Gods houſe, but meere confuſion and miſorder, ſuch as is not to be found among many ſorts of brutiſh creatures: *neceſsitate præcepti*, for the Apoſtle *Paul* cõmands that all things be done decently and in order; which order I think was neceſſary in the dayes of Chriſt and his Apoſtles though not ſo neceſſary as now; yea, Chriſt himſelfe hath tacitly injoyned it, *Mar.* 9.35,36. & *Luk.* 9.47,48. where he cõmands, that he that deſired the firſt place among them to be ſervant to all, and moſt meek and humble in his own conceit, he wil have him both laſt of all, and leaſt of all, and then ſaith our Saviour, the ſame ſhal be great, as if he would ſay, only they are worthy of preferment, that are humble and meek, and lowly, and of ſmall account in their own conceit.

I will make this doctrine manifeſt by a formall argument.

If Chriſt hath declared how thoſe ſhould be qualified, that have chiefe place among the Governours of the Church, then it is Chriſts will and pleaſure, that there bee one to moderate in their meetings and aſſemblies.

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And therefore it is Chriſts will and pleaſure, that there be one to moderate in their meetings and aſſemblies.

The Propoſition will be granted; I prove the aſſumption.

If Chriſt hath commanded that thoſe, that have any prioritie in dignitie or degree in the Government of the Church to be ſimple as Doves, and meek and humble as children, yea, account themſelves as ſervants to the reſt, then Chriſt hath declared how thoſe ſhould be qualified that have chiefe place among the Governours of the Church.

But the firſt is true, and therefore the ſecond.

The propoſition cannot be denied, the aſſumption is manifeſt, *Mat.9.* 35,36. and *Luke* 9.47,48. Yea our Saviour ſets his own example before them to follow, behold, would our Saviour ſay, although I be chiefe among you, yet am I as he that ſerveth, *the ſon of man came not to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter, Matth.*20.28. yea, which is worth our conſideration after that he hath declared, *that hee that deſires to be chiefe among them, muſt humble himſelf like a little child*, he inferreth, *Whoſoever receiveth one of ſuch little children, receiveth me, and whoſoever receiveth me, receiveth him that ſent me*, and *whoſoever ſhall offend one of thoſe little ones that believeth in me, it is better that a milſtone were hanged about his neck, and he were caſt into the Sea*: *Auguſtine* ſaith, by little ones wee muſt underſtand humble ones, ſuch as hee would have his Diſciples to be, and to receive ſuch little ones, is to obey the Governours, of the Church, that humble themſelves to attend upon us, as the Mother to attend her children, and to have a care of them, and they that receive ſuch with all ſubmiſsion and obedience, Chriſt ſaith, they receive him; and not him only, but alſo him that ſent him, and to offend thoſe humble ones, (ſaith *Auguſtine*) is to diſobey them or contradict them: that this is the true meaning of our Saviour, it is evident by the like ſpeech of our Saviour to his Diſciples, *Matth.*10.40. *Hee that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that ſent me.* And *Luke* the 10.16. he expounds himſelf theſe words as I have done: *He that heareth you, heareth mee* (ſaith our Saviour) *and hee that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me, and he that deſpiſeth me, deſpiſeth him that ſent me*, to heare in this place is to obey, and to deſpiſe is to diſobey.

So then we ſee that Chriſt hath evidently declared, that all thoſe that have the chiefe goverment of the Church, muſt be humble, meek,

and lowly, and consequently that chief Governours there must be, and a chief precedent among these Governours.

But it will be replyed, that this necessity is not absolute but conditionall, when the Governours of the Church, has occasion to meet and assemble together. I answer, if it be of absolute necessity that there be chiefe Governours in the Church, according to Christs appointment, then is it absolutely necessary, that there be a constant president to moderate their meetings & assemblies. There is no Incorporation without a chief: a Major, an Alderman, a Baily, no Company without their Master, to moderate all their meetings: even so the Governours of the Church, must have a constant Moderator to sit amongst them, upon all occasions to convene them together when need is, propone matters to be handled in their assemblies, stay contentions and misorder, impose silence to the mutinous, and many otherthings.

Here again my opponents will reply, that the forementioned Governours are elected every yeere: I answer, then hee that has the first place among them may be elected after that same manner, but in a Society, where the Governours has place for their life time, or *ad culpam*, then the chief president must be continued for his life, or *ad culpam*. I grant, to chuse a Speaker at every assembly is conform to the platform of presbyteriall Government, for this precedent is no longer needfull in a Church so governed, because the Church during the not sitting of the assembly, is governed by Presbyteries in such a bound, and by Sessions consisting of the Ministers and lay Elders in every Parish, and so they need not a constant Moderator; but in a Church that is governed according to the paterne that Christ hath left behind him, that is, if the government be established in the persons of certain chief Governours, with the concurrence of those whom they shall chuse to assist them, of necessity this precedent must be constant and perpetuall, either *ad vitam*, or *ad culpam*.

But what do I dispute a point, so cleerly revealed in the Scriptures? did not Christ appoint the 12 Apostles, and their successors to be chief Governors of the Church? who can, yea, who dare deny it? and is it not as manifest that Christ appointed a president to moderate all their meetings? and was he not appointed to moderate for his life? if he was not, shew me how long he was to continue in his office? when hee was to lay it down? Well I am sure, Christ was as wise as all the thousands of my opponents, and he knew the necessity of order and government in his Church, and therefore laid down a platform of Government to teach us what form of Government to follow, and

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what form he thought moſt neceſſary and expedient himſelfe, and if he have laid down any other platforme then I have declared, I ſhall be very willing to know, and as willing to learn. O beſſed Jeſu, thou that art the way, the truth and the life, Direct me in thy truth, lead mee one in that way, that I may be partaker of that life, which ſhall never have an end. *Amen.*

I know ſome of the weakeſt of my opponents will ſay, that by this doctrine, I give too much advantage to Papiſts, in affirming *Peter* to have been *primus Apoſtolus*, and chiefe Over-ſeer of the reſt. Truly theſe brethren, expoſes their weaknneſſe to the World, for they neither know what popery is, nor what it is to oppoſe Popery: to mayntain Biſhops to have been inſtituted by Chriſt, and that Chriſt did chuſe one to be their chief Preſident and Moderator, is ſo far from being Popery, that it is directly againſt it: for papiſts will have Biſhops to be the Popes creatures, and not Chriſts, they will have the calling of Biſhops only to be *de jure humano*, and not *divino*, and that Biſhops are no more but Prieſts, and that Biſhops and Presbyters are but one order, and that all are equall *ſecundam conſecrationem Euchariſtiæ*, in regard of their equall power to conſecrate the Euchariſt, and all this they ſay to maintain the Popes pretended ſupremacy for *Bellarmine*, that great champion of *Rome*, affirms that the calling of the 11 Apoſtles was extraordinary, and that they were Chriſts extraordinary Embaſſadours, and that *Peter* was only appointed by Chriſt to be the ordinary and chief paſtor of the Church, and that hee and his ſucceſſours the Popes ſhould govern the univerſall Church in all ages to come: now I refer it to the judgment of all Chriſtians, to judge between mee and my opponents; whether I accord with the papiſts in moſt things, or they: this ſhall be the parallel, the papiſts ſay that the calling of the Apoſtle was but temporary and not perpetuall, ſo doth my opponents; the papiſts ſay that the 11 Apoſtles was but Chriſts extraordinary Embaſſadors, ſo doth my opponents; the papiſts ſay that the Epiſcopall function is not *de jure divino*, but *humano* ſo doth my opponents; the papiſts ſay that Biſhops and presbyters are all one order, ſo doth my opponents; in all theſe I am oppoſite to the papiſts, for I mayntaine that the calling of the Apoſtles was an ordinary calling, and that the Apoſtles was ordained by Chriſt to be the chiefe Governours of the Church, and to have ſucceſſours in all ages and generations to come, ſuperiour both in dignity and degree, to inferiour presbyters.

But my opponents will ſay, although I doe not agree with the papiſts in the forementioned heads, concerning the Epiſcopall Function, yet

yet I jump with them in making *Peter* to be the chief of the Apoſtles: and here alſo I deſire all good Chriſtians to be judge in this caſe: this is the parallel. The papiſts ſay that *Peter* was in degree before the reſt of the Apoſtles, I only that he was before them in dignity: The papiſts ſay that *Peter* had a ſupremacy of juriſdiction above the reſt of the Apoſtles, I, that hee had only a primacy of moderation: the papiſts ſay that *Peter* had granted him by his Maſter a ſuperiority of power and authority in his Church, I ſay that his Maſter gave him only a priority of order in it; The papiſts ſay that Chriſt made *Peter* Univerſall Biſhop over his whole Church throughout the World; I ſay that Chriſt committed only to him the chiefe Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, the papiſts ſay that *Peter* was both in dignity and degree above *Paul*, *Peter* was chief they ſay, and *Paul* only *Legatus à latere*: I ſay that *Paul* was equall to *Peter* both in dignity and degree, and had the larger Commiſsion, for he was the chief Apoſtle of the uncircumciſion, *Peter* only of the circumciſion. The papiſts ſay that *Peter* received both the ſwords from Chriſt, civill and ſpirituall: that is both civill and ſpirituall power, I ſay he only received ſpirituall power, and that equally with the reſt of the Apoſtles. The papiſts ſay that the pope of *Rome* is *Peters* ſucceſſor in the Univerſality of juriſdiction: I ſay that an Archbiſhop is his ſucceſſor, in his priority of order and primacie of moderation within his own province.

Conſider now good Chriſtian which of us two, I or my opponent, be moſt popiſh, he is half I am ſure, I in no caſe, hee in the point of Epiſcopall government, ſaith wholly as they ſay, I am againſt them in all the foreſaid controverſies, I give no more to *Peter*, then the chief adverſaries of popery gives him, *Calvin*, *Piſcator*, *Jewell*, *Willet*, *Marlorat*, as I made manifeſt before by their particular teſtimonies, to whom accords *Davenant* in his determinations, for hee ſaith, that both out of Scriptures and Fathers, many things may be brought, which aſcribes to *Peter* ſome prerogatives of honour, but of ſuch titles and prerogatives as are attribute to him, we affirm, that no other thing can be collected, but that he obtain'd a certain primacy and preſidency, for orders ſake among the Apoſtles. *Maier* alſo in his Treaſury upon *Matth.* 16. ſaith, That Chriſt gave *Peter* ſome prerogative above the reſt of the Diſciples, and yet making another *viz.* *Paul* equall to him in every reſpect. And truly I remember no Proteſtant Divine that denyes that *Peter* had the firſt place amongſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, and how can they? ſince it is ſo plain and manifeſt in Scriptures, and which is in effect the very bane and overthrow of the mayn grounds of popery.

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For although the Papiſts abuſe the foreſaid places of Scripture, to maintaine *Peter* his ſupremacy and his ſucceſſors the Pope, yet we muſt not refuſe to give *Peter* that which his maſter beſtowed upon him, and ſo wreſt the Scriptures as farre upon the other hand: although the Papiſts abuſe the words of our Saviour Chriſt (*hoc eſt corpus meum*) to maintaine their tranſubſtantiation, yet we muſt not deny a reall and ſpirituall preſence of Chriſts body in the ſoules of the faithfull: even ſo although the papiſts abuſe the foreſaid places of Scripture to maintaine *Peters* ſupremacy, and the univerſality of the Popes power and authority, yet we muſt not deny that Chriſt gave *Peter* a priority of order, and a precedency of moderation, among the Apoſtles, for there is a great difference between ſupream power and authority, which the papiſts aſcribe to *Peter* and his ſucceſſour the Pope, and a priority of order for avoiding of confuſion; this Chriſt gave *Peter* without doubt, but not the former.

It is true indeed Proteſtant Divines have beene very ſparing in amplifying the prerogative, and preheminence, that *Peter* had amongſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, only becauſe the Papiſts advance him too much, far beyond meaſure and moderation: But although the Papiſts decline too much to one extremity, God forbid, that wee decline as farre to the other, God forbid, becauſe papiſts defend a bodily preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, that we turne Sacramentaries, becauſe the papiſts extoll good workes and make them meritorious, that we turn Libertines, becauſe papiſts wil needs worſhip God *ſupra ſtatutum*, they will doe more then God hath commanded, that we refuſe to doe that which he hath appointed: even ſo God forbid, becauſe Papiſts make *Peter* univerſall monarch of the whole world, that we deny, that he was chiefe Apoſtle of the circumciſion, and had a priority of order among the governors of the Church of the Iewes, which the Scripture gives him in plaine language, let us remember, that they that adde to, and they that take from the word of God, are both ſubject to the ſame curſe, and that they that call evill good, and good evill, are in the ſame caſe.

For my owne part, I dare not but ſpeake the truth as I find it delivered in the Scriptures, it is the dutie of all Gods meſſengers, to reveale the whole counſell of God, and to keepe back nothing, the knowledge whereof is neceſſary for the promoving of Gods glory, and the advancement of the Kingdome of his deare ſonne: and

this point which I maintaine, concerning the ſuperiority of Church Governors, concerns the externall government of his kingdome, I am ſure, and it is ſo cleere and evident in Scripture, that none that has underſtanding and can read the Scriptures, but may conceive it, and my opponents ſome of them make a Church government a marke of the Church, and a part of the Goſpell; it ſtands us then greatly in hand, to make triall, which is that government, that Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his Church, and truely the government which I defend is the onely government which we finde eſtabliſhed by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and which hath beene in uſe in the Chriſtian Church, in all ages and generations ſince: And that which ſome of my opponents defend, we neither read of it in Scripture, not ſo much as a ſyllable, nor that as it was the government eſtabliſhed of any particular Church, in the whole Chriſtian world, till within theſe few yeares, and truely it makes my haire to ſtand upon my head to heare ſo glorious Epithiets given to the Inventions of men, as to call their diſcipline, the temple of God, Mount Sion, the Tabernacle of the Lord, the eternall councell of God, the Scepter of Iuda, a marke of the Church, a part of the Goſpell: theſe Epithiets, & ſtiles are proper to the Apoſtolicall government, to the purity whereof, as it is recorded in Scriptures, if the government of the Church of *England* were conformed, it might be juſtly called the holy diſcipline, and enjoy all theſe forementioned Epithiets. O bleſſed Ieſu! happy ſhould I thinke my ſelfe, if I ſhould ſee thy Church in all Chriſtian Kingdomes governed, as thou haſt preſcribed in thy word; and thus much I have ſaid for *Peters* Archiepiſcopall priority, now I will ſay ſomewhat for *Paules*, in the Churches of the Gentiles.

Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith that *Peter* was not the head of the Church but an eye in the head: and truely if *Peter* was the one eye, I may ſay that *Paul* was the other, for although that *Peter* was called among the firſt of the Apoſtles by Chriſt his maſter, and *Paul* after all; yet the Apoſtle *Paul* mentions his dignity and degree to bee as high as *Peters*, he was not inferiour he ſaith to the chiefe Apoſtle; and if we looke to the manner of their calling, *Pauls* calling was much more glorious then *Peters*, even when hee was firſt called to be a preacher of the Goſpell. *Peter* was called when he was going about the workes of his calling, *Paul* when he was raging with all cruelty againſt the Saints of God, Chriſt arreſts him and makes him

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ſtand and yeeld, *Saul, Saul,* why perſecutes thou me, it is hard for thee to kick againſt the pricks : it was at this time that hee was caught up into paradice, and heard unſpeakable words, which is not lawfull for man to utter, 2.*Cor.* 12. It is no wonder that the Apoſtle *Paul* glories in the manner of his calling, for none of them were called after ſo excellent a manner, which was a preſage of the greatneſſe of the worke, whereunto he was called, which our Saviour makes known to *Ananias Act.* 9. for he ſaith to him, he is a choſen veſſell unto me to beare my name before the Gentiles, and Kings, and the children of Iſrael, for I will ſhew him ſaith the Lord, what great things he ſhall ſuffer for my names ſake, this was the firſt time that hee was called, and that onely to be a preacher of the Goſpell, he was not as yet called to be an Apoſtle ; nor he was not advanced ſome yeares after this to the Apoſtolicall function, not before the Lord appeared to the Prophets and teachers at Antioch, and required them to ſeparate to him *Barnabas* & *Saul,* to the worke whereunto he had called them *Act.* 13. it was at this time that hee was made an Apoſtle ; before this time, he was no more but one of the Prophets of the Church of Antioch, and ſo called *Act.* 13. 1. after this time he is ſaid to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and to be mighty by wonders and miracles, after this hee is called by a new name *Paul.*

That *Paul* was the chiefe Apoſtle of the Churches of the Gentiles, he ſhewes in divers places of his Epiſtles, *Eph.* 3. he ſaith, for this cauſe I *Paul* the priſoner of Ieſus Chriſt for you Gentiles, and *verſe* 2. if ye have heard of the diſpenſation of the myſtery of God, which was given to you-ward, and *verſe* 8. unto me, who am leſſe then the leaſt of all Saints is this grace given, that I ſhould preach among the Gentiles, the unſearchable riches of Chriſt : The Apoſtle ſaith this grace was given him, not becauſe it was only given him, but becauſe it was chiefely given him. But he moſt plainely declares his priority in the Churches of the Gentiles, *Gal.* 2. for there hee equalls himſelfe with *Peter,* who as I have made manifeſt, had a priority of order among the 12. Apoſtles, and in the whole Iewiſh Church, and doth not in any caſe acknowledge himſelfe inferiour to him, neither in order nor degree, yea he tells us plainly that the Goſpell of the uncircumciſion was committed to him, as the Goſpell of circumciſion was committed to *Peter,* which teſtimony of the Apoſtle *Pauls,* evidently declares, that there was a ſpeciall over-

ſight committed unto *Peter*, in the Church of the Jewes, and unto *Paul*, in the Church of the Gentiles, for if it had not beene ſo, why would he compare with *Peter*, and not with the reſt? not, he would have ſaid without all doubt, as the Church of the Iewes was committed to *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*, ſo the Church of the Gentiles was committed to him and *Barnabas*.

Moreover it is evident that *Paul* his charge had ſome excellency in it, above the miniſtery of the other Governors of the Church of the Gentiles, for although there were others that were Apoſtles of the Gentiles, and namely *Barnabas* for one, yet he appropriates a ſpeciall overſight of the uncircumciſion to himſelfe in theſe words, He that was effectuall in *Peter* to the Apoſtleſhip of the circumciſion the ſame was mighty in me towards the gentiles.

Further *Paul* telleth us, 2. *Cor.* 11. 26. that he had the care of all the Churches, *viz.* of many Churches of the Gentiles, this evidently ſhewes not the greatneſſe only but the ſpeciality of his charge, for ſure there was ſome other Apoſtle that had the care of ſome Churches of the Gentiles, as *Tim.* of *Eph.* *Tit* of *Cret.* *Epaphroditus* of *Phil.* *Archippus* of *Laodicea*, *Epaphras* of *Col.* and *Hierapolis*, *Apollos* of *Cor.* and others; And although theſe mens Apoſtleſhip may be queſtioned, there can no be queſtion of *Barnabas* Apoſtleſhip, and that over the uncircumciſion too, and yet the Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith that he had a ſpeciall care of all.

His care is alſo manifeſt in his diligent writing to the Churches of the Gentiles, *Cor.* *Gal.* *Eph.* in the which he makes knowne the great care that he had of their ſalvation, as may be inſtanced in his expoſtulations, proteſtations and earneſt exhortations, yea he had a ſpeciall care of thoſe Churches that were not planted by himſelfe, but by others, as of the Church of *Col.* *Laodicea*, *Rome*: & where he planted the Goſpell himſelfe, what a ſpeciall care had he to viſit them againe, and keepe them ſafe as far as as he could, from the entring in of wolves to devoure the ſheep committed to his charge? yea this is the greateſt argument that he hath againſt the falſe Apoſtles that they intruded them upon his charge, the Gentiles being chiefely committed to him, which he proveth by the teſtimony of *Peter*, *Iames* and *Iohn*, who gave him and *Barnabas* the right hand of fellowſhip, that they ſhould goe unto the Iewes, and they unto the heathen; now from theſe grounds, I will forme ſome arguments for *Paul* his priority of order among the Churches of the Gentiles.

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The firſt Argument.

IF *Paul* was not inferiour to *Peter*, neither in dignity nor degree, then if *Peter* had a priority and precedencie among the Apoſtles of the circumciſion, *Paul* had the ſame priority among the miniſters of the uncircumciſion.

But *Paul* was not inferiour to *Peter*, neither in dignity nor degree.

And therefore if *Peter* had a priority, and a precedency, among the miniſters of the circumciſion, *Paul* had the ſame priority, among the miniſters of the uncircumciſion.

That *Paul* was not inferiour, neither in dignity nor degree, to the Apoſtle *Peter*, I hope will not be denyed, for he defendeth it in many paſſages of his Epiſtles; and that *Peter* had a priority, and a precedencie among the Apoſtles of the circumciſion, I have made manifeſt by cleare evidence of Scripture, and therefore the concluſion will ſtand good, that Saint *Paul* had a priority, and a precedencie, among the Miniſtery of the uncircumciſion.

The ſecond Argument.

HEe to whom the Goſpell of the uncircumciſion was chiefely committed, had a priority, and a precedencie of all the Miniſters of the uncircumciſion, of whatſoever order or degree.

But the Goſpel of the uncircumciſion, was chiefely committed to the Apoſtle *Paul*.

And therefore Saint *Paul* had a priority, and a precedency, in the Miniſtery of the uncircumciſion, of all degrees.

The propoſition will be granted; I prove the aſſumption by the Apoſtle *Paul* his owne teſtimony, *Gal.* 2. where he ſaith, As the Goſpell of the circumciſion, was committed to *Peter*, ſo the Goſpell of the uncircumciſion, was committed to him; thus the Apoſtle *Paul* ſpeakes, not becauſe the Goſpell of uncircumciſion, was not committed to any other, for in that ſame Chapter, hee ſaith that it was alſo committed to *Barnabas*, and in the generall Commiſſion given by Chriſt to all the Apoſtles, it was included; for they were commanded to teach all nations (*omni creaturæ*) both Iewes and Gentiles, but only becauſe, it was principally committed to him; and this expoſition Doctor *Willet* confirmes in his *Synopſis*,

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Where he plainly teſtifieth that *Paul* had the chiefe Apoſtleſhip over the Gentiles, yea he ſaith, that *Peter* was chiefe of the circumciſion, and *Paul* of the uncicumciſion, that although *Peter* had the firſt Lot in order, yet *Paul* had the more large and glorious Lot, and further he ſaith that it cannot be denyed, but that *Paul* was chiefe towards the Gentiles, and therefore the Church of Rome might with better right, derive their authority from the Apoſtle *Paul*, then the Apoſtle *Peter*: now if *Paul* had an over-ſight of the whole Churches of the Gentiles, then it will follow that he had an over-ſight both of the Paſtors and the people, if the paſtors and Miniſters of the Gentiles be of the Church of the Gentiles, which I think no man will deny.

The third argument.

HEe that had the care of all the Churches of the Gentiles, had a precedencie of all the Apoſtles, and inferior Miniſters, of theſe Churches.

But the Apoſtle *Paul* had the chiefe care of all the Churches of the Gentiles, 2. *Cor.* 11. 26.

And therefore the Apoſtle *Paul*, had the over-ſight of all the Apoſtles, and inferiour miniſters, of theſe Churches.

The propoſition muſt be true, for to have a care of a Church wherein there are other inferior Miniſters, either in dignity or degree, it will follow neceſſarily, that his care extends both to paſtors and people.

The fourth Argument:

HEe that had the care not only of thoſe Churches which hee planted by his owne miniſtery, but of thoſe Churches alſo that were planted by the miniſtery of other men, hee had an over-ſight of all the Paſtors of thoſe Churches.

But the Apoſtle *Paul* had not only the care of thoſe Churches, which he planted by his owne miniſtery, but alſo of thoſe Churches, which were planted by the miniſtery of other men.

And therefore the Apoſtle *Paul* had an over-ſight of all the paſtors of thoſe Churches.

The

The propoſition muſt be granted, or elſe *Paul* might have beene challenged for putting his ſicle in another mans field, and intruding himſelfe upon the labours of other men, and ſo to have ſtretched himſelfe beyond his meaſure, which hee labours by all meanes to avoid 2. *Cor.* 10. 13. 14. 15.

I prove the aſſumption that the Apoſtle *Paul* had the care of thoſe Churches which were planted by the miniſtery of others, he had a care of *Rome*, *Col. Laodicea*, which were planted by the miniſtery of others, as is evident *Rom.* 10. 11. for I long to ſee you, that I may Impart ſome ſpirituall gift unto you, to the end you may be eſtabliſhed, and ſo forth to the 14. *verſe*, and *Col.* 2. 1. for I would yee knew, ſaith *Paul*, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at *Laodicea*, and for as many as have not ſeene my face in the fleſh, and *verſe* 5. for although I be abſent in the fleſh, yet I am with you in ſpirit, Ioying and beholding your order, and the ſteadfaſtneſſe of your faith in Chriſt, even as he ſaith *Rom.* 18. I thanke my God through Ieſus Chriſt for you all, that your faith is ſpoken of throughout the world: ſo it is more then manifeſt that the Apoſtle *Paul* had a ſpeciall care of thoſe Churches, which were planted by others, and therefore it will follow neceſſarily that hee had ſome over-ſight of the paſtors as well as the people.

The fifth argument.

HEe that did Admoniſh, direct and command, as well the paſtors as the people, hee had ſome over-ſight both of the paſtors and people.

But the Apoſtle *Paul* did admoniſh, direct and command as well the paſtors, as the people.

And therefore the Apoſtle *Paul* had ſome over-ſight, both of the paſtors and the people.

The propoſition will bee granted: I prove the aſſumption, by his Admonition he ſent to *Archippus*, *Col.* 4. 17. and yet *Archippus* was planted in my Iudgement by *Epaphras* in *Laodicea*, and perhaps in *Col.* alſo & not by the Apoſtle *Paul*. We ſee the truth of this by his directions to *Tim.* and *Tit.* regiſtreat in his Epiſtle written to them, yea *Phil.* 2. 25. and 26. he ſaith that he had ſent *Epaphroditus* back againe to them, which words argue ſome kind of over-ſight at leaſt, for he that ſends is greater then he that is ſent.

The

The ſixth Argument.

IF the changing of *Peters* name was a token of his preferment and advancement, then the changing of *Pauls* name was a token of his preferment and advancement.

But the firſt is true, and therefore the ſecond.

I know it will be replyed, that Chriſt changed *Peter* his name, but not *Pauls*. Anſwer. I am confident he alſo changed *Pauls*, for the reaſons before alledged, although it be not in plaine termes revealed in Scripture; all things that Chriſt did and ſaid are not revealed in the Word, as we may read in the laſt chapter of the Goſpell according to S. *Iohn*. I am of opinion that when *Paul* was raviſhed to the third Heaven, and heard words which might not be ſpoken, that he changed his name then, and that he did conceale the changing of his name, as he did the reſt of the words that he heard, becauſe it was his own name, therefore he makes no relation of it: even as *Peter* out of modeſty doth not report the many favours and reſpects which his Maſter did ſhew to him, no not the changing of his name; ſo the Apoſtle *Paul* conceales the changing of his name, leſt his telling of it had been thought arrogancy in him; and the rather becauſe the name that he had before had an evill ſignification, and he had ſmall credit to have had *Saul* for his Godfather, although he was King of *Iſrael*; and indeed their names were very agreeable to their manners, for *Saul* in Greek ſignifies turbulency, and truly both *Saul* the King, and *Saul* the Phariſee, were rightly ſo called, for both were proud, both were turbulent, *Saul* the King perſecuted Chriſt in *David*, who was a type and figure of Chriſt, he did what he could to fruſtrate Gods purpoſe, that Chriſt ſhould not come of the ſeed of *David*, and alſo to deprive him of his Kingdome. *Saul* the Phariſee perſecuted Chriſt in his children, and did what he could to hinder the propagation of Chriſts Kingdome, and ſo to fruſtrate the ſalvation of the Elect. *Paul* was therefore loath to make mention of his name; and the rather becauſe the changing of one letter of his firſt name *S.* into *P.* made it have a good ſignification, for *Paul* in Greek ſignifieth Quiet and peaceable, ſo that the changing of the name *Saul* into the name *Paul* did ſignifie his converſion and change, who of a turbulent perſecutor of Chriſtians, became a quiet and peaceable Chriſtian himſelfe; and ſo S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, before that this

this Apoſtle was waſhed with ſpirituall precepts, he was a blaſphemer, a perſecuter and a *Saul*: but when as the raine of the heavenly waſhing had flowed downe upon him, the blaſphemer, the perſecuter, and the *Saul* is killed, and the Apoſtle, the righteous, and the *Paul* is vivified: The word *Saul* as interpreters relates is ἀπὸ τῦ σάλυ, a name taken from turbulency, and *Paulus* commeth of παυλὴ, reſt and quiet: ſome will have it deriven from the Hebrew word פלה to ſegregate, becauſe he was choſen and ſegregated as a marvellous man, according to *Ierome* in Epiſt. ad *Philem.* But I am rather of *Auguſtine* his opinion, who follows rather the Latin Etimology ſaying, after that he was brought unto the Maſter, that ſaid, *Learne of me, for I am meeke and gentle*, he was named *Paul*. And againe he ſaith, *Saul* laying aſide the old coat of ſinne, being bloody with ſlaughter, tooke the coat of humility, that he might be made of *Saul* a *Paul*. There are many opinions concerning the changing of the Apoſtles name from *Saul* to *Paul*, but I am confident that his Maſter Chriſt did it, although the Apoſtle told it not, and he might have told it too, although it be not recorded in Scripture, ſure he told that he was ſo called, although he was not immediately called *Paul* after his converſion, he ſaid to *Paul* (it may be) as he ſaid to *Peter*, thou ſhalt be called *Paul*, *viz.* when he was advanced to the Apoſtolicall charge, and ſo we read *Act.* 13. ſoon after he was ſeparate, for that worke, the Evangeliſt *Luke* calleth him *Paul*, and no more *Saul*. And therefore I may very juſtly conclude, that ſince Chriſt changed the Apoſtles name, that it was a ſigne of his preferment and advancement by Chriſt.

The ſeventh Argument.

HEe who tooke precedency upon him *de facto*, he had it *de jure*. But *Paul* tooke precedency upon him *de facto*: and therefore he had it *de jure*.

The propoſition muſt be true, or elſe we muſt ſay that *Paul* preſumed and tooke more upon him, then did of right belong unto him, which I hope no Divine will ſay, and therefore my concluſion muſt be good.

As to the aſſumption that *Paul* tooke precedency upon him, we ſee it in the Acts of the Apoſtles, for although *Barnabas* was an Apoſtle as well as *Paul*, yet he gave place unto *Paul*, and ſuffered him to

ſpeake, and therefore at *Lyſtra Paul* is called *Mercurius* becauſe he ſpake all, and *Barnabas* is called *Iupiter*.

Now I hope I have plainly proved, that theſe two Apoſtles, S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, had a priority and a precedency of all the Church-officers both of Jewes and Gentiles, *Peter* of the Jewes, and *Paul* of the Gentiles.

There is one argument yet for the dignity and prehemmency of both, *viz.* that the Hiſtory of the Acts concernes them onely, except very little in the beginning of the Hiſtory, which in my judgement is an evident argument not only of their diligence in the miniſtery, but of their honour and preferment by Chriſt; that theſe two Apoſtles paines in the miniſtery ſhould be in ſome part regiſtrate, and the acts of none of the reſt, no not of *John* who was a moſt painfull preacher of the Goſpell even untill the day of his death, yea ſome of them are not once named except in the generall, under the name of Apoſtles; who will be pleaſed to read over that part of Scripture will find it ſo.

Now to end this diſcourſe: as I brought in the beginning the teſtimonies of ſome moderne Writers to teſtifie for me, that what I was to ſay, had been ſaid of them before my time, hereby to free my ſelf from ſcandalous imputations wherewith I might have been wrongfully charged; ſo here in the end I will produce the teſtimonies of the moſt ancient Fathers and godly martyrs that lived in the firſt centuries of Chriſtianity, to make good what we both have ſaid, but truly not to prove any thing that I have delivered in my former Diſcourſe, for to what uſe ſhall a man light a thouſand Candles and ſet them up in his houſe, when the Sunne ſhineth bright in at the windows? and ſo there is no need of either the teſtimonies of ancient or moderne Writers, when the matter is delivered in the Scripture in plaine and evident termes. I will produce them then not to prove any thing that I have ſaid, but to be as it were Proctors for me, and to defend me from the calumnies and the aſperſions of the malevolous, and to teſtifie that I have ſaid nothing, but that which is according to the cleere evidence of Scripture, and whereunto ſome of them did beare witneſſe before, and ſealed the truth thereof with their blood. I will begin with *Cyprian*.

S. *Cyprian de ſimpli prolat.* ſpeaketh thus. The reſt of the Apoſtles was the ſame that *Peter* was, ordained with that ſame honour and authority, but the beginning was from one to demonſtrate the Church to be one.

S. *Am-*

S. *Ambroſe* writing upon *Galat.* 2. he ſaith that *Paul* nameth only *Peter*, and compareth him with himſelfe, becauſe he had received the Primacy to found the Church (of the Jewes) and himſelfe was alſo elected to have the Primacy, in founding the Churches of the Gentiles, yet ſo that both *Peter* might preach to the Gentiles, & *Paul* to the Jewes, if there were cauſe, for both of them are found to have done both, and yet it is knowne that full authority was given to *Peter*, in preaching to the Jewes, and full authority to *Paul* in preaching to the Gentiles. And in the gloſſe S. *Ambroſe* is thus alleaged, Which of them doth reſiſt *Peter*, to whom the Lord gave the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, *niſi alius talis*, but ſuch another that knew himſelfe, by the confidence of his election, not to be unequall. So ſaith *Ierome*, *Paul* doth reprehend *Peter* becauſe he knew himſelfe not to be unequall, &c.

So *Ierome* on *Math.* 16. ſaith, that all received the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, yet one is choſen among the twelve, that an head being appointed all occaſions of ſchiſme might be taken away.

Chryſoſtome Hom. 87. ſaith, what meaneth Chriſt to ſingle out *Peter* alone, and to ſay thus unto him, (*Peter loveſt thou me? loveſt thou me? loveſt thou me?* thrice. *Feed my ſheepe, feed my Lambs?*) He was the mouth of the reſt ſaith he, and Prince of the Apoſtles, wherefore *Paul* went up to ſee him above others; for as though he, *viz.* Chriſt his maſter had forgotten his denials, he committeth unto him the care of his brethren; as if he had ſaid, as thou loveſt me, ſo take a care of thy brethren, and the love which thou haſt alwaies ſhewed to me, ſhew now, and the life which thou ſaideſt, thou wouldeſt lay downe for me, lay downe now for them.

S. *Auguſtine* ſaith that *Peter* and *Paul* were choſen for the ſalvation of two peoples, *Peter* of the Jewes, *Paul* of the Gentiles; *Peter* to repaire the old and deſert fields of *Iudea*, and to make them fruitfull through the wholſomneſſe of faith and grace, being kept unfruitfull by the ſhadow of the Law, and hidden from the heat of the Sunne; but *Paul* is ſent to the Gentiles a new ground, that yeelded no fruit before, that he might cut it with the plough of the Lords Croſſe, &c. Therefore theſe two are more eminent then the reſt of the Apoſtles, and by a certaine peculiar prerogative did excell them all. *Auguſt. in feſt. Petri & Pauli.*

An ancient Writer compares *Peter* and *Paul* to the two great Pillers, which *Salomon* ſet up in the porch of the Temple, one upon the

right ſide, and an other upon the left ſide in the enterance into the Temple, & that upon the right ſide he called *Iachim*, which ſignifies eſtabliſhed; and the other upon the left ſide he called *Boos*, which ſignifies ſtrong or ſtrength; which two Pillars he compares to *Peter* and *Paul*, *Peter* ſignifiing a rocke moſt firmely eſtabliſhed; and the word *Paul* ſignifying reſt or quietneſſe, which is oppoſite to motion, and ſo of ſuch ſtrength as cannot be moved or turned backe. So that, as *Salomon* who was a type and figure of Chriſt, being about to build a houſe unto the Lord, did ſet up two Pillars in the Porch of the Temple, one upon the right ſide, and another upon the left: Even ſo Chriſt the true *Salomon*, being to erect a Church to God here upon earth, he ſet up two Pillars as it were in the entry of this Church, ſo that whoſoever deſires to enter in the Church of Chriſt, they muſt enter by the doore which theſe two Apoſtles by their doctrine and miniſtery hath opened both to Jewes and Gentiles; and therefore this ancient Authour compares the Jewes to the right ſide called *Iachim* to whom *Peter* was chiefly ſent; and the Gentiles to the left ſide called *Boos*, over whom *Paul* had the chiefe overſight.

Surely it is mentioned by all the ancient Fathers, and moderne Writers, without contradiction of any one, that theſe two Apoſtles had a propriety of order before all the reſt of the Apoſtles, and Preſbyters, the one in the Church of the Jewes, the other in the Church of the Gentiles. What can be ſaid againſt the perpetuity and continuance of this priority in the Church of Chriſt in all ages following, I cannot imagine: that it was a perſonall prerogative that theſe two Apoſtles had granted them by Chriſt their Maſter, in the beginning of the Goſpell, can no waies be ſaid, and that for theſe reaſons following.

Firſt, becauſe it is a thing that is morally neceſſary without the which a Church cannot be governed at all, as *Calvin* ſaith in plaine tearms, *Inſtit.* 4. *cap.* 6, *ſect.* 8. That the 12 Apoſtles had one among them to governe the reſt, it was no marvell ſaith he, for nature requireth it, and the diſpoſition of men will ſo have it, that in every company, although they be all equall in power, there be one as Governour, by whom the reſt ſhall be directed; There is no Court, ſaith he, without a Conſull, no Senate without a Pretor, no Colledge without a Preſident, no Society without a Maſter; ſo that whatſoever is morally neceſſary in all ages, Nations, Kingdomes, Provinces, Incorporations, Societies, can no waies be thought to be a peculiar

Prerogative

Prerogative to one or two particular men, living in one age, or in one Nation and Kingdome.

Secondly, this priority is much more neceſſary now in a ſetled Church, then it was in a Church while the foundation was but in laying, the Apoſtles calling was univerſall, and they were ordained to preach the Goſpell to all Nations, and had equall power conferred upon them to preach the Goſpell, and to gather a Church unto Chriſt, and thereafter to erect a miniſtery and plant overſeers among them, there was not great need of a Precedent, and in ſpeciall in the Churches of the Gentiles, untill there was a company to goe before; but now in a ſetled Church, governed according to the pattern that Chriſt hath left behind him, this precedent is ſo neceſſary that he is moſt neceſſary.

Thirdly, I conceive this Precedent to be ſo neceſſary that Chriſt ſetled it in the perſons of *Peter* and *Paul* to be a pattern to afterages, ſhewing them that it is his will, that his Church be ſo governed in all ages and generations to come, for ſince it is more neceſſary now then it was then, the Church not being ſetled, and the Apoſtles and Presbyters charge being ambulatory; and their miniſtery ſpread over all, and the rather ſince the Apoſtle *Iames* was ſetled in *Ieruſalem* as Biſhop there, who was ſufficient to govern the whole Church of the Jewes, with the aſſiſtance of his Presbyters, ſo that *Peters* Precedency in the Church of the Jewes ſeemed not to be ſo neceſſary, except onely that Chriſt thought good to doe ſo, for an example to afterages, yea that ſuperiority and inferiority, which he eſtabliſhed in the perſons of the ſeverall rankes of Church-governours was not ſo needfull then as now, conſidering that then Apoſt. and the 70. Diſciples, and their ſucceſſours in both degrees, had the gift of miracles, and other extraordinary gifts, by which powerfull meanes, they were able to keepe all their inferiours in order and awe: for if by ſuch meanes they were able to worke faith and repentance in their ſoules, they were as ſufficient to worke amendment of life in their converſation; and therefore at this time all Church-men might have been of equall authority, both for dignity and degree, and yet Chriſt himſelfe, with his owne mouth did conſtitute both divers dignities and divers degrees, and that chiefely to teach us how he would have his Church governed in all ages and generations to come.

Fourthly, there are ſome things that Chriſt did in the which we are

are not able to follow his example, as his faſting forty daies without meat, his walking upon the ſea, and ſuch other miraculous, and extraordinary workes: next, Chriſt did ſome things, wherein we muſt not follow him, as in being circumciſed, celebrating the Paſſoever, and in a preciſe keeping of the Moſaicall Ordinances, Chriſt kept them all, he came to fulfill all righteouſneſſe, he ſaith he came not to breake the Law but fulfill it, yea that one jot or title of the Word of God ſhould not paſſe away he ſaith, untill all things were fulfilled, the whole ceremonies of *Moſes* Law were referred to Chriſt and had their end in him, and therefore we might not follow Chriſt in obeying them. Thirdly, Chriſt did ſome things wherein we need not follow him, Chriſt went bare-footed, he travelled on foot, we never read that he did ride on horſe-backe, but once that he did ride upon an Aſſe to *Ieruſalem*; well, we may chooſe whether we will follow him in theſe things or not. Laſtly, in ſome things we are bound to follow Chriſts example, that is, in all things that he did morally, we are bound to follow the example of his life and converſation, to be patient as he was patient, temperate as he was temperate, modeſt as he was modeſt, mercifull as he was mercifull, loving as he was loving, meeke as he was meeke, &c. In all theſe and ſuch like morall vertues, we are bound to follow his example. And laſtly, what Chriſt did in the ſetling of the manner of his worſhip, we are bound to follow him in theſe things, we are bound to preach in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, as he did, we are bound to celebrate the Sacrament of the Supper, according to his example, except in in the circumſtances of time, place, perſon, ſite, which are neither morally good, nor morally evill, but good or evill, according as they are uſed or abuſed, and thirdly we are bound to follow him, in what he did concerning the government of his own Church, he did found his owne Church in an imparity of Church-governours, he diſtinguiſhed them in degrees and dignities, in doing whereof the Church in all ages is bound to follow his example, we hold the practice of the Apoſt. to have the force of a precept, much more ſhould we hold the practiſe of Chriſt to be mandative and obligatory. And ſo I hope I have proved by good and forcible reaſon, that the Precedency of theſe two Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul* was not a perrogative but a morall example, inſtituted by Chriſt.

FINIS.

A TRVE RELATION Of ſuch Paſſages and Proceedings of the Army of *Dublin* in the *KINGDOME Of* IRELAND,

As have happened ſince the death of Sir CHARLES COOTE to this preſent.

Together,

With a Proclamation by the Lord Iuſtices and Councell of that Kingdome, for the making voide of ſuch Warrants as have beene abuſed.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Bladen*, 1642.

RELATION
OF Iuch Pillages and Pro-

IRELAND,

As have been Committed in the Province

With a Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant and
Councell of that Kingdom, For the making void of all

LONDON,
Printed for William Blades, 1641.

A true Relation of such Passages and Proceedings of the Army of *Dublin* in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, as have happened since the death of Sir *Charles Coote* to this present.

I Writ unto you in my last Letter that Collonell *Crafford* marched into the County of *Meath* with some Horse and foot, and further, I could not write not knowing the issue then; which was that at a Castle called *Baldongon* a 11. miles from *Dublin* towards *Drogheda*; the Rebels set our men at defiance, they having possession of it, a very strong hold, upon which their insolencies Collonell *Crafford* sent to *Dublin* for two peeces of battery, which were sent and brought to him and planted against the Castle, and yet the Rebels set our men at defiance with the baseſt words that could be uttered, calling our men English-doggs and Scotch-doggs, at which our men were not a little mooved; but the Rebels having with them in the Castle an English Gentleman, whom our men had a speciall desire to save, had the more patience, and desired parlie, to have them to deliver to us the Gentleman, our men having prisoner with us a Priests mother and sister, which Priest was the Rebels Captaine in the Castle, but the Priest bid our men doe what they would with his mother and sister, the English man should not bee delivered upon no tearmes, so that our men were forced to discharge upon the Castle and made a breach, upon which they entred, and by Gods good providence preserved the Gentleman and put them all to the Sword, except the Priest, who upon promise of good service, was brought to *Dublin*, but he failing in his promise of good service was hanged on Satur-day last.

Captaine *Hipslie* having a Garrison in *Meath*, observed divers times how the Rebels made great shews in the face of his Garrison, but would never stand, purposing to be even with them, and having intelligence that they would doe the like the next day in the like manner, having notice of the place in the night before, set an ambushment of horse and foot close for his purpose. The next day the Rebels came vaunting

themſelves upon a hill, as their manner is every where, our Captaine with 5. or 6. more rid towards them, but comming neare, he ſeemed to decline them a bie way, which theſe Rebels perceiving made after him and thoſe few with him, but our worthy and valiant Captain led them to our men in ambuſh, and upon a ſudden ſet upon them; where many of theſe Rebels fell by our men, ſome fled and happy was he which could get away firſt and ſwifteſt, but our valiant Captaine would not ſo leave them, purſued them ſo faſt and cloſe, that theſe fugitives could not eſcape his hands; in this purſuit theſe Rebels fled to a houſe of M. *Robert Arther*, a rich Alderman of our City, for their Sanctuary, a man that hath lived in the Country amongſt the Rebels all this rebellious time, who hath a protection for the ſafety of him and his, although oath hath bin made that he allows 15. ſh. *per* weeke and two good horſes to the Rebels towards their rebellious warre againſt us; ſuch Protections are a great grief to our Souldiers and to us all, and cauſe of much miſchief, and the loſſe of many a mans life on our ſide, and we earneſtly pray for amendment. But our noble and valiant Captain finding this mans houſe to be their Sanctuary, and theſe Rebels in the houſe for their ſafeguard, notwithſtanding his Protection, ſets upon them, tooke the Alderman and the reſt that were fled from him priſoners, and carried them to his place of Garriſon, and there they are, which if they have their due deſert, we know what will come on them: Alderman *Ians* ſon is one of the priſoners.

On Fryday laſt, being the 3d. of *June* our Garriſon at the *Naas* being much annoyed, ſince the death of Sir *Charles Coote* by the Rebels, who durſt not in his life time come neare the place where he was, but ſince grow bold, and have got ſome pillage of Cattle from our Garriſon at the *Naas*; our men to prevent the like danger and loſſe, ſet 12. muſketeers in a houſe foure miles from the *Naas* at a Towne called *Iriſh-towne*, the Rebels came the next morning to ſet upon our 12 men, two of the Rebels were brave men in ſcarlet, chiefe Commanders, and as it ſeemeth of great worth amongſt them; but our twelve men behaved themſelves ſo valiantly that downe fell theſe two ſcarlet Commanders, but it ſeemeth that their worth was ſuch that the Rebels were loath to leave their dead bodies for our men to bury, for in their venturing to fetch their dead bodies from our men eight of the Rebels were ſlaine for their paines, yet one of them the Rebels got away, the other of theſe two ſcarlet Commanders they durſt not adventure, having loſt 8 many for one, ſo that the other our men cut off his head, our men kil-

killed of the Rebels 16. and took two Priſoners, not one of our 12. men hurt. There was examination who it was that was taken from th.ē, but the Rebels at that time would not tell his name, but wiſhed they had given 500 pounds for his life, and this is all the ſervice our men have done in theſe parts ſince Sir *Charles Coote* dyed, although we have many thouſands of men more in this City now, then we had when he was living: by which you may underſtand how our warre goeth forward to our great griefe and ſore charge, beſides the many and inſufferable diſorders of our Souldiers, which are ready to mutiny for want of mony to ſend them upon ſervice, as they ſay themſelves, The Lord of his infinite mercy unite the hearts of our gracious King and the ever renowned Parliament together, whereby the good worke of the Lord begun may goe on comfortably and ſpeedily, for upon their diſtance the Rebels take wonderfull courage and begin to hold up their heads afreſh, which were daunted while Sir *Charles* lived, and that our King, as they have intelligence, is raiſing of forces in *Yorke ſhiere*, which doth much perplex us and incourage them. For as we heare in *Weſt-meath*, thoſe of the Papiſts which have kept in till now doe begin to riſe in open Rebellion. If theſe differences be not taken up ſpeedily, we all in this Kingdom, without the miraculous providence of the Almighty, are like to periſh, and the wonderfull charges which *England* hath beene at, will come to nothing, which otherwiſe will prove profitable and comfortable to Church and Common-wealth of both Kingdomes, and adde great revenues to his Majeſty, for upon a Iury of Inqueſt in this City is found of the Rebels lands many hundred of pounds, ſome thinke thouſands of pounds, which will come in yeerly to our Kings Majeſty: for the Commiſſion is but newly begun and many hundreds of yearely rents are found of thoſe which are knowne to be in Rebellion, and no doubt many more will be found Traitors which yet keepe cloſe. I cannot for certaine write, but we heare in the County of *Leaſe*, the Rebels have put many to the Sword ſince the death of Sir *Charles Coote*, who were formerly relieved, but theſe delayes doe and will prove dangerous.

Upon Munday the 6th. of *Iune* our Garriſon at the *Naas* tooke a Caſtle neare to the *Naas*, which ſet our Army at defiance, as wee paſſed from our victory at *Kilruſh*, and ſlew 50. of the Rebels, only by our Garriſon, which were at the *Naas*, we loſt not one man; by all we may ſee the gracious providence of our good God, who hath ſo miraculouſly preſerved us, by taking our cauſe in hand.



By the Lords Iuſtices and Councell.

W. Parſons. Io. Borlaſe.

WHereas for ſpeciall reaſons of State moving Us thereunto, We iſſued divers warrants, forbidding his Majeſties Army to burn certaine Houſes and Corne, and to forbeare pillaging, ſpoyling and taking away goods and Cattle of divers perſons; And whereas alſo not onely We the Lords Iuſtices, or one of Us, or our very good Lord the Earle of Ormond and Oſſory, Lieutenant Generall of the Army, but alſo the late and preſent Commander or Commanders of His Majeſties forces in the City of Dublin or in Drogheda and other places within the Province of Leinſter (ſome of them having no authority or direction ſo to doe) iſſued warrants admitting ſundry perſons (many of which perſons by their preſent ill demerits in this generall Rebellion, might juſtly have béene forthwith proſecuted with fire and ſword) with ſafety to bring or ſend to the Markets of Dublin, Drogheda, and other places, Corne and other proviſions, to be there ſold, which was done in expectation that by that forbearance uſed towards them, when they ſaw juſt vengeance taken on others for the ſame adhering to, and relieving thoſe who in this Rebellion publikely carry Armes, and commit open Acts of Hoſtility, they might be moved to depart from adhering to, or relieving thoſe notorious Actors in the Rebellion, in gratitude to his Majeſty and this State, for ſo much clemency uſed towards them, yet ſo ungratefull have many or moſt of thoſe perſons béen found, and ſo inſenſible of

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the duty and loyalty of good Subjects to his Majesty, as notwithstanding that clemency used towards them, they have not returned the fruits of Loyalty expected from them, but on the contrary have run on in their former rebellious courses not so much as having to this time offered any assistance to this State or any the Governors or Commanders of the Army, and have murdered many English and other Subjects in several parts, it being observed that if any of his Majesties good Subjects, Souldiers or others passe by, not strongly guarded, they are set upon and murthered, in the high waies and passages, as they travell, the very Plow-men and those that kepe Cattle, having continually armes lying by them in the fields, to murther those his Majesties good Subjects when they find them weakly guarded; & on the other side when they find them strongly guarded, they seeme to goe on in their plowing and husbandry, shewing those warrants for their safety, & seeming to be poore innocent & harmlesse Labourers. And although the afore-said open Rebels were frequently in some of their houses, and continually round about them, they never gave us any intelligence concerning the proceedings of those open Rebels, nor of the places where they had often meetings, and where they might be found to be fallen on, by his Majesties Army, which they might easily have done, if their affections to his Majesty and his Government, had been such as by the Laws of God they ought to be, or if they desired to live humbly in obedience to the Lawes, as some of them pretend: And albeit in many of the said Warrants there were conditions expressed, & in all of them Conditions implyed, that the parties taking benefit thereby, should behave themselves as becomes dutifull and Loyall Subjects, whereby We might justly proceed to their deserved Correction, without any violation on Our parts of the said warrants, or the word thereby given. And albeit also that most of those warrants were not in themselves Protections to the parties, further then in giving them leave to bring or send Corne & other provisions to the Markets, whereby their Servants or Horses or Provisions should not be seised on by the Souldiers, when they came to the Markets, which admittance fell out as well for their benefit, as intended for the furnishing of the of the Market; Yet because We find that the further continuing of those warrants, doe now appeare inevitably to induce a great inconvenience to his Majesties Generall Service, and many of those people doe either ignorantly (or perhaps purposely) mistake the true sense and meaning of those warrants, and doe give out to interpret them to be Protections granted to them for the safety of their lives and estates, how foule soever they are in their crimes, which is an interpretation that cannot justly be made out of the letter or meaning of those warrants, yet in regard We (who are entrusted here by His Majesty for the government of this His Kingdome and People) are so tender of His Majesties Honour, as We neither have done, nor will doe any thing, that by any construction can be interpreted a Breach of any word given by Us, neither have desired or willingly permitted any violence or hurt to be done to any Inhabitant, or any prejudice, other then for the necessary Defence and safety of this State, and other His Majesties good Sub-

jects,

jects, againſt thoſe that take up Armes againſt His Majeſty. And for that We are now neceſſitated to reſolve, not to ſuffer this State to be any longer deluded and abuſed, and His Majeſties good Subjects murthered (even as it were in our owne view in ſcorne and affront of the State, and ſome of the actors paſſing with impunity) under countenance of thoſe warrants, We think fit before we proceed to the juſt Correction of thoſe who have ſo declared themſelves enemies to the Peace of this Kingdome, hereby to publiſh and declare that the ſaid warrants ſo granted by Us the Lords Juſtices, or either of Us, or by Us the Lords Juſtices and Councell, or by the ſaid Lieutenant Generall of the Army, or by the ſaid late or preſent Commanders of the forces in this City, or by any His Majeſties Commanders in Drogheda, or other places, to any perſon or perſons within the Barronies of Caſtle-knock, Nethercroſſe, Balrothery or Coolock in the County of Dublin, or within the Baronies of Dulecke, Skryne, Moyſenragh, Ratoath, Deece and Dunboyne in the County of Meath, ſhall from and after the foure and twentieth day of this Month, ſtand void, and be annulled, repealed and revoked, and we doe hereby accordingly from and after the ſaid day revoke, repeale, make void and annull them, and every of them, to all intents and purpoſes, as if they had never beene granted, and doe order that from and after the ſaid day, they be of no force, nor ſcribe any benefit, Protection or Security to the parties to whom they were granted. And this Proclamation we hereby require the Major and Sheriffes of the City of Dublin, to cauſe to be proclaimed and publiſhed on two Market-dates in and throughout the ſaid City and Suburbs, and to be publikely fixed up in the Market place, and other publike places in the ſaid City and Suburbs, that ſo all men may take notice thereof, and that hereafter (when by the power and ſtrength of his Majeſties army) Offenders receive due punishment, they may appeare inexcuſable, and not have any colour to pretend the leaſt Breach of word in this State.

Given at His Majeſties Caſtle of Dublin the 10. of June, 1642.

Ormond Oſſory. Roſcomon. Ad. Loftus. I. Templei
Tho. Rotherham. Fra. Willoughby. Tho. Lucas.
Ia. Ware. Geo. Wentworth. Rob. Meredith.

God ſave the King.

Imprinted at *Dublin* by *William Bladen*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty, *Anno Dom.* 1642.

Behold!

TWO LETTERS,

THE ONE,
Written by the POPE to the (then) Prince of *Wales*, now King of *ENGLAND*:

THE OTHER,
An Answere to the said Letter, by the said Prince, now His Majesty of *ENGLAND*.

Being an Extract out of the History of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; Written in French by *Andrew du Chesne*, Geographer to the K. of *France*, (*lib.* 22. *fol.* 1162. Printed at *Paris* Cum Privilegio) and now Translated into English.

Printed in the yeare of Discoveries 1642.

The Popes Letter,

MOſt noble Prince, Salvation and light of the divine grace: Foraſmuch as great *Brittaine*, hath alwayes been fruitfull in Vertues, and in men of great worth, having filled the one, & th: other world with the glory of her renown; She doth alſo very often draw the thoughts of the holy Apoſtolicall Chaire, to the conſideration of her praiſes. And indeed the Church was but then in her Infaucie, when the King of Kings did chooſe her for his inheritance, and ſo affectionately, that we beleeve, the Roman Eagles have hardly out-paſſed the Banner of the Croſſe. Beſides that many of her Kings inſtructed in the knowledge of the true ſalvation, have preferred the Croſſe before the Royall *Scepter*; and the Diſcipline of Religion before Covetouſneſſe, leaving examples of Piety to other Nations, and to the ages yet to come. So that having merited the Principalities and firſt places of bleſſedneſſe in Heaven, they have obtained on Earth the Tryumphant ornaments of true holyneſſe. And although now the ſtate of the Engliſh Church is altered, we ſee nevertheleſſe the Court of Great *Brittaine* adorned and furniſhed with Morall Vertues, which might ſerve, to ſupport the Charity that we beare unto her, and be an Ornament to the name of Chriſtianity, if withall ſhe could have for her defence and protection the Orthodox and Catholique truth. Therfore by how much the more the Glory of your moſt noble Father, and the apprehenſion of your Royall inclination, delights us, with ſo much more zeal we deſir that the gates of the Kingdome of Heaven might be opened

TRes-Noble *Prince, ſalut & lumiere de la grace divine: Comme ainſi ſoit que la grand'* Bretagne *ait touſiours eſté abondante en vertus, & en perſonnages de grand merite, & ait remply l'vn & l'autre monde de la gloire de ſa renomme, elle atttire auſſi tres-ſouuentes penſees du Saint Siege Apoſtolique à la conſideration de ſes loüanges. Et de fait l'Egliſe ne faiſoit encore que naiſtre, quand le Roy des Roys la voulut choiſir pour ſon heritage, & ſi affectionnement, qu'on tient qu'à peine les Aigles Romoins y ont pluſtoſt paſſé que l'eſtendart de la Croix. Ioint que pluſieurs de ſes Roys inſtruits en la cognoiſſance du vray ſalut, ont preferé la Croix au Sceptre Royal, & la diſcipline de la Religion à la conuotiſe: laiſſants des exemples de pieté aux nations eſtrangeres, & aux ſiecles futurs. Si bi en qu'ayans merité dans le Ciel les Principautez, & preeminences de la Beatitudene, ils ont obtenu en terre des ornaments triomphaux de vraye Saincteté. Et ores qu'auiourd huy l'Eſtat de l'Egliſe Anglicane ſoit alteré, nous voyons neant, moins la Court de la grand* BRETAGNE *eſtre ornee & munie de vertus Morales, qui ſerviroient de conſolation à la charité que nous luy portons & d'ornement au nom Chreſtien, ſi conioinct ement elle pouuoit auoir pour ſa defence & protection la verité orthodoxe & vniuerſelle. C'eſt pourquoy d'autant plus que la Gloire de voſtre Sereniſſime Pere, & le reſſentiment de voſtre Royal naturel, nous delectent, de tant plus grande ardeur requerons-nos que les portes du Roiaume Celeſte vous ſoyent*

pened unto you, and that you might purchase to your selfe the love of the universall Church. Moreover it being certain that *Gregory* the great of most blessed memory, hath introduced to the English people, and taught to their Kings the law of the Gospell, and the respect of Apostolicall authority: We, as inferiour to him, in holinesse and vertue, but equall in name and degree of dignity, it is very reasonable that we following his blessed footsteps, should indevour the salvation of those Provinces, especially at this time, when your design (Most noble Prince) elevates us to the hope of an extraordinary advantage: Therfore, as you have directed your journey to *Spaine*, towards the Catholique King, with desire to allie your selfe to the house of *Austria*, We do much commend your designe, and indeed do testifie openly in this present businesse, that you are he that takes the principall care of our Prelacy. For seeing that you desire to take in Marriage a Daughter of *Spaine*: from thence we may easily conjecture that the ancient seeds of Christian piety, which have so happily flourished in the hearts of the Kings of great *Brittaine*, may (*God* prospering them) revive againe in your soule: And indeed it is not to be believed that the same man should love such an alliance, that hates the Catholique Religion, and should take delight to Oppresse the holy Chaire. To that purpose we have commanded to make continually most humble Prayers to the Father of lights, that he would be pleased to put you as a faire Flower of the Christianisme, and the only hope of great *Brittaine*, in possession of that most noble heritage, that your Ancestors have purchased for you, to defend the authority of the Soveraigne High Priest; and to fight against the Monsters of Heresie. Remember the dayes of old, inquire of your Fathers, and they will tell you the way that leads to heaven; and what way the temporall Princes have taken to attaine to the everlasting King-

ouuertes, & que vous vous acquerriez l'amour de l'Eglise Vniverselle. D'ailleurs, estant vray que Gregoire le grand de tres-sainte memoire a introduit aux peuples d'Angleterre, & enseigné a leurs Rois la Loy de l'Euangile, & le respect de l'auctorité Apostolique: Nous comme inferieurs, a luy en saintetè & vertu, & pareils en nom & degrè de dignitè, il est bien raisonnable, que suiuants ses Saints vestiges nous procurions le salut de ces Provinces, nommèment aujourd'huy que vostre heureux dessein (tres noble Prince) nous esleue à l'esperance d'vn bon-heur extraordinaire. Partant, comme vous vous estes acheminé el Espagne vers la personne du Roy Catholique, auec desir de vous allier à la Maison d'Austriche, Nous auons bien voulu loüer vostre dessein, voire mesme te tesmoigner ouuertement en l'affaire qui se presente, que vous estes celuy que regarde le principal soin de nostre Prelature. Car ainsi estant que vous desirez prendre en mariage vne Fille d'Espagne, de là pouuons-nous aisement coniecturer, que ces anciennes semences de la Pieté Chrestienne, lesquelles ont si heureusement fleury dans les cœurs des Rois de la grand' Bretagne, peuvent (Dieu leur donnant accroissement) reuerdir en vostre ame. Et de fait il ne seroit pas croyable que celuy-là aimast vne telle alliance, lequel hayroit la Religion Catholique, & se plairoit à opprimer le Saint Siege. Nous auons ensuite de ce commandé de faire continuellement de tres-humbles prieres au Pere des lumieres, à ce qu'il luy plaise de vous mettre comme vne belle fleur du Christianisme, & vnique esperance de la grand' Bretagne, en possession de ce tres noble heritage, que vos ancestres vous ont acquis, à deffendre l'auctorité du souuerain Pontife, & à combattre les monstres de l'heresie. Souuenez-vous des iours anciens, enquerez-vous de vos Peres, & ils vous diront par quelle voye l'on va au Ciel, & quel chemin ont tenu les Princes temporels pour paruenir au Royau-

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Kingdome. Behold the Gates of Heaven opened, the most holy Kings of *England*, who came from *England* to *Rome* accompanied with Angels, did come to honour and do hommage to the Lord of Lords, and to the Prince of the Apostles in the Apostolicall Chaire: their actions and their examples being as so many voyces of *God*, speaking and exhorting you to follow the course of the lives of those to whose Empire you shall one day attaine.

Is it possible that you can suffer that the Heritiques should hold them for impious, and condemne those that the Faith of the Church testifies to reigne in the Heavens with *Jesus Christ*, and have Command and authority upon all Principalities and Empires of the earth? Behold how they tender you the hand of this truly happy inheritance, to conduct you safe and sound at the Court of the Catholique King, and that desire to bring you back again into the *lap of the Roman Church*: Beseeching with unspeakable sighs and groanes, the *God* of all mercy for your salvation, & do tender you the arms of the Apostolicall Charitie, to imbrace you with all Christian affection; You, that are her desired Sonne, in shewing you the happy hope of the Kingdome of Heaven. And indeed you cannot give a greater consolation to all the people of the Christian Estates, than to put the *Prince of the Apostles in possession of your most noble Island*, whose authority hath been held so long in the Kingdome of great *Brittaine*, for the defence of Kingdomes, and for a divine Oracle; which will easily arrive, and that without difficulty, if you open your heart to the Lord that knocks, upon which depends all the happinesse of that Kingdome.

It is of our great Charity that we cherish the praises of the Royall name; and that which makes us desire that you and your Royall Father might be stiled with the names of Deliverers, and Restorers of the ancient

me eternel. Voyez les portes du Ciel ouuertes, ces trez-Saincts Roys d' Angleterre, qui partans d' Angleterre pour venir à Rome *accompaguez des Anges sont venus honorer & faire hommage au Seigneur des Seigneurs, & au Prince des Apostres en la Chaire Apostolique. Leurs œuures & leurs exemples sont autant de voix de Dieu qui parlent, & qui vous exhortent à ce qu' ayez à suiure la facon de viure de ceux, à l' Empire desquels vous paruiendrez vn iour.*

Est-il possibile que vous puissiez souffrir, que les Heretiques tiennent pour impies, & condamnent ceux que la foy de l' Eglise te smoigne regner dans le Ciel auec Iesus-Christ, & auoir commandement & authorité sur toutes les Principautez & Empires de la terre? Voilà qu' ils vous tendent la main de ceste bien-heureuse Patrie, pour vous conduire sain & sauf à la Cour du Roy Catholique, & qui desirent vous ramener au giron de l' Eglise Romaine: laquelle supplians auec gemissements inenarrables le Dieu de toute Misericorde pour vostre salut, vous tend les bras de la Charite Apostolique pour vous embrasser auec toute affection Chrestienne, vous qui estes son desiré fils, en vous monstrant l' esperance bienheureuse du Royaume des Cieux. Pour vray vous ne pourrez donner plus grande consolation à tous les Peuples de l' Estat Chrestien, que de mettre en possession de vostre tres-noble Iste le Prince des Apostres, l' Authorite duquel a este tenuë si long-temps en vostre Royaume de la grand' Bretagne pour la defense des Royaumes, & pour oracle de la Divinite. Ce qui arriuera sans difficulte, si vous ouurez vostre cœur au Seigneur qui frappe, en quoi gist toute bon-heur de ce Royaume.

C'est de ceste si grande charité, que nous fauorisons les loüanges du nom Royal & qui nous fait desirer que vous & vostre Serinissime pere soyez qualifiez du nom de Liberateurs & Restaurateurs de l' ancienne & pa-

ancient and paternall Religion of Great *Britaine*, which we hope for, truſting in the goodneſſe of God, in whoſe hands are the hearts of Kings, and who cauſeth the people of the Earth to receive healing, to whom we will alwaies labour, with all our power, to render you gracious and favourable; In the interim take notice by theſe Letters of the care of our Charity, which is none other than procure your happineſſe; and it will never grieve us to have written them, if the reading of them ſtir but the leaſt ſparke of the Catholique Faith, in the heart of ſo great a Prince, who we wiſh to be filled with long continuance of joy, and flouriſhing in the glory of all vertues.

ternelle Religion de la grand' Bretagne. Ce que nous eſperons, nous confians en la bonté de Dieu es mains duquel ſont les cœurs des Rois, & qui fait que les Peuples de la terre puiſſent recevoir guariſon, lequell nous taſcherons touſiours de tout noſtre pouuoir vous rendre propice & fauorable. Cependant recognoiſſez en ces Lettres le ſoinde noſtre charité, qui n'eſt autre choſe que pour procurer voſtre bonheur: & iamais il ne nous ſera mal de les auoir eſcrites, ſi la lecture d' icelles vient au moins à exciter quelque petite eſtincelle de la Foy Catholique dans le cœur d'vn ſi grand Prince, lequel nous deſirons eſtre comblé d'vne ioye de longue duree, & floriſſant en la gloire de toutes vertus.

Given at Rome *in the Pallace of St.* Peter, *the* 20. *of* Aprill, 1623. *in the Third yeare of our Popedome.*

Donné à Rome au Palais de Saint Piere le xx. iourd' Aurill 1623. l'an troiſieſme de noſtre pontificat.

Pope *Gregory* the 15th having writ the foregoing LETTER to the Prince of *WALES*, it was preſented to him by the Nuncio of his Holineſſe in *Spaine*, he being accompanied with the Italian Lords, that then were in the Court.

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The Prince of *Wales* having received this LETTER, made this following Answer, which was after published.

MOST *Holy Father*, I received the dispatch from your Holinesse with great content, & with that respect which the pietie and care wherewith your Holynesse writes, doth require: It was an unspeakable pleasure to me to reade the generous exploits of the Kings my Predecessours, in whose memory, posterity hath not given those praises and Elogies of honour, as were due to them: I do believe that your Holinesse hath set their examples before my eyes, to th'end that I might imitate them in all my actions, for in truth they have often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation of the Holy Chaire; And the courage with which they have assaulted the enemies of the crosse of Jesus Christ, hath not been lesse, than the care and thought which I have, to the end that the peace and intelligence which hath hitherto bin wanting in Christendome, might be bound with a true and strong concord, for as the common enemie of the peace, watcheth alwaies to put hatred and dissention amongst Christian Princes, so *I* beleeve that the glory of God requires that we should indeavour to unite them; And I do not esteeme it a greater honour to be discended from so great Princes, then to imitate them in the zeale of their pietie, in which it helpes me very much to have knowne the minde and will, of our thrice honoured Lord and Father, and the holy intentions of his Catholike Majestie to give a happie concurrence to so laudable a designe, for it grieves him extreamly to see the great evills that grow from the devision of Christian Princes, which the wisdome of your Holinesse

Le Prince de *Galles* ayant receu cel LETTRES, il fist la Responce suivante, quy fut publiee vn peu apres.

TRes-Saint Pere, *I'ay receu la Depesche de vostre Saincteté auec vn grand contentement dans le respect que demandent la Pieté & la Bienueillance, auec lesquelles vostre Saincteté l'a escrite. Ce quin'a este vn plaisir indicible de lire les exploits genereux des Roys mes Predecesseurs, à la memoire desquels la posterité n'a point donné les eloges d'honneur qui leur sont deubs. Ie veux croire que vostre Saincteté a mis leur exemple deuant mes yeux, afin que ie les imitasse en toutes mes actions. Car à la verité ils ont exposé souuent leur Estat & leurs vies pour l'exaltation du Saint Siege. De sorte que le courage, auec lequel ils ont assailly les ennemis de la Croix de Iesus-Christ, n'a pas este moindre que le soucy & la pensee que i'ay, afin que la Paix & l'Intelligence, qui ont manqué iusques à present dans la Chrestienté soient estraintes d'vn lien d'vne veritable concorde. Car de mesme que l'ennemy commun de la Paix veille touſiours pour mettre la hayne & dissension parmy les Princes Chrestiens, aussi ie croy que la gloire de Dieu demande qu'on tasche de les vnir. Et ie n'estime pas que i'aye vn plus grand honneur d'estre descendu de si grands Princes, que de les imiter dans le zele de leur Pieté. En quoy il me sert grandement d'auoir reconnu la volonté de vostre tres-honoré Seigneur & pere, & des saintes intentions de sa Majestie Catholique, pour faire reussir heureusement ce loüable dessein, parce qu'elle a vn extreme regret de voir les grands malheurs qui naissent de la division des Princes Chrestiens. Ce que la prudence de vostre Saincteté a preueu, lors qu'elle a iu-*

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lineſſe foreſaw, when it judged the Mariage which you pleaſed to deſigne, betweene the *Infanta* of *Spaine* and my ſelfe, to be neceſſary to procure ſo great a good, for 'tis very certaine, that *I* ſhall never be ſo extreamly affectionate to any thing in the world, as to endeavour allyance with a *Prince* that hath the ſame apprehenſion of the true Religion with my ſelfe: Therefore I intreate your Holyneſſe to believe, that I have been alwaies very far from incouraging Novelties, or to be a part of any Faction againſt the Catholike, Apoſtolike Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have ſought all occaſions to take away the ſuſpition that might reſt upon me, and that I will imploy my ſelfe for the time to come, to have but one Religion and one faith, ſeeing that we all beleeve in one Jeſus Chriſt. Having reſolved in my ſelfe, to ſpare nothing that I have in the world, and to ſuffer all manner of diſcommodities, even to the hazarding of my eſtate and life, for a thing ſo pleaſing unto God: It reſts only that I thank your Holyneſſe, that you have bin pleaſed to afford me the leave, and I pray God to give you a bleſſed health and his glory, after ſo much paines which your Holyneſſe takes in his Church. Signed,

ge que le mariage qu' il luy plaiſt deſſigner entre l' Infante d' Eſpagne & moy, eſt neceſſaire pour procurer vn ſi grand bien, qu'il eſt tout certain, que ie ne me porteray iamais ſi paſſionement à choſe de monde, qu' à la recherche de l' allyance d' vn Prince, qui aurale meſme ſentiment de la vraye Religion auec moy. C'eſt pourquoy ie prie voſtre Saincteté de croire, que i' ay touſiours eſté fort eſloigné d' aduantager les nouueautez, ni d' eſtre partiſan d' aucune faction contre la Religion Catholique Apoſtolique Romaine: mais au contraire, que i' ay recherché les occaſions, afin que le ſoupçon qui peut tomber ſur moy ſoit entierement oſté, & que ie m' employe de tout mon reſte pour n' auoir qu' vne Religion, & qu' vne Foy, puis que nous croyons tous enſemble en Ieſus-Chriſt. Ayant reſolu de ne m' eſpargner point en choſe du monde, & de ſouffrir toutes ſortes d' incommoditez, meſme de hazarder mon Eſtat & ma vie, pour vne occaſion ſi agreable à Dieu. Il reſte ſeulement que ie remercie voſtre Saincteté de la permiſſion qu' il luy a plu de m' accorder, & que ie prie Dieu qu' il luy donne vne heureuſe ſanté, & ſa gloire, apres tant de trauaux que voſtre Saincteté prend dans ſon Egliſe.

Signe,

CHARLES STVVARD.

CHARLES STVVARD.

Theſe two Letters are Printed (as is aforeſaid) in the French Hiſtory of *England*, &c. and in the two and twentieth Booke, (and 1162. fol.) you may find the ſame: which Booke was alſo twice Printed in *Paris Cum Privilegio*.

FINIS.

A DECLARATION Of the Affections, Intentions and Resolutions of our Brethren in *Scotland* for the Peace and Safety of both KINGDOMES.

Whereby,

The Reader may observe how the present *Condition of this Kingdome runs Paralell with theirs then.*

God grant us now the like Courage, Affections and Resolutions, Not to betray our *King* and *Parliament*, And therein, Our Religion, *Lawes, Liberties, Estates, Lives*, and the whole Kingdome,

Vnder

A Blinde and False Pretence of Standing for the King, and so to betray all to the will of our perfidious Enemies.

First printed in *Scotland*, and now reprinted at *London* for *R. Harford* in *Queenes-Head* Alley. *June* 20th, 1642.

A Declaration of the Affections and Resolutions of the Kingdome of SCOTLAND, for the Peace and Safety of both Kingdomes.

THE best endeavours and greatest works wherein the good hand and *providence* of *God* have been most evident and sensible, and the hearts and intentions of men called to be the instruments, most *pious* and *sincere*. Though they found approbation with the *wiser sort*, and such as are given to *observation*; yet they have ever been subject to be misconstrued by blind *suspition*, to be reproved by cavelling censure, which maketh place for it selfe to enter where it findeth none, and to be condemned of the ignorant, and of such as are at ease; but most of all of the *malicious*, who cannot be pleased even when God is best pleased; and when men seeke to approve themselves to every ones Conscience, but in their hearts wish rather *that the Temple should not be built, Religion never reformed, and they themselves* Issachar *like, couch between the two burthens*, then that they should be in their worldly projects or possessions opposed or troubled: The *deliverance* of the people of *God* of old from the Ægyptian *servitude*; The *redemption* of the Kirk by the Son of God, and the planting of Christian Religion by his *servants*, and the vindication of Religion from Romish Superstition and Tyranny, which are the greatest and most *wonderfull works* of *God*, have been most bitterly calumniated, and spitefully spurned against by the *wicked*.

The nature and quality of this *good and great worke*, wherein the Lord hath honoured us to be *actors*, and the experience which we have found of continuall opposition since the beginning, may teach us, if we be not *as the Horse and Mule which have no understanding*, that we are to expect the gainsaying of sinners, and that nothing can be hatched in Hell by Satan, or prompted by his Supposts on earth, which will not be produced to make us and the Cause of God which we maintaine odious to all men, but most of all to our Neighbours and dearest Brethren. When we shall now enter into *England*, it will be laid to our charge that we mind nothing but Invasion, and that no lesse hath been intended by us from the beginning, then under the pretext of seeking our Religion and Liberties to enrich our selves with their *possessions* and *goods*: But our peaceable carriage many yeares past before the time of those late *troubles*, our *Informations*, *Declarations*, and *Remonstrances* published to the world, wherein we have cursed all Nationall Invasion, and our willingnesse when we were in Armes to lay them downe upon the small hopes of enjoying our Religion and Liberties, and our forbearing now, by way of repriſall, to satisfie our selves upon the Ships and Goods of our deare Brethren of *England*, for those Ships and Goods of ours that have been taken by the Kings Ships, which possibly we might have been able to doe, had not Justice forbidden us to take from them, whom we are assured, neither wish us *harme*, nor have done us *wrong*, will be conceived by the *wise* and well affected to be more plaine and sure evidences of our meaning then all that *malice* can devise, or *calumnie* can expresse against us.

Neither have any new emergents altered, but rather confirmed our former *resolutions*: For although both before and since the late Pacification, we have been highly injured by some Papists and Prelates, and their adherents there, who have been, and are still seeking no lesse, then that we should no more be a Kirk or Nation, and therefore themselves cannot thinke but we must account of them as *Gods* enemies and ours: Yet above all the *favours* we have received from the good people and body of the Kingdome of *England*, One there is which hath highly honoured them before the world, and endeared them unto us more then before, which shall never be forgotten by us, and we hope shall be thankfully remembred by our Children, and Childrens Children after us to all *generations*; That when upon mis-information the Councell of *England* had concluded to raise Force against us, when the Parliament of *Ireland* had offered their Persons and Estates for supply against us; when all *plots* and *policies* were set on worke, and Publicke *Declarations* by Authority were made, and the *Peeres* assembled called for this very end, when we had been traduced, and proclaimed as Traytors and Rebels at

every Parish Kirk, yet so *wise*, so *grave*, so *just* was that High Court of *Parliament* (to their ever lasting *honour* be it remembred), that no *threatenings* nor *feares* no *promises* nor *hopes*, no *fierceneſſe* nor cunningly deviſed *ſuggeſtion* could move them to diſcerne a warre, or grant any Subſidie for a warre against us, but rather by their *ſpeeches*, *complaints* and *grievances* paralell to ours, did juſtifie the Cauſe (ſo much as in them was) which we defend.

This rich and recent *favour* doth ſo bind our hearts, that were our *power* never ſo great, we ſhould judge our ſelves the unworthieſt of all men, and could looke for no leſſe then *vengeance* from the *righteous God*, if we ſhould move *hand* or *foot* againſt that Nation ſo comfortably to us repreſented in that *honourable meeting*. In this our *thankfull acknowledgement*, we deſire that the City of *London* may have their owne large ſhare as they well deſerve by the noble profeſſion and proofs they have given of their conſtant affection to Religion, and the *peace* of both Kingdomes, notwithſtanding the continuall aſſaults of the miſleaders of the King againſt them, alwayes rendring them *ſeditious* in his eares. And if this which doth ſo convince us ſhall not be *thought ſufficient* to *ſatisfie* all the good people of *England*, We now before *God* and the world make offer in generall, and we make offer to ſo many of them, as ſhall require it in particular, of the *ſtrongeſt* and moſt *inviolable bond* of our *ſolemne Oath* and *religious atteſtation of the great Name of GOD, who is our feare and dread, and from whom we hope for a bleſſing upon our expedition, that we intend no enmity or rapine, and ſhall take no mans goods, nor ingage our ſelves in bloud by fighting, unleſſe we be forced unto it*, which we may looke for from the Papiſts and Prelates, and others of that Faction: But that any ſuch thing ſhall come from godly men, or good Patrons, who love the *truth of Religion*, or the Kings *honour*, and their owne *liberty*, both the rule of *Charity* (which entertaineth no ſuſpition, where there is no evill deſerving) and the rule of *wiſedome* (which teacheth that both Nations muſt now *ſtand* or *fall* together) doe forbid us to apprehend.

All the deſigne of both Kingdomes is for the *truth of Religion*, and for the *juſt liberty* of the Subject, and all the deviſes and doings of the enemy are for the oppreſſing of both, that our Religion may be turned into Superſtition and Atheiſme, and our *liberty* into baſe *ſervitude* and *bondage*. To bring this to paſſe, they have certainly conceived that the blocking up of this Kingdome by Sea and Land, would prove a powerfull and infallible meanes: For, for either within a very ſhort time ſhall we through want of *trade*, and ſpoyling of our goods be brought to ſuch extreame *poverty* and *confuſion*, that we ſhall miſerably deſire the *conditions* which we now deſpiſe, and decline, and be forced to embrace their *will* for a Law, both in Kirk and policie, which will be a preſident for the like miſery in *England*, who timeouſly foreſeeing it may be taught by their and our danger to be more *wiſe*, or upon the other part, we ſhall by this Invaſion be conſtrained furiouſly and without *Order* to breake into *England*, which we beleeve is the moſt earneſt deſire of our common *enemies*, becauſe a more ſpeedy execution of their *deſigne*; for we doubt not but upon our comming clamours will be raiſed, Poſts ſent, and Proclamations made through the Kingdome, to ſlander our *pious* and *juſt intentions* (as if this had been our meaning from the beginning) to ſtir up all the Engliſh againſt us, that once being entred in bloud, they may with their owne Swords extirpate their owne Religion, lay a preſent *foundation* with their owne hands for building of *Rome* in the midſt of them, and be made the Actors of their owne and our *ſlavery* to continue for ever.

But in this admirable *opportunity* of *vindication* of *true Religion* and *juſt liberty*, if *divine providence* be looked upon with a *reverend eye*, and *men fearing God*, and loving the Kings *honour*, and *peace* of both Kingdomes, ſhall walke worthy of their profeſſion, although the enemies have obtained ſo much of their deſires, as by cords of their owne twiſting, to draw us into *England*; yet may their maine deſigne be diſappointed, the Rope which they have made brought upon their owne necks, and their wiſedome turned to *fooliſhneſſe*, which we have reaſon to hope for, from that ſupreme *wiſedome* and *power*, which hath in all the proceedings of this worke turned their deviſes upon their owne pates that plotted them.

In our *Informations*, *Remonſtrances*, and the true repreſentation of our Proceedings ſince the laſt *Pacification*, we have ſo far expreſſed the wrongs which we have ſuſtained, and the diſtreſſes which we ſuffer, as may make manifeſt our preſſing neceſſity to take ſome other courſe for our preſent reliefe, then ſuch *petitions*, *ſupplications* and *commiſſions*, as we have uſed before with leſſe ſucceſſe then could be expected of a Kingdome from their native King. Before we ſtirred ſo much as with a *Petition*, we endured for many yeares not onely the continuall oppoſition of the *truth*, and power of Religion by Prelates and Papiſts, but alſo the violation of all our *liberties*, and almoſt the totall ſubverſion of our

Religion,

Religion, which was our comfort in the ſight of God, and the glory of this Nation in the ſight of other Churches, who by the teſtimony of their Divines made our Reformation the meaſure of their wiſhes, and would have redeemed it with their greateſt worldly loſſes, when groſſe Popery was ſolemnly obtruded upon us in the Booke of Cannons and Common Prayer, without conſent or knowledge of the Churches, and the plot of the Prelates and Papiſts wholly diſcovered how to ſettle it in both Nations. We added to our former ſufferings no other Armes but *Prayers* and *Teares* unto *God*, and Petitions to our King, which were utterly rejected; the Books and corruptions againſt which we petitioned highly exalted, and by the inſolent adviſe of thoſe who governe now his Counſels, labour to eſtabliſh their owne ill acquired greatneſſe upon our oppreſſion, and the ruines of our Religion and Liberties, we were forbidden to inſiſt under the paine of high Treaſon.

When we found our ſelves thus oppoſed and borne downe, ſtill inſiſting in our humble deſires, we ſolemnely renewed our ſolemne and Nationall Oath and Covenant for preſerving of our Religion and Liberties, and of his Majeſties Authority, knowing the violation of that Oath to be the guiltineſſe which had procured our woes, and that our Repentance and turning to *God* were the meanes by his bleſſing for a good ſucceſſe, when contrary to our deſerving and expectation his Majeſty was moved by wicked Counſell to march towards us with an Army, we chooſed rather to neglect ſuch courſes as might ſerve for our humane ſafety, then to fall in ſeeming diſobedience to our King, or to give the ſmalleſt diſtaſte to our Brethren in *England*, and therefore diſbanded our Forces, delivered all holds which were craved in teſtimony of our obedience, and ſo farre complyed with his Majeſties pleaſure, that notwithſtanding the determination of our lawfull former Aſſembly, called by his Majeſty, we were contented that a new free Aſſembly and Parliament ſhould be appointed, where all things both concerning our Religion and Liberties might againe be conſidered and eſtabliſhed. When matters Eccleſiaſticall were determined in the Aſſembly according to the Conſtitutions of the Church in the preſence, and with the conſent of his Majeſties Commiſſioner, and the Parliament was convened for perfecting the warre, although we walked therein ſo warily, that no juſt provocation was given to his Majeſty; yet contrary to the Lawes and Cuſtomes of this Kingdome, the Parliament ſo certainly promiſed, when his Majeſty was free of thoſe bad Counſellors, was (being againe in their power) by their adviſe prorogued, which to ſhew our invincible *obedience* we were content to ſuffer, and did ſend up our Commiſſioners to *London* to render the reaſons of our demands. When our Commiſſioners and Petitions of the Parliament, called by his Majeſty, were ſo farre rejected, that they were never ſeen or heard.

We ſend up our Commiſſioners againe with our *Propoſitions*, which contained nothing but what was neceſſary for the *peace* and *good* of the Kingdome, and was granted to us before under his Majeſties hand; yet could they finde no anſwer at all which will be wondred at, and hardly beleeved by ſo many as are ſtrangers at Court, and know not the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lievtenant of *Ireland*, with the Aſſiſtance of the too too powerfull Faction of the Hiſpanioliz'd Papiſts labour to ſhew their zeale for his Majeſties greatneſſe, by oppreſſing the juſt liberties of the free Subjects, and the reformed Religion in all the three Kingdomes: But in place of the gracious anſwer which we expected, our Commiſſioners were reſtrained, and one of the Noble-men impriſoned, Garriſons of ſtrangers ſet over our heads in an inſolent and barbarous way, exerciſing their cruelty even againſt Women and Children, our Ships and goods taken and ſunke, and the Owners ſtripe naked, and more inhumanely uſed at the Commandement of abuſed Authority, by the Subjects of our owne King, then by Turkes and Infidels, and great Armies prepared againſt us with a terrible Commiſſion to ſubdue and deſtroy our *ſelves*, our Religion, Liberties, Lawes and all.

In this extremity for us to ſend new Commiſſioners and Petitions were againſt ſence and experience, thoſe that governe the Kings Counſels, being farre from any inclination or intention to ſatisfie the juſt deſires and grievances of the Subjects, as they have made manifeſt by breaking up of the Parliament in both Kingdomes (though we know them to be often countervoted by many of that Honourable Board, more candid and peaceably minded) To ſit ſtill in ſenſeleſſneſſe and ſecurity, waiting for our owne deſtruction at the diſcretion of our mercileſſe enemies (which were it not at this time joyned with the cauſe of *God*, would move us the leſſe) is not onely againſt Religion but Nature, teaching and commanding us to ſtudy our owne preſervation. To endure continuall *threatenings*, and ſo great *hoſtility* and *invaſion* from yeare to yeare, which is the profeſſed policy of our enemies is impoſſible, and when we have examined our owne ſtrength, more then we are able to beare: We have therefore after much agitation and debating with and amongſt our ſelves, reſolved to have our Proceedings,

ceedings, which have beene canvaſed by ſo many, and are brought to ſome point of *determination* in our owne *Parliament*, to be better knowne to the Kings Majeſty, and the world, and eſpecially to the Kingdome of *England*, that againſt all falſe and artificiall Relations they being nakedly ſeene to bee what they are, we may obtaine a better grounded and more durable *peace* for the enjoying of our own Religion and Lawes, and as we deſire the unworthy Authours of our troubles, who have come out from our ſelves to be tryed at home, and *Juſtice* to be done upon them, according to our owne Laws, ſo ſhall we preſſe no further proceſſe againſt *Canterbury*, the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the reſt of thoſe pernicious Counſellours in *England* the Authours of all the miſeries of both Kingdomes, then what their owne Parliament ſhall diſcerne to be their juſt deſerving.

When we looke backe upon this worke of *Reformation* from the beginning, and perceive the impreſſions of the providence of God in it, we are forced in the midſt of all our *difficulties* and *diſtreſſes* to bleſſe God for his fatherly care and free love to his Church and Kingdome, and to take courage and ſpirit to proceed in *patience* and *perſeverance* whither he ſhall goe before us, and lead us on. When the Prelates were growne by their rents and lordly dignities, by their power over all ſorts of his Majeſties Subjects, Miniſters and others, by their places in Parliament, Councell, Colledge of Juſtice, Exchequer and High-commiſſion, to an abſolute Dominion, and Greatneſſe, and ſetting the one foot upon the Church, and the other upon the State, were become intollerably inſolent, even then did the worke begin, and this was the *Lords opportunity*. The beginnings were ſmall, and promiſed no great thing, but have been ſo ſeconded and continually followed by *divine providence*, preſſing us from ſtep to ſtep, that the neceſſity was invincible and could not be reſiſted. It cannot be expreſſed what motions filled the heart, what *teares* were powred forth from the *eyes*, and what *cryes* came from the *mouthes* of many thouſands in this Land at that time, from the ſence of the Love and Power of *God*, raiſing them as from the *dead*, and giving them hopes after ſo great a deluge and vaſtation to ſee a new world, wherein Religion and Righteouſneſſe ſhould dwell. When we were many times at a paule, and knew not well what to doe, the *feares*, the *furies*, the *peeviſhneſſe* and the plots of our demeaned adverſaries opened a way unto us, and taught us how to proceed, and what they deviſed to ruine us ſerved moſt againſt themſelves, and for raiſing and promoting the worke, *O providence to be adored!* Although neither Counſell nor Seſſion, nor any other judicature hath bin all this time ſitting, and there have bin meetings of many thouſands at ſome times, yet have they bin kept without *tumult* or *trouble*, and without exceſſe or ryot in better order and greater quietneſſe, then in the moſt *peaceable times* have bin found in this Land.

When we were content at the *pacification* to lay downe Armes, and with great loſſe to live at home in *peace*, our wicked enemies have been like the troubled Sea when it cannot reſt, whoſe *waters caſt up mire and dirt*, and will have us to doe that which it ſeemes the *Lord* hath decreed againſt them. The purity of our *intentions* farre from baſe and earthly reſpects, the bent and inclination of our *hearts* in the midſt of many dangers, the fitting of inſtruments, not onely with a deſire and diſpoſition, but with ſpirit and abilities to overcome *oppoſition*, and the conſtant peace of *heart* accompanying us in our wayes, which beareth us out againſt all accuſations and aſperſions, are to us ſtrong grounds of aſſurance that God hath *accepted* our *work*, and will not leave us: we know the Lord may uſe even wicked men in his *ſervice*, and may fill their ſailes with a faire gale of *abilities*, and carry them on with a ſtrong hand, which ſhould make us to ſearch our hearts more narrowly. But as this ought not to diſcourage his owne *faithfull ſervants*, who out of *love* to his Name intend his *honour*, walke in his *wayes*, find his *peace comforting them*, his *providence directing them*, and his *preſence bleſſing them* in their affaires. So can it not be any juſt ground of quarrelling againſt the worke of God. Yet all theſe our incouragements which have upholden our *hearts* in the midſt of many *troubles*, could not make our entry into *England* warrantable, if our peace (which we earneſtly ſeeke and follow after) could be found at home or elſewhere. Where it is to be found we muſt ſeeke after it, and no ſooner ſhall we finde it clearly ſecured to us, but by laying downe our Armes, and by the evidences of our peaceable diſpoſition, we ſhall make it manifeſt to the world, and eſpecially to the Kingdome of *England*, that we are ſeeking nothing els but *peace*, and that our taking up of Armes was not for invaſion but for defence. No man needeth to plead by *poſitive Law* for *neceſſity*. It is written in every mans *heart* by *nature*, and in all actions we find men have received it by *practiſe*, *that neceſſity is a Soveraigne*. A Law above all Lawes and ſubject to no Law, and therfore is ſaid to have no Law. Where *neceſſity commandeth*, the Laws of *nature* and Nations give their *conſent*, and all *poſitive Lawes* are *ſilent* and give place. This Law hath place, ſometimes to excuſe, ſometimes to *extenuate*, and ſometimes to

juſtifie

Juſtifie and *warrant actions* otherwiſe queſtionable: and no *greater neceſſity* can be then the *preſervation of Religion*, which is the *ſoule* of the *Country*, which is the *body* of our lives, who are the *members*, and of the *honour* of our King who is the *Head*. All theſe at this time are in a common hazard, and to preſerve and ſecure all, we know no other way under the Sun (and if any be ſo wiſe as to know it, we deſire to heare it, and ſhall be ready to follow it) but to take order with our common enemies where they may be found, and to ſeeke our aſſurance where it may be given. The queſtion is not whither we ſhall content our ſelves with our owne *poverty*, or *enrich* our ſelves in *England*? that queſtion is impious and abſurd. Neither is the queſtion, whither we ſhall *defend our ſelves* at *home*, or *invade* our *neighbours* and deareſt Brethren? this alſo were unchriſtian and unreaſonable. But this is the queſtion, whither it be *wiſedome* and *piety* to keepe our ſelves within the borders till our *throats* be cut, and our *Religion*, Lawes and Country *deſtroyed*? Or, ſhall we beſtirre our ſelves, and ſeeke our *ſafeguard*, *peace* and *liberty* in *England*, whither we ſhall *doe* or *dye*, whither we ſhall *goe* and *live*, or *abide* and *periſh*? Or more largely to expreſſe all, whither we who are not a few *private perſons*, but a whole Kingdom, ſhall lye under the burthen of ſo many *accuſations*, as ſcarcely in the worſt times have been charged againſt Chriſtians, receive the Service Book, & the whole body of Popery, imbrace the Prelates and their abjured Hierarchy, renounce our ſolemn Oath and Covenant, ſo many times ſworn by us, looſe all our labour and pains in this cauſe, and forget our former ſlavery and vomited deſires of redemption at the deareſt rate, tickle the minds of our enemies with joy, and ſtrengthen their hands with violence, and fill the hearts of our friends with *ſorrow*, and their faces with *ſhame*, becauſe of us: *deſert* and *diſhonour* the Son of God, whoſe cauſe we have undertaken, whoſe *honour* we have *diſplayed*, and whoſe *truth* and power hath bin this time paſt more comfortable to us, then all the *peace and proſperity* of the world could have rendered, and draw upon our ſelves all the *judgements* which *God* hath executed upon Apoſtates ſince the beginning, and ſhall we fold our hands and wait for the perfect ſlavery of our ſelves and our Poſterity, in our *ſoules*, *bodies*, and *eſtates*, and (which is all one) fooliſhly to ſtand to our *defence* where we know it is impoſſible? Or ſhall we ſeeke our reliefe in following the calling of God (for our *neceſſity* can be interpreted no leſſe) and entring by the doore, which his *providence* hath opened unto us, when all wayes are ſtopped beſide.

Our enemies at firſt did ſhroude themſelves ſo farre under the Kings Authority, that they beheved to ſtand or fall together, and that to cenſure them was treaſon againſt the King. Now we have ſhewen that a Kings Crowne is not tyed to a Prelates Mitre, and that the one may be caſt unto the ground, and the other have a greater luſtre and glory then before. Now they take themſelves to another ſtarting hole, and would have men to thinke, that to come into *England* againſt them is to come againſt *England*, and to purſue them although legally, is to invade the Kingdome where they live, as if the cutting away of an *Excreſcence* or the curing of *an Impoſthume* were the killing of the body. Let them ſecure themſelves under the ſhelter of their owne *phantaſies*, but we are not ſo undiſcerning, as like mad men to run furiouſly upon ſuch as we firſt meet with and come in our way: For although it cannot be denied but the wrongs done to us, as the breaking of the late *peace*, cryng us downe as *Rebels and Traitours*, the taking of our Ships and goods, the impriſoning of our *Commiſſioners*, the Acts of *Hoſtility* done by the *Engliſh* in our Caſtles; had they bin done by the State or Kingdome of *England*, there might have bin juſt cauſes of a Nationall quarrelling, yet ſeeing the Kingdome of *England* conveened in *Parliament* have refuſed to contribute any ſupply againſt us, have ſhewen themſelves to bee preſt with *grievances* like unto ours, and have earneſtly pleaded for redreſſe and remedy, and a Declaration made that his Majeſty out of *Parliament* will redreſſe them, which might be a cure for the grievances of particular Subjects: But Nationall grievances require the hand of the *Parliament* for their cure, for preventing wherof the *Parliament* was broken up and diſſolved. Neither doe wee quarrell with the Kingdome for the injuries which we ſuſtaine, but our quarrell is only with particular men, the enemies of both Nations: nor can they quarrell with us, for taking order with the prevalent Faction of Papiſts and Prelates, the Authours of ſo many woes to both Nations.

Let all who love Religion and their *liberty* joyne againſt the common enemies, and let them be accurſed that ſhall not ſeeke the preſervation of their Neighbour-Nation, both in Religion and Lawes, as their owne, as knowing that the ruine of one will prove the ruine of both. And knowing well (as having from their owne Councels diſcovered it) that the ruine of both was intended, and that it was ever their plot and purpoſe, that if they could not ingage our deareſt Brethren and Neighbour-Nation in a Warre for our *deſtruction*; then to give us ſome ill aſſured *peace*, which might bind our hands and hold us quiet, untill the yoake of bondage were more heavily and unremoveably laid upon

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our Brethren of *England* by the helpe of ſuch an Army as was pretended to be gathered againſt us, rooting out the godly people and active ſpirits of that Nation, and all thoſe who as good Patriots ſtand well affected to Religion, and their juſt liberties, and might be ſuſpected would dare ſtirre for the defence and maintenance of either, and thereafter eaſily find ground to breake againe with us, when they were once aſſured that we were like to ſtand alone: And all the benefit of our *peace* ſhould be to be laſt *deſtroyed*.

And as we atteſt the God of Heaven, that thoſe and no other are our *intentions*, ſo upon the ſame greateſt atteſtation doe we declare that for atchieving thoſe ends, we ſhall neither ſpare our *paines*, *fortunes* nor *lives* which we know cannot be more profitably and honourably ſpent. That we ſhall not take from our Friends and Brethren from a threed even to a ſhoe-latchet, but for our owne monies, and the juſt payment: That we come amongſt them as their Friends and Brethren, very ſenſible of their by-paſt ſufferings and preſent dangers both in Religion and Liberties, and moſt willing to doe them all the good we can, like as we certainly expect that they (from the like ſence of our hard condition and intollerable diſtreſſe which hath forced us to come from our owne Country) will joyne and concurre with us in the moſt juſt and noble wayes for obtaining their and our moſt juſt deſires. And when our owne *moneys* and meanes are ſpent, we ſhall crave nothing but upon ſufficient ſurety of payment how ſoone poſſibly it can be made, what is neceſſary for the intertainment of our Army, which we are aſſured ſo many as love Religion and the *peace* of both Kingdomes will willingly offer, as that which they know we cannot want, and in their wiſe fore-ſight will provide the way to furniſh neceſſaries, and to receive the *ſurety*. This courſe being kept by both ſides, will neither harme our Brethren (for they ſhall be ſatisfied to the laſt *farthing*) nor our ſelves, who look for a recompence from the *rich providence of God*, for whoſe ſake we have hazarded the loſſe of all things.

The eſcapes of ſome Souldiers (if any ſhall happen) we truſt ſhall not be imputed to us, who ſhall labour by all meanes to prevent them more carefully, and puniſh them more ſeverely then if done to our ſelves and in our owne Country. Our profeſſed enemies the Papiſts, Prelates with their Adherents, and the receivers of their *goods and geirs* we conceive will be more provident then to refuſe us neceſſary *ſuſtentation*, when they remember what Councell was given by them for declaring all our poſſeſſions to be *forfeited* and to be diſpoſed of to them, as well deſerving Subjects.

We ſhall demand nothing of the Kings Majeſty but the ſetling and ſecuring of the true *Religion* and *liberties* of this Kingdome according to the Conſtitutions and Acts of the late Aſſemblies and *Parliament*, and what a juſt Prince oweth by the Laws of God and the Country to his grieved Subjects, comming before him with their *humble deſires and ſupplications*. Our abode in *England* ſhall be no longer time then in their Parliament, our juſt *grievances and complaints* may be heard and redreſſed, ſufficient *aſſurance* given for the legall tryall and *puniſhment* of the Authors of their and our evils; and for reforming and enjoying their and our *Religion and Liberties* in *peace* againſt the machinations of Romiſh contrivance acted by their degenerate *Country men*. Our returning thereafter ſhall be with expedition in a peaceable and orderly way farre from all *moleſtation*, and we truſt the effect ſhall be againſt Papiſts, the extirpation of Popery, againſt Prelates, the Reformation of the Kirk, againſt Atheiſts, the flouriſhing of the Goſpell, and againſt Traitours and Fire-brands; a perfect and durable *Union and Love* betweene the two Kingdomes; which he grant who knoweth our *intentions and deſires*, and is able to bring them to paſſe. And if any more be required God will reveale it and goe before both Nations, and if God goe before us who will not follow or refuſe to put their *neck to the worke of the Lord*.

FINIS.

A DECLARATION

Of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament upon the Statute of 5 *H.*4. whereby the Commission of Array is supposed to be warranted:

Together with divers other Statutes, whereby it appeares that the said Commission is not warranted by any Act of Parliament, that it is contrary to the Laws and Customes of the Realme, destructive to the liberty and property of the Subject, contrary to the Petition of Right, and the Statute made this present Parliament.

As also his Majesties Letter to the Sherif of *Leicestershire* to execute the said Commission according to his Majesties Proclamation.

July 1. 1642.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that this Declaration be forthwith printed and published.

H. Elsynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.

LONDON,
Printed for *Edw. Husbands* and *John Frank*, 1642.

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

WHereas information hath beene given to the Lords & Cõmons assembled in Parliament that a Commission hath lately issued out under the great Seal of *England*, directed to the Earls of *Huntington & Devon*, *Henry Hastings* Esquire, and others, commanding them to array all men within the County of *Leicester*, according to their estates and abilities, and to charge them with arms at the discretion of the Commissioners, or any three of them; And to distraine all those that are able either in lands or goods to finde arms, and such as by reason of impotency are not able to serve in person to finde men at arms, according to the quantity of their lands and goods; and all such persons so arrayed and armed, to cause to be trained and exercised at the pleasure of the said Commissioners, or any three of them, and the persons so arrayed to draw to the coasts of the Sea, or elsewhere, and such as shall oppose or contradict the same Cõmission, to commit to prison, & there to detain them untill they shall be delivered by Law. And the said Lords and Commons are further informed, that together with the said Commission, a Letter under his Majesties hand was directed to the said Commissioners, declaring the legalitie of the said Commission to be grounded upon a Statute made in the 5 *H.4.* not printed, with further instructions to the said Commissioners for putting the same Commission forthwith in execution: and that divers Proclamations did issue forth endeavouring to justifie the legallity of that Commission. The tenour of which Commission, Letter, Proclamation and Statute, the said Lords and Commons have caused to be annexed hereunto.

The said Lords and Commons are much agrieved, and doe

think it ſtrange that his Majeſty being ſtill miſled by the ſuggeſtions of evill Counſellours after ſo many Declarations and ſolemne Proteſtations made to his Parliament and people, of his reſolution to rule and governe by the Lawes of the Land, and to keep and mayntaine the ſame: And after ſo many Declarations made by both Houſes of Parliament, of their loyalty and fidelity to his Majeſty, and of their faithfull endeavours for the preſervation of his Majeſties honour and ſafety, and for the welfare, peace, and happineſſe of this Realme, ſhould now be drawn to iſſue out ſuch a Commiſsion, ſo contrary to the Laws, and ſo full of danger and inconveniency to all his Majeſties Subjects, which if admitted will be a heavier yoke of bondage upon the people then that of Ship-money, or any other illegall charge which hath been taken away this Parliament. And for that it is pretended that the ſaid Commiſsion is warranted by the ſaid Act of Parliament made in the fifth yeer of King *Henry* the Fourth, The Lords and Commons have taken the ſame into conſideration, and finde that the ſaid Act of Parliament is no ground to warrant that Commiſsion or any other Commiſsion of that nature, and for the more cleere manifeſtation of the truth thereof, they have cauſed that act, as it is entred upon the Record, to be herewith printed, and to declare the reaſons of their reſolutions herein.

By the preamble of that Statute it doth appear, that the ſole end thereof was to put out ſome clauſes & words inſerted in the Commiſsion, that were grievous & dangerous for the Commiſsioners, as appears by theſe words in the beginning, *viz.* For the many forfeitures and divers other clauſes & words compriſed in the ſame, which were very grievous and hurtfull for the Commiſsioners named in the ſame Commiſsion in divers Counties of *England*, &c. and theſe words in the latter end, And that none of the ſaid Commiſsioners, their Heirs, Executors, or Tenants, by reaſon of any forfeitures or penalties, or any other things compriſed, be or hereafter be any way moleſted, grieved, endamaged, or impeached in any time to come, &c. & the clauſes that were cancelled & put out of the ſaid Commiſſion, were only ſuch as concerned the Commiſsioners, which appeares by comparing the Commiſsion corre-

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cted by the commons with the commiſsion that then was iſſued out, which is entred upon the Patent Roll, 5 *H.4. par. prima M.28 dorſo*, of which the Commons had a copy delivered unto them, and the clauſes contained in the copy delivered them, and cancelled by them were theſe, *ſcilicet, Et ad nos & conſilium noſtrum de numero hujuſmodi hominum ad arma & hominum armatorum & ſagittariorum necnon de toto facto veſtro in hac parte ſub Sigillis veſtris, vel alicujus veſtrum citra* Octab. *S.* Hillarii *proximi futur. diſtincte & aperte certificand. ſub forifſactur. omnium quæ nobis forifſacere poteritis & prout vosipſos reſpondere volueritis de damnis & periculis, ſi quæ per veſtrum defectum & negligentiam (quod abſit) eveniant.* Then in the concluſion, *Scientes pro certo quod ſi periculum vel damnum regno noſtro prædicto in partibus illis per inimicos noſtros pro defectu arraiationis & defenſionis & Ductionis hujuſmodi ex tunc (quod abſit) evenerit defectum & periculum hujuſmodi vobis & negligentiæ veſtræ volumus & debemus reputare, & pœnitus aſſignare.* And their prayer in cōcluſion was, that thereafter no cōmiſſiō of array might iſſue out otherwiſe, nor in other words thenwere contained in the ſaid copy, and that the commiſsioners, their heirs, or tenants might not be moleſted or troubled. So that it is to be obſerved, the Commons did not deſire any amendment or declaration, as to the power of the execution of the commiſsion, which ſurely did moſt concern them & the Kingdom; But touching that, they very well knew that by the Law of the Kingdom, and divers acts of parliament then in force, no ſuch power could be exerciſed over them. For the Statute of *Wincheſter* made the 13 *E.1.* then in force, did declare the certain proportion of arms every man was to have according to his eſtate in lands or goods, and the times, and how often their arms were to be viewed, and by whom, and in what manner their defaults were to be puniſhed. The Statute it ſelf followeth in theſe words, *viz.* And further it is commanded, that every man have in his houſe, harneſſe to keep the peace, after the ancient aſsize, that is to ſay, every man betwixt 15 yeeres of age, and 40 yeers ſhal be aſſeſſed and ſworn to armour according to the quantity of their lands and goods, that is to wit, from 15 l. lands, and goods 40 marks, that is to wit, an Hawberk, a Breſtplate of iron, a Sword, a Knife, and an Horſe, and from 10 l. of lands, and 20 marks of goods, a Hawberk, a Breſtplate of Iron, a ſword, and

5 H4 p. prima m. 28. dorſo.

Stat. 13 E. 1.

a Knife: and from 5 l. lands, a Doublet, a Breſtplate of Iron, a Sword and a Knife: and from 40 s. lands, and more unto 5 l. of land, a Sword, a Bow and arrows, and a Knife: and hee that hath leſſe then 40 s. yeerly ſhall be ſworne to keepe Gyſarms, Knives, and other leſſe weapons: and hee that hath leſſe then 20 marks in goods ſhall have Swords Knives, and other leſſe weapons: and all others that may, ſhall have Bows and arrows out of the Forreſt, and in the Forreſt Bows & Bolts: and that view of armour be made every yeer two times: and in all Hundreds and Franchiſes, two Conſtables ſhall be choſen to make the view of armour: and the Conſtables aforeſaid ſhal be preſent before Juſtices aſsign'd for ſuch default as they do ſee in the country about armor and of the ſuits of Towns & of Highways. And alſo ſhal preſent all ſuch as do lodge ſtrangers in uplandiſh Towns, for whom they will not anſwer. And the Juſtices ſhall preſent alſo at every parliament unto the King ſuch defaults as they have found, and the King ſhall provide remedy therin. And from henceforth let Sheriſs take good heed and Baylifs within their Franchiſes, and without, be they higher or lower, that have any Bayliwick, Forreſtry in Fee, or otherwiſe, that they ſhal follow the Cry with the Country, & after, as they are bound to keep horſes & armour ſo to do. And if there be any that do not, the defaults ſhall be preſented to the Juſtices aſſigned and after by them to the King as before is ſaid, and the King ſhall provide remedy. And the Statute made in the firſt yeer of *E.* 3. *cap.* 5, *Stat. M.* 29. which followeth in theſe words. *Item*, the King willeth that no man from henceforth ſhall be charged to arm himſelfe otherwiſe then hee was wont in the time of his Progenitours Kings of *England*, and that no man be compelled to go out of his Shire, but where neceſsity requireth and ſudden comming of ſtrange enemies into the Realme; and then it ſhall be done as hath bin uſed in times paſt for the defence of the Realme, declares the Law to the ſame effect with the former, for here it is declared, no man can be charged with armes otherwiſe then as in time of the Kings Progenitors, or compelled to goe out of his County but in caſe of actuall invaſion. And to the ſame effect is the Statute made 25 *E.* 3. *cap.* 8. which followeth in theſe words. *Item*, it is accorded and aſſented that no man ſhall be conſtrained to find men of arms,

Stat. 1. E. 3 cap. 5. ent. in the Stat. Roll. 1. E. 3. m. 29.

Stat. 25. E. 3. cap. 8. Entred in the Parliament Roll. of E. 3. n. 23.

Hob-

Hoblers or Archers, other then thoſe which hold by ſuch ſervices, if it bee not by common aſſent or grant made in Parliament, for that is contrary to the Law of the Realme.

And by another Act of Parliament made 4. *H.* 4. *Cap.* 13. the former Acts of 1. *E.* 3. and 15. *E.* 3. are all confirmed as may appeare by the ſtatute taken out of the Parliament roll it ſelfe, becauſe that the printed booke doth not fully recite it, which followeth in theſe words, *viz.* To the thrice excellent, thrice renowned, and thrice gracious Soveraigne our Lord the King, wee your poore Commons pray, that the Statute made in the firſt yeare of the raigne of the Noble King *Edward* your Grandfather, containing, that none ſhall be diſtrayned to go out of their Counties, but only for the cauſe of neceſſity of ſudden comming of ſtrange enemies into the Realme. And the Statute made in the 18. yeare of the Raigne of the ſaid Grandfather, That men of Armes, Hoblers and Archers, Choſen to go in the Kings ſervice out of England, ſhall be at the Kings wages from the day they do depart out of the Counties where they were Choſen. And alſo the Statute made in the 25. yeare of the raigne of the ſaid Grandfather, that none be Compelled to find men of Armes, Hoblers, nor Archers, other then thoſe which hold by ſuch ſervices, vnleſſe it bee by Common aſſent, and grant made in Parliament, ſhall be firmly holden and kept in all points ſafe without being broke in any manner; And that none of us the ſaid Commons be diſtrayned to go into *Wales*, or elſe where out of the Realm, Contrary to the forme of the Statutes aforeſaid. And that all the Commiſſions and Writs made contrary to the ſaid Statutes, and all the Indictments, and accuſations, obligations, and ties made by Colour of the ſaid Commiſſions or Writts with all their Dependancies and Circumſtances thereof, may be revoked, Cancelled, quaſhed and diſanulled for ever, as things made againſt the law, and that they may not bee taken for an example in time to come; And if any of your leige people bee impriſoned by force of the ſaid Indictments or accuſations, that they be preſently delivered, and the ſaid Indictments held voyd. The King Conſenteth to this law with this, that allwayes by force or colour of the ſaid ſupplication, nor of

Stat. 4 H 4. cap 13. Rot. Parliament. 4. H 4. num. 56.

any Statute therupon to be made, the lords nor any other that have lands or poſſeſsions in the Country of *Wales* or in the Marches thereof ſhall in no wiſe be excuſed of their ſervi es and devoiers due of their ſaid lands and poſſeſsions, nor of any other devoier or things whereto they or any of them bee eſpecially bound to our ſaid Lord the King, though that the ſame Lords and others have other lands and poſſeſsions within the Realm of *England*; nor that the Lords or other of what eſtate or condition ſoever they bee, that hold by Eſcuage or other ſervices due to the King any lands and poſſeſsions within the ſaid Realm, be no way excuſed to do their ſervices and Devoiers due of the ſaid lands and poſſeſsions; nor that the Lords, Knights, Eſquires, nor other perſons of what eſtate or Condition they bee, which hold and have of the grant or Confirmation of our ſaid Lord the King, lands, poſſeſsions, Fees, Annuityes, penſions, or other yearlie profitts be not excuſed to do their ſervices to our Lord the King, in ſuch manner as they are bound, becauſe of the Lands, Poſſeſsions, Fees, Annuityes, Penſions, or Profits aforeſaid. So that the Statutes before mentioned were all Confirmed by the Parliament held not full one yeare before this Statute of 5. *H.* 4. And by theſe Acts, it cleerly appeareth, that the King could not by the Law give power to impoſe Arms upon the Subjects, or to Compell them to bee drawne out of their Counties; and therefore the Commons of the Parliament of 5. *H.* 4. many whereof very probably ſerved in the inmediat Parliament before when the Statutes aforeſaid (was confirmed) knew very well that the Commiſsion of Array, then preſented unto them could not bind them that had the law, and ſtrength of ſo many Acts of Parliament to protect them. But becauſe the former Act of Parliament did provide remedy only for the perſons that were to bee Commanded, and not for the Cõmiſsioners that were to put thoſe cõmands in Execution, upon very great paines the Commons, for the indempnity of thoſe perſons who under colour of thoſe Cõmands might probably be troubled and vexed by Fines or impriſonments, thought it neceſſary to ſecure them aſwell as themſelves, and therefore prayed that the penall clauſes touching the Commiſsioners might be put out.

And

And though many Commiſſions of Array did afterwards iſſue forth in the times of *H.4. H.5.* & *H.6.* Yet did not any iſſue out agreeable in words and manner with that corrected Commiſſion, as may appeare by the Pattent Rols of thoſe times, and the very next Commiſſion that iſſued out 5. *H.4.* which was in time 6. *H.4.* and is entred upon the Pattent Roll 6. *H.4.* M. 15. *Dorſo.* did not agree either in word or matter with that of 5. *H.4.* and moſt of the Commiſſions that afterwards iſſued vary from that even in ſubſtance. And ſurely had it been conceived in thoſe times that the forme of the cõmiſſion agreed upon 5. *H.4.* and there entered had been by that Parliament enacted, they would not have iſſued out ſo many Commiſſions, eſpecially in 6. *H.4.* being the next immediate yeere, of different words and different matter, which clearely made them void by that Statute of 5. *H.4.* for the Statute doth ordaine them no Commiſſion of Array ſhould then after iſſue out otherwiſe, or in other words, then the Copy agreed upon, whereby all Commiſſions in other words or other manner iſſued would be voyd, and not warranted by that Law, had it enacted that Commiſſion, And that the Law then was, that no other perſon could be compelled to furniſh and provide Armes and Horſe, and goe out of his County otherwiſe then is declared by the afore-recited Acts of Parliament, doth not onely appeare by thoſe Statutes, but by ſeverall Acts of Parliament made after 5. *H.4.* The Statute made in the fourth and fifth yeere of *Philip* and *Mary*, *cap.* 2. repeales all former Statutes concerning the finding of Armes, and all penalties and forfeitures touching the ſame, And by that Act ſetled the proportions of Men, Horſes and Armes that every man was to finde, according to the value of their reſpective eſtates, and ſets downe the penalties and forfeitures of ſuch as ſhould diſobey, and this Law continued in force till the firſt

6. *H.4.* Roll Patt. M. 15. Dorſo.

4. & 5. *Ph.* & *M. cb.* 2.

Stat 1 Iac. cap 25. yeere of King *Iames*. But by Statute made that yeere, *Cap.* 25. the laſt mentioned Statute of 4. & 5. *Philip & Mary*, (probably becauſe of the great proportion of Armes it did impoſe) was repealed and by that repeale the former Statute of 13. *E.* 1. was againe revived, for that the Statute of 4. & 5. *Ph. & M.* that had repealed that Law was repealed, and afterwards in the Parliament, 21. *Iac. cap.* 28. the Statute of 13. *E.* 1. *cap.* 6. and of 33. *H.* 8. *cap.* 5. were both of them repealed. And then admitting the Commiſſion of Array as to finding of Armes *juxta ſtatum & facultates* to be eſtabliſhed by 5. *H.* 4. which might have ſome colour to be legall, as to that part for finding of Armes grounded upon the Statute of 13. *E.* 1. for that Statute which then was in force did enact the finding of Armes *juxta ſtatum & facultates* in manner as there is expreſſed, yet when that Statute of 13 *E.* 1. is repealed, then that Commiſſion is likewiſe repealed and become unwarrantable, now it is not probable that the Parliament of the firſt of King *Iames* would have repealed the Statute of 4. & 5. *Ph. & M.* and that of the 21. yeere of King *Iames* would repeale the Statutes of 13. *E.* 1. & 33. *H.* 8. which in a moderate manner did proportion the Armes every man was to finde in certainty, and ſuffer an Act of Parliament to continue, that did eſtabliſh a power in the King without limitation not onely to impoſe Armes but to command the perſons of the Subject at pleaſure, for ſuch is the power of the Commiſſion of Array, and they had ſhewed very little care of their own and the Subjects liberty, in the Parliament of the firſt yeere of King *Iames* to repeale the Statute of 4. & 5. *Philip & Mary*, that had repealed all former Statutes penalties and forfeitures touching finding of Armes, whereby (without queſtion) the Commiſſion of Array admitting it to be eſtabliſhed by Parliament was repealed, and

thereby

thereby to revive the power of that Commiſſion which would have ſubjected the people to farre greater bondage. And ſurely had the Commiſſion of Array beene authoriſed by Act of Parliament, whereby power is given to charge all ſorts of men without diſtinction with Armes at the diſcretion of the Commiſſioners, without limitation, and to traine and exerciſe at pleaſure without reſtraint either of time or place, It was to little purpoſe to make the Statute of 4. & 5. *Philip & Mary cap. 3.* whereby the penalty of ten daies impriſonment, or the payment of forty ſhillings, is impoſed upon ſuch as doe not appeare at Muſters being ſummoned thereunto by the Kings Commiſſioners authoriſed for that purpoſe; and the Commiſſions of Lord Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants ſo grievous to the people, and declared illegall in Parliament, had not been ſo often iſſued and ſo much preſſed upon them, if the Commiſſion of Array not much differing from it in power and not at all leſſe grievous to the ſubject, might by the warrant and authority of the lawes of the Realme have ſupplied their roome. But if all that hath been ſaid had been omitted, the illegality of this Commiſſion is ſufficiently cleered by two Statutes made in the Kings Majeſties raigne that now is, the one being the Petition of right confirmed this Parliament, and the other enacted this preſent Parliament. For in the petition of right the Lords and Commons doe amongſt other things ſet forth that by the good Lawes and Statutes of this Realme the Subjects have inherited this freedome that they ſhould not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, ayd or other like charge not ſet by common conſent in Parliament, then they complain that divers charges have been layed, and levyed upon the people in ſeverall Counties by Lord Lieutenants, deputy Lieutenants, Commiſſioners

Stat. 4. & 5. Ph. & M. c. 3.

Petition of right 3. Car.

for muſters, Juſtices of Peace, and others, by command, & directions from his Majeſty, or his privy Councell, againſt the Lawes, and free cuſtomes of the Realme, ſo that the Law there declared, was that none could be compelled to contribute to any Tax, Tallage, Aide or otherlike charge, but by conſent in Parliament: The breach of that Law to be for that divers charges were laid upon the people by Lords Lieutenants, Commiſſioners for muſters, and others by command or direction from his Majeſty, which comprehends the caſe in queſtion, For here is a Tax or Charge impoſed upon the people by compelling them to finde Armes; This Charge is impoſed by command and directions from his Majeſty, for it is by Commiſſion under the great Seale, and all this without the conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, ſo within the words of the Petition of right, And it is very well knowne, and it doth ſufficiently appeare that the charges there mentioned to be layd by Lords Lieutenants, and deputy Lieutenants were the charging of the Subjects with Armes, againſt Law, by colour of their Commiſſion from his Majeſty. The other Statute made this Parliament intituled an Act for the better raiſing, and levying of Souldiers for the preſent defence of the Kingdomes of *England*, and *Ireland*, In the preamble declares in theſe words, *viz.* Whereas by the Lawes of this Realm none of his Majeſties Subjects ought to be impreſſed, or compelled to goe out of his County, to ſerve as a Souldier in the wars except in caſe of neceſſity, of the ſuddaine comming in of ſtrange enemies into the Kingdom, or except they be otherwiſe bound by the Tennor of their Lands or poſſeſſions.

And that this commiſſion is directly contrary to this Declaration is ſo evident that it requireth no application: So that upon the whole matter the ſtate of the caſe in queſtion ſtands thus.

By

By divers acts of Parliament made in the times of King *Edward* the firſt, King *Edward* the third, and confirmed by a Statute in the fourth yeare of *Henry* the fourth, the ſubject was not compellable to finde any other Armes, then was declared by thoſe Statutes, or to goe out of their county, but in caſe of actuall invaſion by forraigne enemies. And by an expreſſe clauſe of the ſaid Statute of confirmation, none of the people were to be diſtreined to goe into *Wales*, or elſewhere againſt the forme of the ſaid ſtatutes: And that all the commiſſions & writs made contrary to the ſaid Statutes, and all Inditements, Accuſations, Bonds, and things done by colour of the ſaid commiſſions, or writs, with all their dependancies, and circumſtances, ſhould be revoked cancelled quaſhed and made void for ever, As things done againſt the Law, and that they ſhould not be drawne in example in time to come: Then in *October* following divers Commiſſions expreſly contrary to thoſe ſtatutes iſſued out to ſeveral coũties of this Realm, in *Hilary* Terme next following that *October*, another Parliament was called, and then a coppy of that commiſſion was delivered to the Commons, who complained onely of divers dangerous clauſes contained in the ſame that concerned the Commiſſioners, for whom no proviſion at all was made by any the former Acts of Parliament, and thoſe clauſes onely put out by the Commons, who deſire that no Commiſſion hereafter ſhould iſſue out otherwiſe, or in other words then are contained in the ſaid Coppy, but take no further care of themſelves, knowing very well that as to the power of charging them with Armes, Trayning, and exerciſing of them, and commanding them out of their Counties, the ſame was ſufficiently provided for, the Parliament before being all within the compaſſe of a yeare, for that Parliament was ſummoned in *Michaelmas*, the fourth *Henry* the fourth. And it

is

is to be obſerved that the Commiſſion of Array awarded before that Parliament, was at or about the very time the Kingdome was invaded by forraigne enemies, The *French* having aſſaulted the Iſle of *Wight*, and burned *Plimouth*, and the *Scots* having entred the North parts of this Kingdome, which probably was the reaſon the Commons did not complaine againſt the iſſuing of that Commiſſion: But as they doe not complaine, ſo doe they not give it any eſtabliſhment by Parliament, and the Law thus continued untill the fourth and fifth *Philip* and *Mary*, which repeales all Statutes touching the finding of Armes, and provides for it in a ſpeciall manner, then that Statute of *Philip* and *Mary* was repealed, 1 *Jac.* whereby all the former Lawes were againe revived: Then the Statutes of 13. *Edward* the firſt, and 33. *Henry* the eighth were repealed by 21 *Jac.* So that the pretence of the legality of the ſaid Commiſſions endeavored to be juſtified by the afore mentioned Proclamation, doth now appeare vaine and unwarrantable: And though by the ſaid Proclamation it is alledged, that the power of granting ſuch Commiſſions for the defence of the King, and Kingdome, is inherent in the Crowne, and warranted by preſidents of the like Commiſſions in all ages, both before and ſince *Magna charta*, The Penner of that Proclamation muſt produce thoſe preſidents, and make void divers Acts of Parliament herein before cited that prove the contrary, or ſurely he cannot expect to be believed: It is true ſome preſidents he may produce of Commiſſions of Array before 5. *Henry* 4. for divers iſſued out in divers Kings raignes, and for the moſt part they were warranted by particular Acts of Parliament, for 13. *Ed.* 3. It appeareth by the Alm. Roll m. 8. 15, 16. *Dorſo.* That divers Commiſſions of Array did iſſue, but thoſe Commiſſions were warranted by an Act of Parliament made that yeare

Roll Al. 13. *Ed.* 3. m. 8, 15 16. *dorſo.*

for

for that purpoſe, as appeares by the Parliament Roll 13. *Ed.* 3. p. 2. *N.* 29. And the next yeere after, divers Commiſſions of the like nature did iſſue forth, and a ſpeciall Act of Parliament to warrant the ſame, as appeareth by the Parliament Roll. 14. *Ed.* 3. p 2. *N.* 36. 41. And in the Roll of *Scotland*, 14 *Ed.* 3. *N.* 6. 22. 47. 50. 53. 54. & 14. *Ed.* 3. *M.* 2. *dorſo*. But how far this may warrant the legality of the Commiſſion in queſtion, let the world judge, neither can hee finde any opinion of Sir *George Crooke*, or Sir *Richard Hutton* in their Arguments of Maſter *Hampdens* caſe, to prove the legallity of the Commiſſion in queſtion: And it is much wondred how the penner of that Proclamation, can warrant that Commiſſion by the ſtatute of 4. & 5. of *Philip* and *Mary* Cap. 3. or where in that ſtatute he finds any power to compell men againſt their wills to provide Armes to traine, and muſter at pleaſure, to be commanded out of their Counties, and to be impriſoned during pleaſure: It is true by that Statute it is ordained, That if any perſon ſhall be commanded to muſter before any perſon authoriſed for the ſame by Commiſſion from the King, do abſent himſelfe, or do not bring with him his beſt furniture, or Array as he then ſhall have in readineſſe, he ſhall be impriſoned for 10 daies, or pay 40. s. But the power to charge him with Armes, or to command to exerciſe, and traine, or to impriſon him for his diſobedience, during pleaſure, the penner of that Proclamation muſt finde ſome where elſe, for he cannot finde it in that Statute, upon all which it followeth, that the Commiſſion of Array now lately iſſued forth is not warranted by any Act of Parliament; is contrary to the Law, and Cuſtomes of the Realme, deſtructive to the liberty, and property of the ſubject, contrary to the Petition of right, and the ſaid Statute made this preſent Parliament.

Rol. Parl. 13. *Ed.* 3. p. 2. n. 39.

Rol Parl. 14 *Ed* 3. p. 2. n. 36. 41. Rol. Scot: 14. *Ed.* 3. n. 6. 22. 47. 50 53. 54. 14 *Ed.* 3: *M.* 2. *dorſo*.

Rotulas

Rotulas Parliamenti tent. apud Westmonasterium in Crastino Sancti Hillarii Anno Regni Regis *Henrici* quarti post conquestum quinto.

Touchant la Commission de Larraie 24.

Item touchant la Commission de Larraie pur les pluisours forfaitures & autres diverses clauses & paroles comprises en ycell q° feurent tropp griebouses damageouses & perillouses pur les Comissioners nomez en meisme la Comission es diverses Countees Dengleterre dout la Coppy fuisst liveree as ditz Cões pur ent estre advisez, & de le Corriger solonc. leur ententions meismes les Cões eue sur ceo deliberation & advys firent canceller certenis clausis & paroles compriſez, en ycelle, & prierent au Roy q̃ desore enavant null Comission de Larrai isseroyt autrement, ne autres paroles qũe nest contenuz en la dictẽ. Copie & q̃ des ditz Comissioners lur heirs Executors on terre tenants percause daucuns forfaitures oũ peynes oũ aũcons autres choses compriſez & la dic. Comission soyt ou soient desore au coiement loiesez grevez endamagez ou empeschez en aũcun tempes advenir quel prier nostre dit. Seg^r. le Roy de Ladvis de S^rs. ene sur Communication ouesqũe les Judges du Roialme moult gracioulsment ottroie en Parlement de quel Copie le tenure sensuite en ceistes paroles.

CAROLUS *Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ rex fidei defensor, &c. Charissimis consanguineis nostris* Hen. *Com.* Huntington & Willielmo *Com.* Devon *necnon dilectis & fidelibus nostris* Hen. Hastings *Armigero filio dicti* Com. Huntington, Hen. Berkley, Georgio Villiers, Thomæ Burton, *Baronet.* Hen. Skipwith, Johanni Skeffington & Richardo Halford *militibus & Baronetis*, Wolstan. Dixey, Richardo Roberts, Johanni Bale, Thomæ Hartop, Erasmo de la Fountayn & Willmo. Jones *militibus*, Hen. Hastings *de* Humberston, Georgio Ashby & Johanni Pate *Armigeris ac vic. nostro Com. nostr. Leicest. pro tempore existente salutem. Sciatis quod nos malitiæ inimicorum nostrorum si regnum nostrum Angliæ invadere presumpserint (quod absit) gratia nobis favente divina resistere ac pro salvatione & defensione nostri ac regni prædicti & ligeorum nostrorum ejusdem disponere & ordinare volentes ut tenemur Assignavimus vos vel aliquos tres vel plures vestrum ad arraiand. & triand. omnes & singulos homines ad arma ac homines armatos & sagittarios in Com. præd. commorantes, infra libertates & extra, ad armari faciend. omnes illos qui de corpore sunt potentes & habiles ad armand. qui de suo proprio habent unde seipsos armare possunt, viz. quilibet eorum juxta statum & facultates suas & ad assidend. & apportionand. juxta advisamentum & discretiones vestras aut aliquorum trium vel plurium vestrum ac etiam ad distringend. omnes illos qui in terris & bonis sunt potentes & pro debilitate corporum ad laborandum impotentes ad inveniend. juxta quantitatem terrarum & bonorum suorum & pro ut rationabiliter portare poterunt (salvo statu suo) armatur. hominibus ad arma & hominibus armatis ac arcus & sagittas ita quod illi qui morabuntur seu morari poterunt ad domum suam propriam in patria sua super defensione ejusdem regni contra inimicos nostros si periculum non sapiant vadia nec expensas pro mora sua apud domos*

suas

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IRREGULA

PAGINA

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egni prædicti & ligeorum nostrorum
re volentes ut tenemur Assignavimus
res vestrum ad arraiand. & triand.
arma ac homines armatos & sagitta-
tes infra libertates & extra, ad ar-
ui de corpore sunt potentes & habiles
io habent unde seipsos armare possint,
um & facultates suas & ad assidend.
samentum & discretiones vestras aut
um vestrum ac etiam ad distringend.
omnes illos qui in terris & bonis sunt potentes & pro debilitate corporum ad laborandum impotentes ad inveniend. juxta quantitatem terrarum & bonorum suorum & pro ut rationabiliter portare poterunt (salvo statu suo) armatur. hominibus ad arma & hominibus armatis ac arcus & sagittas ita quod illi qui morabuntur seu morari poterunt ad domum suam propriam in patria sua super defensione ejusdem regni contra inimicos nostros si periculum
recapiant vadia nec expensas pro mora sua apud domos

suas

ſuis prædict. Et ad dictos homines ad arma ac homines armatos & ſagittarios ſic arraiatos & munitos continue in arraiatione ut in millenis centenis & vicenis & aliis prout conveniens fuerit & neceſſe teneri & poni faciend. Aſſignavimus autem vos aut aliquos tres vel plures veſtrum quorum te præfatum Henr. *Comitem* Huntington *& in abſentia tua te præfat.* Willielm. *Com.* Devon. *vel te præfat.* Hen. Haſtings *filium prædicti Comitis* Huntington *unum eſſe volumus ad dictos homines ad arma ac homines armatos & ſagittarios ſic arraiat. & munit. tam ad Coſteram maris quam alia loca ubi ac quoties neceſſe fuerit ad dictos inimicos noſtros expellend. debelland. deſtruend. de tempore in tempus cum aliquod periculum immineat mandand. et injungend. Aſſignavimus etiam vos aut aliquos tres vel plures veſtrum ad monſtrum ſive monſtrationem eorundem hominum ad arma ac hominum armatorum & ſagittariorum de tempore in tempus quoties indiguerit diligenter faciend. et ſupervidend. Ac etiam ad proclamand. ordinand, et diligenter examinand. quod omnes et ſinguli hujuſmodi homines ad arma ac homines armati et ſagittarii in monſtris hujuſmodi armatur. ſuis propriis et non alienis arment. ſub pœna amiſſionis eorundem Exceptis duntaxat illis qui ad expenſ. aliorum armari debent ut prædictum eſt et ad omnes et ſingulos quos in hac parte invenieritis contrarios ſeu rebelles arreſtand. et capiend. et eos in priſonis noſtris committend. in eiſdem moraturis quousq; ſecundum legem inde deliberati fuerint et ideo vobis diſtrictius quo poſſumus ſuper fide et Ligeantia quibus nobis tenemini injungimus et mandamus quod ſtatim viſis præſentibus vos ipſos melius et ſecurius quo poteritis arraiari et parari et coram vobis ad certos dies et loca quos videritis magis competentes et expedientes et pro populo noſtro minus damnoſos omnes homines in patria commorantes per quos arraitio et munitio melius fieri et compleri poterunt venire et vocari fac. et eos arraiari armari et muniri et eos ſic arraiaratos et munitos in arraiatione hujuſmodi teneri faciatis et inſuper ſigna vocat: (Beakins) poni faciatis in locis conſuetis per quæ gentes patriæ ad*

ventu

ventu inimicorum noſtrorum poterunt congruis temporibus præmuniri. Et eoſdem homines ſic arraiatos et munitos cum periculum immineret in defenſionem Regni ac patriæ præd. de tempore in tempus tam ad Coſteram Maris quam alia loca ubi magis neceſſe fuerit duci faciatis vel aliqui tres aut plures veſtrum quorum te præfat. Hen. *Com.* Huntington *et in abſentia tua te præfat.* Willum. *Com.* Devon. *vel te præfat.* Hen. Haſtings *filium præd. Com.* Huntington *unum eſſe volumus duci faciant ut præd. eſt ita quod pro defectu defenſionis arraiationis ſive ductionis dictorum hominum vel per negligentiam veſtram damna patriæ prædict. per inimicos noſtros amodo non eveniat ullo modo pro poſſe veſtro. Damus autem univerſis et ſingulis Comitibus Baronibus militibus Majoribus Balivis Conſtabulariis Miniſtris et aliis fidelibus et ligeis noſtris Com. præd. (tam infra libertates, quam extra) tenore præſentium firmiter in mandatum quod vobis et cuilibet veſtrum in omnibus et ſingulis præmiſſis faciend. et explend. intendentes ſint, conſulantes et auxiliantes. Et tibi præfat. vic. quod ad certos dies et loca quos ad hoc vos vel aliqui tres vel plures veſtrum ut præd. eſt ordinaveritis venire faciatis coram vobis vel hujuſmodi tribus vel plur. veſtr. (ut præd. eſt) omnes illos in Com. præd. per quos arraiatio, aſſeſſio et ordinatio melius poterit fieri et compleri et illos quos pro rebellione ſua capi et arreſtari contigerit in priſona noſtra cuſtod. ſicut prædict. eſt. In cujus rei teſtimonium has præſentes literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teſte meipſo undecimo die Junii, Anno regni noſtri decimo octavo.*

Per ipſum Regem. *Willis.*

Die Sabbathi 18 *Junii.* 1642. Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament:

THat *this Commiſſion of Array for* Leiceſter, *is againſt Law, and againſt the liberty and property of the Subject.*

Die Lunæ 20 *Junii.* 1642. Reſolved upon the Queſtion, &c.

THat *all thoſe that are Actors in the putting of the Commiſſion of* Array *in execution, ſhall be eſteemed as diſturbers of the peace of the Kingdom, and betrayers of the liberty of the Subject.*

Ordered that this Commiſſion of Array, and the aforeſaid Votes ſhall be forthwith Printed, and publiſhed through the Kingdom.

Jo. Brown, Cleric. Parliamentorum.

By the King.

A Proclamation to inform all Our loving Subjects of the Lawfulneſſe of Our Commiſſions of Array, iſſued into the ſeverall Counties of Our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, and of the uſe of them: And commanding them to obey Our Commiſſioners therein named, in the Execution of their ſaid Commiſſions.

WHereas, by the Laws of this Land, the Ordering and Governing of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, for the preventing and ſuppreſſion of all Invaſions and Rebellions, hath (as a moſt known and undoubted right and prerogative) belonged in all times ſolely to Our ſelf and Our Progenitors, Kings of *England*. And accordingly We have heretofore awarded Commiſsions of Lieutenancie into the ſeverall Counties of this Our Realm for the governing and exerciſing of the Souldiory and Trained Bands there, like as Queen *Elizabeth* and Our dear Father, both of happy memory, had done before Us. And therein (amongſt other things) gave power to the Commiſſioners in each County, to Levie, call together, Arm, Array, Train, and Muſter Our Subjects inhabiting in the ſaid ſeverall Counties, and to conduct and lead them againſt all Our Enemies, and all Rebels and Traitors from time to time, as often as need ſhould require.

All which Commiſsions (although We did, ſince the begining of this Parliament, grant the like for the County of *York*, to the now Earl of *Eſſex*, with the privity of both Our Houſes of Parliament, and without exception from either) have, without hearing any of Our Councell learned, been ſince Voted

Voted in Our ſaid Houſes of Parliament to be illegall and void; the reaſon whereof We have not yet been informed of, nor can imagine: For that neither any illegall Clauſe (if any ſuch be) in thoſe Commiſsions, nor any exceſſe or abuſe of their authority, by any Lieutenants or their deputies, in raiſing of Moneys, taxing of the Inhabitants, or otherwiſe could, by Law, make void any powers as in themſelves were lawfull to be granted and put in execution.

And whereas, in caſe of danger and neceſsity, it had been more ſutable to the condition of the times, and the good liking of Our Subjects (who cannot be well pleaſed with any new wayes, how ſpecious ſoever) that Our Houſes of Parliament ſhould have taken order, that Our Commiſsions of Lieutenancie (the Courſe whereof had ſo long continued) ſhould, for the preſent, have been put in execution, at leaſtwiſe ſuch part thereof as was undeniably and unqueſtionably legall, and was ſufficient for the purpoſes before mentioned, or that (according to the like Preſidents in former times) they would have deſired Us to have granted new Commiſsions of that nature, omitting ſuch Clauſes as might juſtly have been excepted againſt, which We would not have denied; and not to have called in ſo ſuddenly for thoſe Commiſsions to be cancelled, as was done (though We know not by what Law) in Our Houſe of Peers. Yet notwithſtanding, Our two Houſes of Parliament, in ſtead of ſuch Our Commiſsions, under pretence of evident and imminent danger, and urgent and inevitable neceſsity of putting Our Subjects into a poſture of Defence, have made a late Order for the ſettling of the MILITIA, under the name of an Ordinance (which two or three ſeverall times had been refuſed by the major part of Peers) and being made, not onely without, but againſt Our Conſent (the reaſons whereof are ſufficiently known to all Our Subjects, is not onely without any one warrantable preſident of former times (as We beleeve) but (as We are wel aſſured) void in Law.

Where-

Wherefore, out of the care which We have of Our people, leſt under the pretence of danger, neceſſity, and want of Authority from Us to put them into a Military poſture, they ſhould be drawn and ingaged into any oppoſition againſt Us, or Our juſt Authority; and that they may know they are by Us otherwiſe provided for, and ſecured againſt all juſt cauſes of Fears and Dangers from any Force in a legall way (for We are reſolved to rule and govern Our Subjects according to Our known Laws onely) We have thought fit, for the preſent, hereby thus timely to publiſh and declare, That We have awarded into the ſeverall Counties of Our Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, Our ſeverall Commiſsions of Array; thereby giving power to ſeverall perſons of Honour, Reputation, and Eſtate in the ſaid Counties, for the ſafety and defence of Us, Our Kingdom, and Our good Subjects from time to time, as it ſhall be needfull to Array, Train, Arm, and Muſter Our Subjects inhabiting in the ſaid Counties, and in caſe of imminent danger, to conduct and lead them for the deſtruction of Our enemies, and in the defence of their Countrey and the Kingdom.

Which power of granting Commiſſions for the defence of Us and Our Kingdom, as it is inherent in Us, and inſeparable from Our Crown, ſo it hath been warranted by Preſidents of the like Commiſsions in all Ages, both before and ſince the grant of the great Charter by King *Henery* the third, down to the very time that Commiſsions of Lieutenancie were granted, and was agreed to be legall even by the 2 learned Judges, Sir *George Crook*, and Sir *Richard Hutton* (among all the reſt) in their Arguments, which concluded on the Subjects part in Our Exchequer-Chamber in Maſter *Hampdens* Caſe, as by the ſame (now ſince printed) may appeare, together with divers particular Records in ſeverall Ages therein mentioned, to which many more may be added.

And in theſe Our Commiſsions, to prevent all manner of Exception,

Exception, We have, in the powers given to Our Commiſsioners, in all points followed that Commiſsion of Array, which was agreed upon by the King and both houſes of Parliament, after conference with the Judges of the Realm, in the fifth yeer of King *Henry* the fourth, and was done upon the deſire of the Commons, to have ſome alterations from former Commiſsions in certain over-ſtrict Clauſes, whereunto nevertheleſſe no exception was taken for the legalitie, but the Kings Aſſent acknowledged as an Act of great Grace, as appeareth by the Parliament Rolls of that yeere. Since which time Commiſsions of Array have frequently iſſued for prevention of danger, either of Enemies abroad or at home (in both which reſpects Our Houſes of Parliament have voted this Kingdom to be in danger) the ſame being indeed the old ordinary way for the preſervation of the King and Kingdom, who muſt not delay their preparation till ſuch danger break forth into action, and ſo perhaps prove too late. And theſe Commiſsions of Array were not diſcontinued, till by reaſon of the Commiſsions of Lieutenancie (which in ſubſtance contained the powers given by thoſe Commiſsions of Array) they came to be of little uſe.

And whereas by the Statute of the fourth and fifth yeers of the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary* King and Queen of *England*, it is enacted, That if any perſon or perſons that ſhall be commanded generally or ſpecially to Muſter afore any ſuch as ſhall have Authority or Commandement for the ſame, by, or from the King, or by any Lieutenant, Warden, or other perſon or perſons authorized for the ſame, do willingly abſent him or themſelves from the ſame Muſter, having no true and reaſonable excuſe of Sickneſſe, or other lawfull Impediment, or at their appearance at ſuch Muſters, do not bring with them ſuch their beſt Furniture, or array and armour, as he or they ſhall then have for his or their own perſon in readineſſe, that ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall, for every ſuch default and offence, incur ſuch penalties, and to be inflicted in ſuch maner as by the ſaid Statute are limited. Which Statute is in full force.

We

We do therfore, by this Our Proclamation, expreſly charge and command all Our Sheriffs, Juſtices of peace, Majors, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and all other Our Officers, and other Our loving Subjects of Our ſeverall Counties of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales* reſpectively, That they be attending, aiding, aſsiſting, counſelling, and at the commandement of the ſaid Commiſſioners of Our ſeverall Counties reſpectively in the execution of their Commiſſions, as they will anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt perills.

And although We can nothing doubt that any of Our loving Subjects ſhall or will oppoſe or hinder Our ſaid Commiſsioners in the execution of their ſaid Commiſsions, by putting in execution any power touching the *Militia*, not warranted by Our Authority, or otherwiſe diſturbing Our ſaid commiſsioners in execution of Our Service, conſidering the extream danger wherein ſuch Act may, upon the ſeverall Circumſtances, by the ſtrict conſtruction of Law, involve them: Yet leaſt any ill-affected perſons, too far preſuming upon Our Clemency, and in hope of impunity or pardon ſhould dare to offend Us and Our Laws, contrary to this Our Proclamation; We doe hereby declare to all Our Subjects, That whoſoever ſhall, after this Our Proclamation publiſhed, do any thing in oppoſition of Our Commiſsioners, by diſobeying their Commands, according to Law, or putting in execution any other Command concerning the *Militia* of Our Kingdom, contrary to Law, We ſhall account them unworthy of Our Grace and Mercie, and ſuch as muſt expect, that Juſtice (how penall or capitall ſoever it be) ſhall be done upon them according to their demerits.

Given at Our Court of York, *the twentieth day of* June, *in the eighteenth yeer of Our Reign*, 1642.

FINIS.

Touching the Commiſsion of Array 24.

ITem, Touching the Commiſsion of Array, for the many forfeitures, and divers other clauſes and words compriſed in the ſame, which were very grievous, hurtfull, and dangerous for the Commiſsioners, named in the ſame Commiſsion, in divers Counties of *England*; the copy whereof was delivered to the ſaid Commons, to be thereupon adviſed, & to correct it according to their intentions: The ſaid Commons having had deliberation, & advice upon it, cauſed certain clauſes and words compriſed in the ſame, to be cancelled; and prayed the King, that hereafter no Commiſsion of Array iſſue out, otherwaies, nor in other words than are contained in the ſaid Copy; and that none of the ſaid Commiſsioners, their Heires, Executors, or Tenants, by reaſon of any forfeitures, or penalties, or any other things compriſed in the ſaid Commiſsion, be, or hereafter be any waies moleſted, grieved, indamaged, or impeached in any time to come: Which prayer our ſaid Lord the King, by the advice of the Lords, having hereupon communication with the Judges of the Kingdome, moſt graciouſly granted in Parliament: Of which Copy the Tenor followeth in theſe words:

Rex, &c.

Dilectis & fidelibus ſuis, Thomæ Sackvill, Iohanni Caſtellon, Iohanni Reynes, Iohanni Terringham, Rich. Darches, Will. Molins, Ioh. Boyſe, Edm. Hampden,

den, Simoni Darches, Rogero Dayrell, Roger. Cheyney, Edm. Brudenell, Ioh. Barton Seniori, & Rich. Wyot, ac vic. noſtro Bucks ſalutem: Sciatis quod cum quidem inimici noſtri Regnum noſtr. Angliæ cum poſſe non modico præſentibus treaguis non obſtantibus jam tardè boſtiliter ingreſſi fuerint, & in diverſis partibus ejuſdem Regni combuſſerint nos malicie hujuſmodi inimicorum noſtr. ſi Regnum noſtrum prædict. iterato invadere præſumpſerint, quod abſit gratia nobis favente divina, reſiſtere, ac pro ſalvatione & defenſione noſtri ac Regni prædicti & ligeorum noſtrorum, ejuſdem diſponere, & ordinare volentes, ut tenemur, aſſignavimus vos conjunctim & diviſim ad arraiand. & triand. omnes & ſingulos homines ad arma, ac homines armatos, & ſagittar. in Com. prædict. commorantes infra libertates & extra, & adarmari faciend. omnes illos qui de corpore ſunt potentes & habiles ad armand. qui de ſuo proprio habent, unde ſeipſos armari poſſunt, viz. quilibet eorum juxta ſtatum & facultates ſuas & ad aſſidend. & aportionand. juxta aviſament. & diſcretiones veſtras, ac etiam ad diſtringend. omnes illos qui in terris & bonis ſunt potentes, & pro debilitate corporum ad laborand. impotentes, ad inveniend. juxta quantitatem terrarum & bonorũ ſuorum, & prout rationabiliter portari poterunt ſecundum ſtatu ſuo armaturas hominibus ad arma & hominibus armatis, ac arcus & ſagittas ita quod illi qui morabuntur ſeu morari poterunt ad domum ſuam propriam in patria ſua ſuper defenſionem eiuſdem Regni contra inimicos noſtros ſi periculum evenerit non capiant vadia, nec expenſas pro mora ſua apud domos

ſuas

ſuas prædictas, & ad dictos homines ad arma ac homines armatos & ſagittarios ſic arraiatos & munitos continue in arraiatione, ut in millenis, centenis, & vintenis, & alias prout conveniens fuerit, & neceſſe teneri & poni faciend. & eos tam ad coſteram maris quàm alia loca, ubi & quoties neceſſe fuerit ad dictos inimicos noſtros expellend. debelland. & deſtruend. de tempore in tempus cum aliquod periculum immineat mandand. & injungend. & ad mouſtr' ſive ad mouſtrationem eorundem hominum, ad arma, ac hominum armatorum, ac ſagittariorum de tempore in tempus quoties indiguerit diligenter faciend. & ſuperintend. ac etiam ad proclamand. ordinand. & diligenter examinand. quod omnes & ſingulos huiuſmodi homines ad arma, & homines armati, & ſagittarii in mouſtris huiuſmodi armaturis ſuis propriis & non alienis armentur ſub pœna amiſſionis eorundem exceptis duntaxat illis qui ad expenſas aliorum armari debent ut prædictum eſt, & ad omnes & ſingulos quos in hac parte inveneritis contrarios ſeu rebel' arreſtand. & capiend & eos in priſonis noſtris committend. in eiſdem moratur, quouſque pro eorum punitione aliter duxerimus ordinand. & ideo vobis & cuilibet veſtr' diſtrixius quo poſſumus ſuper fide & ligeancia quibus nobis tenemini injungimus, & mandamus quod ſtatim viſis præſentibus vos ipſos melius & ſecurius quo poteritis arraiari & parari & eorum vobis ad certos dies, & loca quos videritis magis competentes & expedientes, & pro populo noſtro minus damnoſos omnes homines in patria commorantes per quos arraiatio et munitio huiuſmodi melius fieri et compleri poterunt venire et vocare

fac' et eos arraiari, armari, et muniri, et eos sic arraiatos et munitos in arraiatione huiusmodi teneri fac', et insuper signa vocata Bekyns *poni fac' in locis consuetis, per quæ gentes patriæ de adventu inimicorum nostrorum poterunt congruis temporibus præmuniri; et eosdem homines sic arraiatos et munitos cum periculum imminuerit in defensione Regni et Patriæ prædict. de tempore in tempus tam ad costeram maris quàm alia loca ubi magis necesse fuerit, duci fac', ita quod pro defectu defensionis, arraiationis, sive ductionis dictorum hominum, vel per negligentiam vestram, damna Patriæ prædict. per inimicos nostr. amodo non eveniant ullo modo pro posse vestro. Damus autem universis et singulis Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus, Maioribus, Ballivis, Constabular. Ministris, et aliis fidelibus et ligeis nostris com. prædict. tam infra libertates quàm extra, tenore præsent' firmiter in mandatis quod vobis & cuilibet vestrum in omnibus et singulis præmissis faciend. et explend. intendentes sint consulentes et auxiliantes, et tibi præfat' Vic' quod ad certos dies et loca quos ad hoc ordinaveritis venire fac' coram vobis omnes illos in com. prædict. per quos arraiatio, assessio et ordinatio melius poterunt fieri et compleri, et illos quos pro Rebellione sua capi et arrestari contigerit in prisona nostra custodias, sicut prædictum est. In cujus rei &c. T. R. apud Westminst. 20 die Octobris.*

The

The Copy of the Kings Letter ſent with the Commiſsion of Array to *Leiceſterſhire*.

CHARLES R.

RIght truſty and right well beloved Couſins, and right truſty and well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas it hath been declared by the Votes of both Houſes of Parliament the 15th of *March* laſt, That the Kingdom hath been of late, and ſtill is, in ſo evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a Popiſh diſcontented Party at home; That there is an urgent and inevitable neceſſity of putting our Subjects into a Poſture of defence, for the ſafeguard both of our Perſon and people: And that ſithence divers Inhabitants of divers Counties have addreſſed their Petitions to that purpoſe; And whereas a ſmall number of both Houſes (after it had been rejected by the Lords in a full Houſe, and without our Royall aſſent, or the opinion of the Judges concerning the legallity hereof,) have attempted by way of Ordinance to put in execution the power of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, and to diſpoſſeſſe many of our ancient Nobility of the command and truſt repoſed in them by Vs, and have nominated divers others, who have no intereſt in, nor live neer to ſome of the Counties to which they are nominated for the Lievtenancy, whereby they cannot bee properly ſerviceable to the Counties wherewith they are intruſted, nor our People receive that content and ſecurity which We deſire they ſhould: To ſubmit to the execution of which power by the way of Ordinance, without

it were reduced into a Law by Act of Parliament, eſtabliſhed by Our Royall aſſent, were to introduce and expoſe our Subjects to a meere Arbitrary government; which by Gods grace Wee ſhall never permit.

We therefore conſidering, that by the Lawes of the Realm it belongeth ſolely to Vs, to Order and Govern the *Militia* of the Kingdome; have thereupon by Our Proclamation of the 27 of *May* laſt, prohibited all manner of perſons whatſoever upon their Allegiance, to Muſter, Levie, or ſummon, upon any Warrant, Order or Ordinance, from one or both Houſes of Parliament, whereunto We have not, or ſhall not give our expreſſe conſent, any of the Trained Bands, or other Officers, without expreſſe Warrant under our hands, or Warrant from Our Sheriffe of the County, grounded upon a particular Writ to that purpoſe under our great Seale. And conſidering that in ancient time the *Militia* of the Kingdom was ever diſpoſed of by Commiſſions of Array, and that by a particular Statute upon Record in the Tower, made in the fifth yeare of *Henry* the Fourth, by full conſent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and Commons, and at their ſuit, and by the advice and opinion of the Judges then had, ſuch Commiſſions were mitigated in reſpect of ſome clauſes perillous to the Commiſſioners, and approved of for the time to come: And that by the ſubſequent Records it appeareth, that all Our Royall Predeceſſors have continually exerciſed that power by ſuch Commiſsions, till of late time they have been diſcontinued by the Grants of particular Commiſſions of Lievtenancy; little differing in ſubſtance from the ſaid Commiſſions of Array, againſt which it ſeemes the Houſes have taken ſome exception. And though wee are no way ſatisfied of the illegality of them, Our Councell being never heard in the defence thereof, yet being willing to avoid all exceptions at preſent, Wee have thought fit to referre it, to that ancient legall way of

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disposing the power of the *Militia* by such Commissions of Array, for defence of Vs, our Kingdome, and our Country: Authorizing you, or any three or more of you, to Array and traine our People, and to apportion and assesse such persons as have estates, and are not able to beare Armes, to finde Armes for other men, in a reasonable and moderate proportion; and to conduct them for Arraid, as well to the Coasts as other places for the opposition and destruction of our enemies in case of danger, as to your discretions, or any three or more of you shall seeme meet; Whereof you *Henry* Earle of *Huntington*, and in your absence *William* Earle of *Devon*, or *Henry Hastings* Esquire to be one; And being both confident in a great measure of the Loyall affections of our people, and very tender to bring any unnecessarie burthen or charge upon them, by augmenting the number of the Trained Bands; We do for the present only require, that you forthwith cause to be mustered and trained all the ancient trained Bands and freehold Bands of the County, carefully seeing, that they be supplyed with able and sufficient Persons, and compleatly armed; unlesse you finde that there be just cause, and that it shall be with the good liking of the Inhabitants for their own better security to make any encrease of their numbers; And over such Bands to appoint and set such Colonels, Captaines, and Officers, as you shall think most fit for the discharge of that service, being such Persons as have considerable interest in the County, and not strangers. And in case of any opposition, you are to raise the power of the County to suppresse it, and to commit all such Persons as shall bee found rebellious herein, into the custody of Our Sheriffe; whose care and assistance We especially require. And that hee shall from time to time issue forth such Warrants for the assembling of our people, at such times and places as by you shall be agreed on, according to the trust reposed in him by our said Commission. And We have authorized.

thorized you our Commissioners, or any three of you, after such Array made, from time to time, to traine and take musters of our said Bands; and to provide Beacons, and other necessaries for the better exercising of our people, and discovery of sudden invasions and commotions: Of all which your proceedings herein, We expect a speedy and plenary accompt, according to the trust reposed in you, and authority given you by our Commission on that behalfe.

Given at our Court at York *the* 12th *day of* June *in the* 18th *yeere of our Reigne,* 1642.

FINIS.

21

AN EXACT DESCRIPTION OF A ROUNDHEAD, AND A LONG-HEAD SHAG-POLL:

Taken out of the pureſt Antiquities and Records.

Wherein are confuted the odious aſperſions of Malignant Spirits: Eſpecially in anſwer to thoſe moſt ridiculous, abſurd and beyond compariſon, moſt fooliſh Baſſle-headed Pamphlets ſent into the World by a Sinking Locuſt, viz.

The Devill turn'd Round-Head. } *The Vindication of the Round-Head.* and
The Reſolution of the Round-Head. } Joardan *the Players ex-excerſing.*



This Man of haire whom you ſee marching heere,
Is that brave Ruffian Mounſeire Cavilier.
But let him not make ſo much haſt for hee,
Muſt be drawn back, and ſtayd by Oregon.

London, Printed for *George Tomlinſon*, and are to be ſold in the *Ould-Baily*, 1642.

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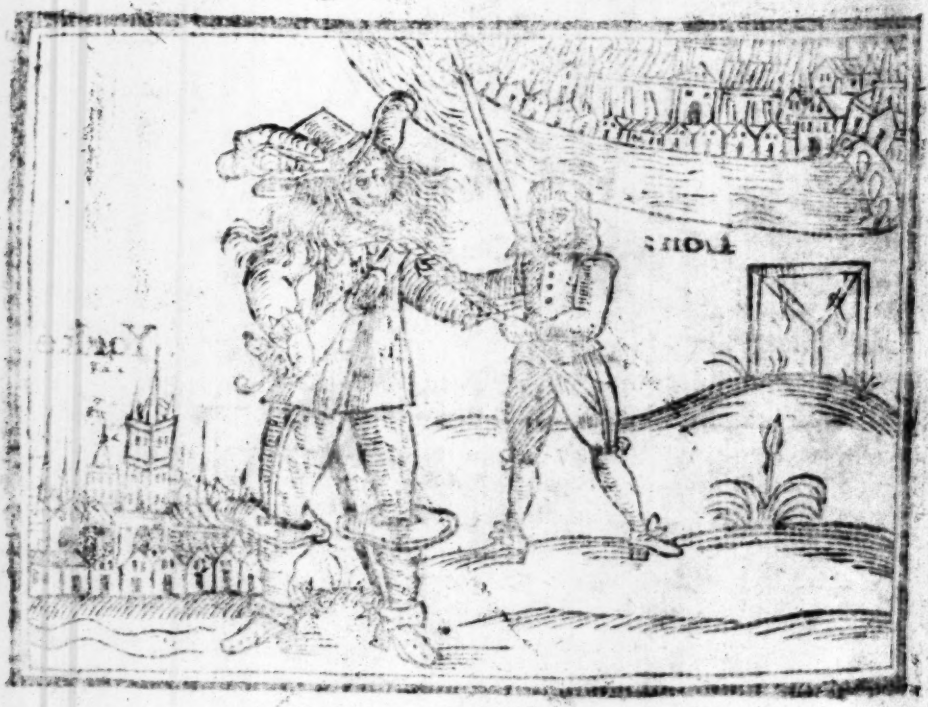
EXACT DESCRIPTION

OF A

ROUNDHEAD,

AND

A LONG-HEAD SHAG-POLL:



A True discription of the ROVND-HEADS.

AND first there is laid downe in these eight generall heads:

First, the Originall of them both, *Gen.* 2. 7. *Revel.* 9.

Secondly, where they were made, as in the same record you shall finde.

Thirdly of what made, the same records also declares.

Fourthly, by whom made, there you shall finde it also.

Fiftly, how they are qualified, there you shall finde it also.

Sixtly, of the number of either of them, that you shall finde *Mat.* 7. 13. *Revel.* 9. of their use and particular end *Psal.* 124.

Eightly, and lastly of their last, and finall end that is *Mat.* 25.

All these are severally handled more plainely and largely in their order by *W. P.*

A faithfull souldier of the sixt legion belonging unto the chiefe generall of the most victorious regiment of the Round-heads. Written upon the plaine of the earth, in the midst of an innumerable rabble gathered together by the Deyill of shag poll locusts, for the destruction of the Round heads.

And first to begin with the Round-heads Originall:

His beginning was the sixt and last day of the worlds creation, in time preceeding and going before that of the Locust shag-polls, being of more antiquity, and therefore more to bee had in honour of those that reverence antiquity of time more then your shag-poll Locusts are.

Secondly, for the place where your Roun-head was made: why, he was made in a place incomparable, more excellent than wherein your shag-pole Locust was made, as you shall heare hereafter, hee was made in a delicate place, even in Paradice a place of spotlesse purity, and delightful content a place fit for a Round-headed puritan and *semy*-separate to be made in: your *semy*-seperate, puritan, and

Round head, are computable 3. objects comprehended in one ſubject, being all made of one and the ſelfeſame matter, as alſo of one and the ſelfeſame nature, differing onely in the precedency of the titles, the title *ſemy*-ſeparates, and Roundhead, iſſuing out of the as the ſtreame iſſues out of the fountaine being all one as the fountaine and his ſtreame is.

Thirdly, by whom was your Puritan or Round head made? your Puritan or Round-head was made by him who made the round world, and all that therein is, by *Iehovah Elohim* in moſt perfect beauty, ſhape, and forme, moſt admirable, compoſed in moſt comly proportion and order, his Round-head not Aſſ-Head like, but round indeed, which being looked upon by God himſelfe, hee ſaw that it was good, yea, moſt exceeding good and liked it wonderous well, ſo that hee bleſſed his roundhead by him made, bids him increaſe & bring forth fruit, yea even that fruit that ſhould deſtroy the ſhagpolle locuſts, all the workes of the Devill from off the earth.

Fourthly, of what made? he was made of that matter which that name which God gave him ſignifies, of red earth this *Adam* which the ſhag polls in deriſion calles a Roundhead, was made of red earth or of red duſt, which to prevent ſome fooliſh objection, ſignifies one and the ſame thing.

Fifthly, how is this Round head qualified? admirably, with grace and vertue of unvalued worth, as, firſt with innocency of life compoſed and mixt with rare ingredients, of mercy, truth and love, as alſo with rare wiſedome and underſtanding, ſo that he did know the compoſition, and ſecret natures of all the creatures in the world, and ſo was able to give them names according to their nature, and ſo he did; thus internally and externally was this Round-head qualified with Admirable Wiſedome, Beauty, Comelines, and ſtrength.

Sixtly, for his number and increaſe? why, for his increaſe of number it was ſmall, excellent for quality, but few for quantity, in regard as the time now is and ever was, but here and there one; excellent and exquiſite things being alwaies ſcant, and rareſt to be found, and that is the thing, together with their ſecret vertue, that makes them be of ſuch account with thoſe that knowes their worth, which knowledge of them, as they are, it is onely in God and amongſt themſelves, for fooliſh ſhag-poll locuſts have no knwledge of their

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excellency, nor are no more able to discerne their splendor, then a blind man that never saw the Sunne, is able to judge or discerne the glory or the illustrious beauty of the Sunne.

Seventhly, of the Round-heads use, what is he usefull for? the Round-heads use is manyfold, of many sorts and kinds, but all for good; and first to set forth the splendid glory of the justice of God, his grace manifested to them in the face and favour of Jesus Christ, but never unto the shagpoll locusts. Secondly, to set or shew forth the vertues of Jesus Christ, the second person in Trinity, that hath therefore called these Round heads out of darkenesse into light, that they should shew forth his vertues, and so they doe as on the contrary the Shag poll shewes forth the vices of the Devill. Their third use is to be store houses of wisedome. Their fourth use to be temples of the living God. Fiftly, to be teachers and instructers of men for the praise and glory of God, his secrets being made known unto them onely. Sixtly, to denounce his Iudgements against the world. *Revel.* 18. about the beginning, for these Round heads are called his *Angels*. *Revel.* 2. *Angel* being a name of Office, not of nature alwaies. Seventhly, they are usefull to keepe off his Iudgements, sometimes from the Shagpoll, as that Round-head *Lot* while he was among the shagpoll Locusts Sodomites, the fire and brimstone could not come downe to burne them; as also here in *England*, how does these Round-heads keepe off the pestilence, sword, and famine from the shagpoles heere, and are the cause that many temporall blessings doth come upon them, which notwithstanding these shagpoll locusts know, that it is for their sakes that they receive these benefits, yet they cannot endure them.

Eightly, and lastly, what is the finall end of the Roundheads? their finall end next the glory of God is the salvation of his owne soule, his finall is the redemption from all miseries in this mortall life here and for ever, hereafter which no shagpoll locust must inioy his final end is to be a king, to raigne with Christ for ever, to be an heire with Christ, an inheritour and possesser of all things with him to all eternity; as also to praise and glorifie God for ever in an everlasting state of blessednesse in the highest heaven, out of which all slanderous lying, scorning, barking, shagpoll locusts must be shut, *Revel.* 22. 15. without shall be dogs, shagpoll locusts, he meanes inchanters, whoremongers and Idolaters, and whosoever loveth lies or makes lyes, be they Priests, or Pesants, or whatsoever.

And thus have we finished your Round head.

The second generall head to be handled is your Shagpoll locust originall when it was.

Your shag poll locusts originall was the opening of the bottomlesse pit *Rev.* 9. the smoaky pit, out of that smoak, came those shag poll locusts, that wear hair like women, which was long after the making of the Round-heads: therefore are they of no such antiquity as your Round-heads are: and therefore according to your own rules are not so honourable as your Round-heads are.

Secondly, the place where they were made: why, they were made in the bottomlesse pit, as is aboue mentioned, they came out of the bottomlesse pit, at the place from whence they came, there were they made.

Thirdly, by whom were they made? why, by the devill the father of all slanderers and lyers, such as these locusts are, whether locusts teachers, or locusts hearers, who made them all in uncomely, and in unmanly order, for they had haire like women, faces like men, and teeth like a Lyon, *Rev.* 9. *ver.* 7. 8. all like deformed monsters, as well in-side as out-side, exceeding bad and vile, full of confusion and deformed disorder, as well the Preists as people.

Fourthly, of what made? why, as first his case or outside he is made of dust as your Round-head is, although he knowes it not as your Round-head doth, but for his pitch or inside it is *semen incubæ*, or *sperma diaboli* he is made of the seed or spaun of the Devill: as concerning the constitution of his mind, murtherers and lyers are they, and so is he.

Fiftly, how are they qualified? why, clean contrary to your Round-heads, not with innocency of life, but with nocency, with grosse and palpable ignorance, and blindnesse in spirituall and heavenly things, full of conceitednesse of having that which they are utterly empty of, but being full indeed of the spirit: now I know to hear the name of Spirit will vexe them, for they defie such as are full of the Spirit: but to quiet them a little, I give them to understand, that that Spirit which they meane, is not the Spirit I mean, the spirit that I mean here that they are filled with, is the spirit of lying and slandering, and false accusing of the Round-heads, the spirit of whoredom and unsatiable lust, the spirit of envy, malice, and murther, of drunkennesse, epicurisme, and all manner of loose prophanenesse, the spirit of hatred against the appearance of any goodnesse, though never so little, for they nothing almost but profit impiety like the devill himself, which raignes effectually in them, and he it is that hath thus qualified them, and which hath also blinded them in their judgments, that they cannot discern the nature and difference of things, but judge good to be evil, and evil to be good, *Iohn* 16. 1. 2. They shall excommunicate you

and he that kils you ſhall think he doth God good ſervice: whether this be ſo or no, I refer you to your ſelves, all you ſhag-poll Locuſts.

Sixtly, for their number and increaſe, it is wonderfull, in number they exceed the Round-heads, to ſpeake comparatively, more then the muſcatoes and flyes exceeds in number the Eagles, they darken the light of the Sunne with their multitude, as did the flyes of *Egypt*.

They are not rare to be found, as are the Eagles and the Round-heads, there are whole ſwarmes of them in every place, and as hurtfull and troubleſome to your Round-heads in old *England*, as your Muſcatoes are to your Round-heads in *New-England*, and every way as evill to be dealt with-all, for the more you ſtrive to beat them off, the more they muſter and ſwarm about you, ſo that there is no way of quietneſſe for a Round-head but to avoid them.

Seventhly, for their uſe, that alſo is divers, but tending all to hurt, yet contrary to their mindes it effects good, not to themſelves, but to the Round-heads, whom their whole intent and deſire is to hurt. Now their firſt uſe is, to afflict the Round-heads, which if your ſhag poll did know, what good they did unto your Round-heads, by afflicting of them, by their wrongs and injuries they do unto them, then would they never do it unto them: for firſt they teach them experience of the worlds vanity, ſecondly, they make them weary of the world, and weane them from the love of the world, the love thereof would be their deſtruction: thirdly, they make them by their outragious wrongs and injuries they doe unto them, more ſplendid, bright, and lovely in the ſight of God and good men; fourthly by the ſhag-polls hatred of them, they come to have certain knowledge, that God loves them, which otherwiſe they could not have: for if the ſhag-poll Locuſts loved them, it were a certain ſigne they were hated of God, for your ſhag poll loves none but ſuch as God hates: fifthly they increaſe the Round heads glory in heaven, for the more they ſcorne them here, the more ſhall they be honoured there: ſixtly, the ſhag polls by reaſon of their out-ragious wrongs and injuries that they doe unto the Round heads they make this world a hell unto the Round heads, wherein theſe ſhag polls like devils do torment them, ſo that they ſhall have no hel hereafter, as your ſhag polls ſhall: other ſorts of uſes that they ſerve for is, firſt to make veſſels of diſhonour: ſecondly to declare the juſtice of his wrath upon, and to teach the Round heads, that though he do for a time ſpare his and their enemies, that yet he will not alwaies ſpare them: and laſtly to be ſuch firebrands of hell, as ſhall never be taken forth.

Eightly

Eightly and lastly, of their finall end, their finall end next to the glory of the future of Gods wrath, is to be damned, for their end is damnation, thy minde nothing but earthly things, their God is their belly, they glory in shamefull things, their conversation is not in heaven, therefore by God his definitive sentence, their finall end is damnation.

And thus much for your Round-heads and your Shag-polls.

Only this by the way of Advertisement to the honest-hearted Christian Reader, that though some doe either through ignorance, or some infirmity occasioning, weare their haire longer then may in some mens judgement seeme fitting, for men professing themselves to be Christians to weare; know you that wee intend not a definitive sentence against any particular person for wearing of their haire, but yet doe wish them for the better informing of their judgements, to consider the Apostles rule concerning haire, in 1 *Cor.* 11. 14. where he may have full satisfaction; and further also wee give you to understand, that we are so farre off from a particular sentence, that we beleeve that their are many among the Long-heads, that may belong unto the Round-heads, and that may in time declare themselves; and this also, that there are many Locusts among the Round-heads, that now seem to be Round-heads, yet are not so, and will declare themselves to be but Locusts; yet not withstanding that, all that weare not long hair are not Locusts; as also, all that weare not long hair, are not Round-heads yet is long hair the visible signe or marke to distinguish a Locust, *Rev.* 9. 8. *And they had hair like women.*

Not long agone a Champion came from Hell.
To bid defiance to the host of Heaven:
But with the Puritans he hath no minde to deal,
Because with them to no end he hath striven.
A periwig instead of Helmet on his head he weares,
To prove, if he by that can hide his Midas *eares.*
His armour loose prophanenesse is, and hatred strong,
Disdain, contempt of God and goodnesse all:
Murtherous desire, by him retain'd long:
By which at last he hopes to make to fall
The Puritan, which now he Round head call:
A terme by which he thinks to overthrow,
And beat all goodnesse from the earth below.
By this design: he doubts not but to stop
The breath and life of goodnesse in this land:
And spoile that Strength that Puritans have got,
And by this title Round head to set all good at stand.
But silly Long head that hair is not thine own,
'Tis but some harlots, though by thee it's worne.

FINIS.

22

Some Speciall

PASSAGES FROM

Weſtminſter, London, Yorke, and other parts.

Collected for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that deſire true Information.

From the 5. of *July* to the 12. 1642.

Periodical Publications

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Tueſday the 5. of *June.* 1642.

LEtters came from Sr. *John Hotham*, Informing the Houſe of the Ship *Providence*, laden with Ordinance, Armes, and Ammunition, and driven on the Sands neare *Hull* by Captaine *Piggotte*; that in the night time they (in the Shippe) got out foure Pieces of Ordinance, and planted them on the Bancke to guard the Shippe, ſo that when two little Barks, with 100. Muſquetiers, ſent from *Hull*, came to take the Ship, the Ordinance ſo planted, kept them off: But they took the Packet Boat, going with Letters to the Queen, wherein was Collonell *Aſhburnham*, Sr. *Edward Stradling*, and others, who were brought into *Hull*, and are there in ſafe cuſtodie. Sir *John Hotham* ſent the Pacquet to the Parliament, wherein was one Letter ſealed with the Kinga own Seal, which the Parliament (conceiving was for the Queen) would not open, though ſent at ſuch a time, when Armes are landed to annoy the Parliament, and juſt cauſe of jealouſie that the ſaid Letter might nearely concern them in their ſafety. However, they returned the ſame in the name of both Houſes, with all humility to His Majeſty. But thoſe Letters under the Signet Seale were read, ſome whereof required ſeverall of the Commanders in our Fleet forthwith to repaire with their Ships from the *Downes* to *Humber* (neare *Hull*) and to *Newcaſtle*.

Spilman of *Graies Inne*, a Councellour at Law, was this day called to the Barre in the Houſe of Commons upon his knees, for endeavouring to procure the Benchers of *Grayes Inne* (as they were at Supper on *Saturday* night) to give directions, that His Majeſties laſt *Declaration* (which ſo

much vilifieth the Parliament) might be read on *Sunday* in their Chappell, and when he could not obtaine it that way, procured one Mr. *Byerly*, a Welchman, and two of the young Gentlemen of the Houſe, to attempt to throw the Miniſter out of the Reading place, for refuſing to read the ſame, and would not depart till they had made him to read it. Mr. *Spillman* confeſſed he received the Book, neither from Magiſtrate nor Officer; that he had read it, and acknowledged the aforeſaid behaviour: and being aſked what Law did authorize the reading of ſuch Books in Churches, Anſwered he had read no Law, but knew it had been practiſed (intimating in the Biſhop of *Canterburies* time.)

The Parſon of *Clements* and Dr. *Fullers* Curate were likewiſe ſent for as Delinquents, for reading the ſame in the Churches.

The Charge againſt the Lord Maior of *London* was tranſmitted to the Lords, for Proclaiming the Legality of the *Commiſſion* of *Array*, being warned by the Lords, and by a *Declaration* in Print from both Houſes, to the contrary: None of the City Councell having adviſed him that that *Commiſſion* of *Array* was according to Law, but that he did was in affront to the Parliament, and an indeavour to betray and deſtroy the Priviledge of the Subject.

It was Informed that divers Horſe and Armes are brought from *Carlile* to *Newcaſtle*; and that divers of the Townsmen are much diſpleaſed at the Garriſon; and that the Colliers are like to mutiny, by reaſon Ships doe forbeare to fetch Coales, being affraid if they come there that they ſhalbe ſtayed, and hired for Warre, to the diſturbance of the peace of the Kingdome.

Letters out of *Leiceſterſhire* were read, ſhewing with what reſolution they defend the *Magazine* at *Leiceſter* againſt Mr. *Haſtings*; and how he was glad to retreat from thence: Order was given preſently to ſend down Officers to Traine the Horſe of that County, and that the Maior of *Leiceſter* ſhalbe ſent for into ſafe cuſtodie.

Wedneſday.

THe Houſe received a more particular relation touching *Hull* that on *Munday* laſt, the King came from *Yorke* with 3000 Foot, and 1000. Horſe to *Beverly*, with 14 miles of HULL: there proclaimed that no Perſon whatſoever upon paine of death, ſhould convey any manner of proviſion for the reliefe of *Hull* 200 Men were forthwith ſet on worke in cutting of Trenches to divert the freſh water that runnes to *Hull*, likewiſe the 6 great Pieces of Battery (that came with the reſt of the Ordnance and Ammunition from *Holland*, in the Ship called the *Providence*) were put into a condition for preſent ſervice, and at the ſame time about 200 Horſe

Horſe were ſent into *Lincoln-ſhire*: under the command of the Lord *Willoughby*, (ſonne to the Lord of *Linſey*) and Sir *Thomas Glemham* ſtops all manner of proviſions from *Barton* upon *Humber*, and other parts in *Lincoln ſhire*, toregoing to *Hull*. The Cavaliers then with his Majeſtie often declared their admirati on that Sir *John Pennington* was not come with the Kings Ships from the Downes to ſtoppe all paſſage by Sea: being confident, that upon the diſcharge of the Earle of *Northumberland* from being Admirall, all the Captaines of the Ships would deſert the commands of the Parliament: The Earle of *Warwick* and Sir *Iohn Hotham* being informed of all theſe paſſages, and the King being within an houre and a halfes march, heeſent 3 Meſſengers with a humble Petition to his Majeſtie, one after another, but none of them returned again: Sir *John Pennington* called a Councell of Warre. being ſatisfied, that his Maieſty had laid the Meſſenger faſt) who at firſt inclined if his Maieſtie appeared not there in perſon) to permit the Cavaliers to March neere the Towne with their Ordnance, and to hold them play from off the Walls, and out workes, till the Tyde came to it's height, and then to draw up the Sluice, and so force them to ſwim for their lives. But the Councell reſolved rather (to invent loſſe of blood) preſently to draw up the Sluice (having the advantage of a ſpring Tide, and damn'd the Countrey about *Hull*, which was done accordingly on *Munday* laſt in the Evening. But before it was done Sir *Iohn* gave the Inhabitants thereabouts, convenient notice to remove, their Cattle and goods, and aſſured them what dammage ſoever they received thereby, the Parliament would make ſatisfaction to the full: (he hoped out of the eſtate of thoſe Perſons, moſt active to put the King upon ſuch a deſigne.) And on *Tueſday* after, his Majeſtie returned from *Beverley* toward *Yorke*.

Both Houſes tooke this buſineſſe ſeriouſly into conſideration, and for the defence of that Towne for the uſe of his Maieſtie, ordained that Drummes ſhould beat in and about London, and ſome other Counties for the raiſing of 2000 men to bee ſent to *Hull* by Sea. And that the Earl of *Warwicke* bee deſired to ſend two of his Maieſties Ships from the Downes to *Hull*: to do as Sir *Iohn Hotham* ſhall direct them for his aſſiſtance.

The Houſes (ſeeming to be ſatisfied that the Warre is begun already by his Maieſtie) Ordered a *Declaration* to ſet forth the preparations for war that have beene making by ſome about his Maieſtie, both in *England* and in *Holland* and how long ſince: ſo the Kingdome may ſee, how they have beene deluded by thoſe Lords that certified under their hands at *Yorke*: that there was no ſigne or intention of a preparation for Warre. A Relation was made unto the Houſe, by a Gentleman of the Lord *Brooke*

that came out of *Warwick-ſhire*, of the great forwardneſſe of the Peoples yeilding their obedience to the Ordinance for the *Militia*: there appearing in the whole, about 600 Horſe, about 1400 Voluntiers well Armed beſides other Voluntiers that had no Armes: and all the Trained Bands of the County, except ſome few and inconſiderable perſons: inſomuch as the Earle of *Northampton* who had the Commiſſion of Array, not once appeared to put the ſame in execution.

Secretarie *Nicholas* in a Letter to Mr. *Speaker*, ſignified his Maieſties pleaſure concerning the Ordinance, humbly deſired by both Houſes to be ſent out of the Tower for reliefe of the Province of Munſter, that his Majeſtie tooke their deſire concerning the ſame to bee as a ſcorne put upon him, and when hee had his Armes at HVLL, reſtored him, his Maieſtie would then thinke of giving them an anſwer: That in the meane time the Lievtenant of the Tower had his Maieſties former Warrant of reſtraint lying upon him. This Letter was referred to the Committee, for the conſideration of the defence of the Kingdome, to conſider what courſe was fitteſt to take in diſpoſall of the Kings *Magazines* here for the ſafetie of *Ireland*, (being informed that *Limricke* Caſtle is in danger to bee loſt, partly in regard theſe Ordinances (now deſired) have not com timely over to the provinc of *Munſter*] and likewiſe for the defenc of this Kingdom.

THVRSDAY a Committee was appointed to conſider of the Legality of the diſcharge of the Sheriffe of *Leiceſter*, and putting in of Mr. *Haſtings*, being (as is conceived) contrary to all former preſidents, and deſtructive to the rules, and proceedings of Law; if upon cauſe of diſpleaſure new Sheriffes may be made ſo farre remote from the Courts of Juſtice, who by the Laws and cuſtomes of this Kingdome, ought to preſent three, out of which his Majeſtie chooſeth one; and thoſe perſons named to be returned into the Exchequer, and afterwards into the Chancery, and there ſecurity to be given for the performance of their Office. But in this caſe of *Leiceſterſhire*, none of all this is done.

This day a Bill was preſented to the Houſe by Sr. *Iohn Holland*, for ſetling of the *Militia* for 2 years, giving power to the ſame perſons, mentioned in the *Ordinance* for the *Militia*, to execute the ſame, with the like power as in the former Bill, and with ſmall addition of qualification: But the Houſe thought not fit to read it then, becauſe it would much prejudice the execution of the *Ordinance* for the *Militia*, which uſe was made of the laſt Bill ſent to His Majeſty. However it was unanimouſly declared, *they would preſent a Bill once more to his Majeſty, that the world might ſee they would omit no meanes to obtaine his Majeſties conſent in that which ſo much concerned the ſafety of the Kingdome.*

An

An Order was made for the Indempnity of *Triſtram Whitcombe*, Soveraigne of *Kings Saile*, he being threatned by ſome of the Papiſts in *Corke* to be queſtioned for his life, for writing into *England*, that he thought the Inhabitants in *Corke* and *Yonghall* (if the Engliſh force had them not in ſubjection) would do as their neighbours had done.

A tranſcript of a Letter out of *Holland* was preſented to the Houſe, confirming the preparation of Arms in *Holland* to be ſent into *England*, and that *A great Perſon* had been an earneſt ſuitor to the States of *Holland*, to recall the *Holland* Fleet that lyes before *Dunkerke*, aſſuring them, *that that Fleet went to no part of their Dominions*, but ſhe could not prevaile.

The Houſe was advertiſed that Sr. *Iohn Pennington* was at *Dover*, expecting that ſome of the Kings Ships ſhould fall off from the Earle of *Warwicke*, and come to him, but he failed.

One Mr. *Edwin Sandies* (a Gentleman well affected to the King and Parliament) being provided of Armes for 20. Horſe, and 20. foot, gave command to Muſter his men together, in caſe any ſurpriſeall ſhould be attempted. The Ordinance of Parliament was agreed to, by both Houſes for the Lord *Wharton*, Colonell Generall of the 5000. foot, and 500. Horſe, that are for *Munſter*, to beat up the Drummes for Voluntiers, in regard His Majeſty ſends no Anſwere to the deſire of both Houſes for a Commiſſion to raiſe thoſe men: becauſe alſo delay will hazard that Province, if ſpeedy ſupplyes come not, the Rebells drawing all their conſiderable ſtrength into that part of the Kingdome.

The Charge againſt Mr. *Haſtings* was this day tranſmitted, becauſe he drew out of ſeverall Counties perſons of a very deſperate condition, Armed and conducted them to *Loughborrough*, with Colours flying, there made Proclamation, *That all ſuch as have any affection to this ſervice, they ſhould have Armes at the Townes end*; and divers of them were Armed accordingly, and marched in a Warlike manner 7. or 8. miles, with Colours flying, Drummes beating, and Muſquets laden with bullets, pretending to take from the Earle of *Stamford* the Magazine there, but giving out they would have the blood of the Earle of *Stamford*. That *Haſtings* for divers Miſdemeanours was ſent for by both Houſes; apprehended, and reſtored himſelfe with theſe Forces. That the Sheriffe comming to aſſiſt the meſſenger, they cocked their Piſtolls and Carbines, and had like to have ſhot the Sheriffe and the Meſſenger.

FRIDAY, the Houſe received a Letter from Sir. Tho. Rowe, *expreſſing how ſenſible he was of the Information given to them by the French Ambaſſadour, of a Propoſition ſuppoſed to be made by him to the King of* Hungaria, *for aſſiſtance to the Houſe of* Auſtria *from* England, *be abſolutely denyed the making of any ſuch Propoſition, deſiring his honour might not ſuffer therein. And therfore it was ordered, That the French Ambaſſadour ſhould*

have a Coppy of the Letter, to the end such Declaration may be made for vindicating the Honour of Sr. Thomas Rowe *(as is requisite) in case the Ambassadour was misinformed of his Complaint. Information was given that Mr.* Vernon, *Sheriffe of the County of* Worcester, *had granted out Warrants under his hand (by vertue of the Commission of* Array, *granted to the Prince, the L.* Coventtie, *and other Commissioners, upon pain of Imprisonment to appeare on Wednesday next in their Armes at* Worcester. *That one Mr.* Sherrington Talbet *is very active in advancing that Commission, both which are sent for: and Sergeant* Wilde *and Mr.* Salloway *are sent down to possesse the Countrey of the Illegality of that Commission, and the great bondage it will bring the Subjects and their posterity into, if it succeed, and to assist in the apprehending of the Delinquent L.* Coventry. *Upon further Information given, that the Fresh water River from* Beverly *to* Hull, *had its current diverted by Sr.* Francis Worthley, *and Sr.* Thomas Metham, *and others; and that all provisions by Water and Land were stopped from* Hull, *except what could be sent by Sea. The House Ordered that provision should be sent from* Bostan, *and* Lynne *by Sea, to be guarded with the Ships sent for from the Downs, and* 100. *Barrells of Beere to be sent from* London *to* Hull.

It was further Informed that in the Ship lately come out of Holland, *were divers Commanders, and the L.* Digby *who was Proclaimed a Traytor.*

SATURDAY, Sir John *Holland* made a gallant *Speech* full of loyalty and affection to his Soveraign, and courage and fidelity for the good of the Common-wealth, chiefly insisting upon the reading of the Bill for the *Militia*; which he had presented two dayes before, but was not then thought fit to be proceeded in, moving this in the first place; *That a Declaration might issue out by both Houses, forthwith signifying unto the Kingdome, that they are resolved to insist upon the Ordinance for the* Militia, *being a thing setled by both Houses according to the fundamentall Laws of the Land for the safety of the Kingdome*; That they expect a present and ready obedience to the same in all Counties of the Kingdome, where it is not yet put in execution, and that forthwith it be put in execution where it hath not as yet beene. That the Houses entertaining of this Bill, might not any waies retard the proceedings upon the Ordinance for the *Militia*; as if both Houses inclined to go by Bill because they doubted the validity of that ordinance: But that the reason wherefore the House accepted of that Bill was to testifie to the world how unwilling they are the King should be left out in having power in the execution thereof, if by all waies possible he might bee moved thereunto by his great and most faithfull Councell; And said he was confident if upon this second time of offering this Bill to his Majestie, It was refused, it should be a thing so far from being a disservice to the Kingdome and Parliament, that it would encourage many thousands, nay the Kingdome to assist the Parliament to remove from his Majestie those disaffected persons about him, for the good and peace of the Kingdome and that this Bill once accepted he for his part (as hee hoped most of his countreymen would) should goe on with most cheerfullnesse in furthering the preparation in hand of Horse and Armes, aswell as this step of Accomodation by this Bill, and wished in no kinde to neglect the raising of Horse and men, and advised that this Bill might be finished within two dayes, and sent to the King, that they may know the utmost of his Majestics pleasure: If yeelded unto that the King and Parliament might meete with joy: if denyed, That the Parliament might

might be reſtleſſe till they obtained their juſt and lawfull deſires for the good of the King and Kingdome: upon which ſpeech the Bill was read and committed and a Committee named to the *Declaration*.

The Deputy Lievtenants for the County of *Warwick*, wrote a letter to Maſter *Speaker*, and therein incloſed the *Declaration* made by themſelves, and the Officers and Souldiers of that County of their faithfullneſſe to ſerve the King and Parliament; And their thankfullneſſe for ſo noble a Lord Lievtenant, that there appeared neere upon 800. Horſe, and about 2000. Voluntieres, beſides the Trained Bands of that County, and all with an unanimous conſent deſired their ſervices might be accepted of, to remove thoſe unworthy men that draws his Majeſtie from his great Councell.

It was ordered that officers ſhould be ſent into *Buckinghamſhire* and other *Shires* neere adjacent, to exerciſe the Horſe, and that 1000. *l.* part. of the Moneyes collected in *Buckinghamſhire* towards the raiſing of Horſe, might be imployed to buy Armes for Horſe that are Voluntieres for that County.

This day (though the warning was very ſhort) 5. or 600. of the Horſe liſted, appeared well furniſhed in *Tothill* Fields but the totall number already liſted are about 1200. and 7000 *l.* is deſigned for the buying 500. excellent Horſes and 1000*l.* to buy Piſtolls, Saddles, &c. And 3000 *l.* more to buy Horſe-armes and Saddles for a *Magazine*.

MVnday the 10. of *July* becauſe no time ſhould be loſt, in puting the ordinance for the *Militia* in execution (notwithſtanding the dependence of the Bill for the *Militia*) the Houſe ordered Sir *Edward Hungerford*, and Sir *Io. Evelyn*, to goe downe into *Wiltſhire* to performe that ſervice.

The Committee made a good progreſſe this day in the Bill for the *Militia*, as alſo in the Declaration to put in execution the Ordinance, and are enjoyned to uſe all expedition in both.

The further charge againſt the Lord Major was tranſmitted to the Lords, and delivered at a conference, but his Lordſhip was committed a little before to the Tower, by the Lords, for his former crimes and miſdemeanours,

The Livtenant of the Tower is enjoyned to keepe a ſtrict watch about the Tower and to that end to take in the Hamlet men, the uſuall guard of that place.

There being occaſion to call a common Councell; and the Lord Majors abſence by his impriſonment, neceſſitating the calling of a common Councell by a Deputy or if he refuſed to appoint one, that then the antient Aldermen in towne ought to do it; therefore two meſſengers were appointed to goe and require the ſame of both if the firſt refuſed.

There were letters this day read at a Conference of both Houſes from the Earle of *Warwicke* dated *July* 9 inſtant, *viz* that the Kings ſhip called the *Lyon*, was by diſtreſſe of weather driven (as they came out of *Holland*) into the Downes, and the Captaine like a wily Fox, ſaluted thed Earle of *Warwicke*, and went aboard his ſhip who acquainted him with the Ordinance of *Parliament*, whereby his Lordſhip had command of theſe ſhips, requiring his ſubmiſsion thereunto, which the Captaine ſeemed to decline: he was preſently clapt in hold, and all his officers in the ſhip ſubmitted to the ordinance of *Parliament*, and ſtruck their ſailes and top-

yards,

yards in token of obedience. In this ship there was 42. piece of great brasse ordinance, being a more considerable thing for the good of the *King* and *Parliament*, then if the ship runne on the sands neere *Hull* with her ammunition, had beene brought under command, considering the little vessell loaden with Gunpowder, of a great value taken in the company of this ship. In this ship *Lyon*, Prince *Ruperte* and Prince *Maurice*, with divers other *Commanders*, came in her from *Holland*, but after three dayes and three nights storme at Sea, not having eaten nor drunke in all that time, these two Princes were in a sicke and weak condition, landed in *Holland* againe, and the ships set to Sea againe for the North of *England*, leaving t' em sicke in *Holland*.

Letters came from Sir *Will. Brueton* out of *Cheshire*, who informed the House, that the Earle *Rivers*, a knowne notorious and active *Papist*, (but that of late to make himselfe capable of imployment, to advance the Catholique cause,) hath taken upon a formall profession of a *Protestant* (as divers *Papists* in the kingdome doe) and being a Commissioner for the arraying of that County, hath imprisoned divers men for not obeying that illegall Commission, and that such is the impudencie of the *Papists* in that County, *that they require in the Kings Name, the redelivery of their Armes which were taken from them according to the law, at the disarming of Recusants*: And Sir *Thomas Aston* is a great furtherer of the Commission of *Array*, though he got not halfe so many appeare in foure hundreds, as did for the *Militia* in one hundred.

Letters of the 8. of *July* were read, which came from Sir *John Hotham*, which declared he expected every houre to be assaulted, that endeavour was used to blocke up *Humber* for any ships to passe, that as he had enemies without, so it was not unlikely but some were within, that if hee had (so it were speedily) but 500. men, money and victualls, neither respect of fortune, wife or children, shall make him desert the *Parliament*, but in this service, for the good of *King* and *Parliament*, will sacrifice his life, rather then yeeld the Towne. He informes, that the waters he let out at the sluces, have damm'd up the high wayes, but the fields have not so much hurt, nor such quantities of water, but that they may passe within a mile of the towne. Information was given, that the *King* is either come into *Lincolnshire*, or will be there suddenly, by force of armes to compell obedience to the Commission of *Array*, there being three troopes there for that purpose, already; and to come from *Lincolne* to *Leycester*. The Lord *Digby* is at *Court*, was received by the *King* with great respect (though privately) but some at *Court* advised his Majesty, not to harbour a man, whom his Majesty had proclaimed Traitor, it would prejudice his Majesty in the opinion of his subjects, and occasion them to believe that his Majesty drawing from the *South*, so neere *Hull*, was in pursuance of his Lordships advice to the *Queene* in the letter long since intercepted by the *Parliament*, so that now he is little spoken of at *Court*. Some say the *King* will not look on him, others, that he is gone for *Holland*. A declaration this day passed both *Houses*, which is to be sent into *Yorkeshire*, to satisfie the Countrey about *Hull*, that all those persons whose lands have received any prejudice, by S. *John Hothams* letting forth the water, shall receive satisfaction to the full, and that whosoever shall goe and relieve *Hull*, notwithanding any Declaration to the contrary, shall not onely receive full satisfaction, but be protected by *Parliament*.

FINIS.

THE TRVE LAVV OF FREE MONARCHY,

OR

THE RECIPROCALL and mutuall duty betvvixt a free KING and His naturall Subjects.

By a well affected ſubject of the Kingdome of SCOTLAND.



LONDON, Printed, and are to be ſold by *T. P.* in *Queens-head-Alley* in Pater noſter-row, 1642.

An Advertiſement to the Reader.

ACcept, I pray you, (my deare Countrey-men) as thankfully this Pamphlet that I offer unto you, as lovingly it is written for your weale. I would be loath both to be faſchious and feeſleſſe. And therefore, if it be not ſententious, at leaſt it is ſhort. It may be ye miſſe many thing that ye look for in it. But for excuſe thereof, conſider rightly that I only lay down herein the true grounds, to teach you the right way, without waſting time upon refuting the adverſaries. And yet I truſt, if ye will take narrow tent, ye ſhall find moſt of their great guns payed home again, either with contrary concluſions, or tacite objections, ſuppoſe in a dairned forme, and indirectly. For my intention is to inſtruct, and no tirritat, if I may eſchew it. The profit I would wiſh you to make of, it is, as wel ſo to frame all your actions according to theſe grounds, as may confirme you in the courſe of honeſt and obedient ſubjects to your King, in all times comming, as alſo, when ye ſhall fall in purpoſe with any that ſhall praiſe or excuſe the by-paſt rebellions, that break forth either in this Countrey or in any other, ye ſhall herewith be armed againſt their Siren ſongs, laying their particular examples to the ſquare of theſe grounds. Whereby ye ſhall ſoundly keep the courſe of righteous Iudgement, diſcerning wiſely of every action, only according to the quality thereof, and not according to your prejudged conceits of the committers. So ſhall ye, by reaping profit to your ſelves, turne my paine into pleaſure. But leaſt the whole Pamphlet run out at the gaping mouth of this Preface, if it were any more enlarged: I end, with committing you to God, and me to your charitable cenſures.

C. φιλοπατρις.

The true Law of free Monarchies, Or the reciprocke and mutuall duty betwixt a free King and his naturall Subjects.

AS there is not a thing ſo neceſſary to be known by the people of any Land, next the knowledge of their God, as the right knowledge of their alleageance, according to the forme of Government eſtabliſhed among them, eſpecially in a *Monarchy*, (which forme of Government, as reſembling the Divinity, approcheth neareſt to perfection, as all the learned and wiſe men from the beginning have agreed upon : Vnity being the perfection of all things) So hath the ignorance, and (which is worſe) the ſeduced opinion of the multitude blinded by them, who think themſelves able to teach and inſtruct the ignorants, procured the wrack and and overthrow of ſundry flouriſhing Common-wealths; and heaped heavy calamities, threatning utter deſtruction upon others. And the ſmiling ſucceſſe, that unlawfull rebellions have oftentimes had againſt Princes in ages paſt (ſuch hath been the miſery, and iniquity of the time) hath by way of practiſe ſtrengthned many in their error: albeit there cannot be a more deceivable argument; then to judge by the juſtneſſe of the cauſe by the event thereof; as hereafter ſhall be proved more at length, And among others, no Common-wealth, that ever hath been ſince the beginning, hath had greater need of the true knowledge of this ground, then this our ſo long diſordered and diſtracted Common-wealth hath: the misknowledge hereof being the only ſpring, from whence have flowed ſo many endleſſe calamities, miſeries, and confuſions, as is better felt by many, than the cauſe thereof well known, and deeply conſidered. The natural zeale therfore, that I beare to this my native Country, with the great pity I have to ſee the ſo-long diſturbance therof, for lack of the true knowledg of this ground (as I have ſaid before) hath compelled me at laſt to break ſilence, to diſcharge my conſcience to you, my deare Countrymen herein, that knowing the ground from whence theſe your many endles troubles have proceeded, as well as ye have already too-long taſted the bitter fruits thereof, ye may by knowledge, and eſchewing of the cauſe eſcape, and divert the lamentable effects that ever neceſſarily follow thereupon. I have choſen then only to ſet down in this ſhort Treatiſe the true grounds of the mutuall duty, and allegeance betwixt a free and abſolute *Monarche*, and his people; not to trouble your patience with anſwering the contrary propoſitions, which ſome hath not been aſhamed to ſet down in writ, to the poyſoning of infinite number of ſimple ſoules, and their own perpetuall, and well deſerved infamy. For by anſwering them, I could not have eſchewed whiles to pick, and bite well ſaltly their perſons: which would rather have bred contentiouſneſſe among the readers (as they had liked or miſliked) then ſound inſtruction of the truth. Which I proteſt to him that is the ſearcher of all hearts, is the only mark that I ſhoot at herein.

Firſt then, I will ſet down the true grounds, whereupon I am to build, out of the Scriptures, ſince *Monarchy* is the true pattern of Divinity, as I have already ſaid: next, from the fundamentall Laws of our own Kingdome, which neareſt muſt concerne us: thirdly, from the Law of nature, by divers ſimilitudes drawn out of the ſame: and will conclude ſinne by anſwering the moſt waighty and appearing incommodities that can be objected.

The Princes duty to his ſubjects is ſo clearly ſet down in many places of the Scriptures, and ſo openly confeſſed by all the good Princes, according to their oath in their Coronation, as not needing to be long therein, I ſhall as ſhortly as I can run through it.

Pſal.82.6. Kings are called *Gods* by the Propheticall King *David*, becauſe they ſit upon God his throne in the earth, and have the count of their adminiſtration to give unto him. Their office is, *To miniſter juſtice and judgement to the people*, as the ſame *David* ſaith, *To advance the good, and puniſh the evill*, as he likewiſe ſaith: *To eſtabliſh good laws to his people, and procure obedience to the ſame*, as divers good Kings of *Judah* did: *To procure the peace of the people*: as the ſame *David* ſaith, *To decide all controverſies that can ariſe among them*, as *Salomon* did: *To be the Miniſter of God for the weale of them that do well, and as the Miniſter of God, to take vengeance upon them that do evill*, as S. *Paul* ſaith. And finally, *As a good Paſtor, to go out and in before his people*, as is ſaid in the firſt of *Samuel*: *That through the Princes proſperity the peoples peace may be procured*, as *Jeremy* ſaith.

Pſal.101.
2 King 18.
2 Chro 29.
2 Kin 22. & 23.2. 34. & 35.
Pſal.72
1 King.3.
Rom.13.
1 Sam.8.
Jer 29.

And therefore in the Coronation of our own Kings, as well as of every Chriſtian Monarch, they give their oath, firſt to maintain the Religion preſently profeſſed within their Countrey, according to their laws, whereby it is eſtabliſhed, and to puniſh all thoſe that ſhould preſſe to alter, or diſturbe the profeſſion thereof: And next, to maintain all the lowable and good laws made by their predeceſſors, to ſee them put in execution, and the breakers, and violaters thereof, to be puniſhed, according to the tenor of the ſame: And laſtly, to maintain the whole Countrey, and every ſtate therein, in all their ancient priviledges, and liberties, as well againſt all forraine enemies, as among themſelves: And ſhortly to procure the weale and flouriſhing of his people, not only in maintaining and puting to execution the old lowable laws of the Countrey, and by eſtabliſhing of new (as neceſſity and evill manners will require) but by all other meanes poſſible to foreſee and prevent all dangers, that are likely to fall upon them, and to maintain concord, wealth, and civility among them, as a loving father, and carefull watchman, caring for them more than for himſelfe, knowing himſelfe to be ordained for them, and they not for him; and therefore countable to that great God, who placed him as his lieutenant over them, upon the perill of his ſoule, to procure the weale of both ſoules and bodies, as far as in him lieth, of all them that that are committed to his charge. And this Oath in the Coronation is the cleareſt, civill and fundamentall law, whereby the Kings office is properly defined.

By the law of nature the King becomes a naturall Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation. And as the father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nouriſhing, education and vertuous government of his children: even ſo is the King bound to care for all his ſubjects. As all the toyle, and pain that the father can take for his children, will be thought light and well beſtowed by him, ſo that the effect thereof redound to their profit and weale: So ought the Prince to do towards his people As the kindly father ought to foreſee all inconvenients and dangers that may ariſe towards his children, and though with the hazard of his own perſon, preſſe to prevent the ſame: So ought the King toward his people. As the Fathers wrath & correction upon any of his children, that offendeth, ought to be by a fatherly chaſtizment ſeaſoned with pity, as long as there is any hope of amendment in them: So ought the King towards any of his Lieges that offendes in that meaſure. And ſhortly as the fathers chief joy ought to be in

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procuring his childrens welfare, rejoycing at their weale, sorrowing and pitying at their evill, to hazard for their safety, travell for their rest, wake for their sleep; and in a word, to think that his earthly felicity and life standeth & liveth more in them, nor in himselfe: So ought a good Prince think of his people.

As to the other branch of this mutuall, and reciprock band, is the duty and alleageance, that the Lieges owe to their King. The ground whereof, I take out of the words of *Samuel*, dited by Gods spirit, when God had given him commandement to heare the peoples voyce in chooſing and annointing them a King. And becauſe that place of Scripture being wellunderſtood, is ſo pertinent for our purpoſe, I have inſert herein the very words of the text.

9 *Now therefore harken to their voyce: howbeit yet teſtifie unto them, and ſhew them the manner of the King, that ſhall raigne over them.*

10 *So Samuel told all the words of the Lord nuto the people that asked a King of him.*

11 *And he ſaid, this ſhall be the manner of the King that ſhall raigne over you; he will take your ſons, and appoint them to his Charets, and to be his horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his Charet.*

12 *Alſo he will make them his Captaines over thouſands, and Captaines over fifties, and to eare his ground, and to reape his harveſt, and to make inſtruments of war, and the things that ſerve for his Charets.*

13 *He will alſo take your daughters, and make them Apothecaries, and Cookes, and Bakers.*

14 *He will take your Fields, and your Vineyardes, and your beſt Olive-trees, and give them to his ſervants.*

15 *And he will take the tenth of your ſeed, and of your Vineyards, and give it to his Eunuches and to his ſervants:*

16 *And he will take your men-ſervants, and your maid-ſervants, and the chiefe of your yong men, and your aſſes, and put them to his work.*

17 *He will take the tenth of your ſheep: and ye ſhall be his ſervants.*

18 *And yee ſhall cry out at that day, becauſe of your King whom yee have choſen you: and the Lord will not heare you at that day.*

19 *But the people would not hearc the voyce of Samuel. but did ſay: Nay but there ſhall be a King over us.* 20 *And we alſo will be like all other nations. and our King ſhall judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battels.*

20 *And we alſo would be like all other Nations, and our King ſhall judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battels.*

That theſe words and diſcourſes of *Samuel* were dited by Gods ſpirit, it needs no further probation, but that it is a place of Scripture, ſince the whole Scripture is dited by that inſpiration, as *Paul* ſaith: which ground no good Chriſtian will, or dare deny. Wherupon it muſt neceſſarily follow, that theſe ſpeeches proceeded not from any ambition in *Samuel*, as one loath to quite the reines that he ſo long had ruled, and therefore deſirous, by making odious the government of a King, to diſſwade the people from their farther importunate craving of one. For as the Text proveth it plainly, he then conveened them to give them a reſolute grant of their demand, as God by his own mouth commanded him, ſaying:

Harken to the voyce of the people.

And to preſſe to diſſwade them from that, which he then came to grant unto them, were a thing very impertinent in a wiſe man; much more in the Prophet of the moſt high God. And likewiſe, it well appeared in all the courſe of his life after, that his ſo long refuſing of their ſute before came not of any ambition in him:

him: which he well proved in praying, and as it were importuning God for the weale of *Saul*. Yea, after God had declared his reprobation unto him, yet he desisted not, while God himselfe was wrath at his praying, and discharged his father sute in that errant. And that these words of *Samuel* were not uttered, as a prophecy of *Saul* their first Kings defection, it well appeareth, as well because we heare no mention made in the Scripture of any his tyranny and oppression, (which, if it had been, would not have been left unpainted out therein, as well as his other faults were, as in a true mirrour of all the Kings behaviours, who it describeth) as likewise in respect that *Saul* was chosen by God for his vertue, and meet qualities to govern his people: whereas his defection sprung after-hand from the corruption of his own nature, and not through any default in God, who they that think so, would make as a step-father to his people, in making wilfully a choyce of the unmeeteſt for governing them, since the election of that King lay absolutly and immediatly in Gods hand. But by the cõtrary it is plain, and evident, that this speech of *Samuel* to the people, was to prepare their hearts before the hand to the due obedience of that King, which God was to give unto them; and therfore opened up unto them, what might be the intollerable qualities that might fall in some of their Kings, thereby preparing them to patience, not to resist to Gods ordinance, but as he would have said. Since God hath granted your importunate sute in giving you a King: as ye have else committed an error in shaking off Gods yoke, and over-hasty seeking of a King: so beware ye fall not into the next, in casting off also rashly that yoke, which God at your earnest sute hath laid upon you, how hard that ever it seem to be. For as ye could not have obtained one without the permission and ordinance of God: so may ye no more, fro he be once set over you, shake him off without the same warrant. And therfore in time arme your selves with patience and humility, since he, that hath the only power to make him, hath the only power to unmake him; and ye only to obey, bearing with these straits that I now fore-shew you, as with the finger of God, which lyeth not in you to take off. And will ye consider the very words of the Text in order, as they are set down, it shall plainly declare the obedience that the people owe to their King in all respects.

First, God commanded *Samuel* to do two things; the one to grant the people their sute in giving them a King; the other to forwarn them, what some Kings wil do unto them, that they may not thereafter in their grudging & murmuring say; when they shall feele the snares here forespoken: We would never have had a King of God, in case, when we craved him, he had let us know how we would have been used by him, as now we find but overlate. And this is meant by these words. *Now therefore hearken unto their voyce; howbeit yet testifie unto them, and shew them the manner of the King that shall rule over them.*

And next, *Samuel* in execution of this commandement of God, he likewise doth two things.

First, he declares unto them, what points of Iustice and equity their King will break in his behaviour unto them. And next he putteth them out of hope, that, weary as they will, they shall not have leave to shake of that yoke, which God through their importunity hath laid upon them. The points of Equity that the King shall breake unto them are expressed in these words.

11 *He will take your sons, and appoint them to his Charets, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his Charet.*

12 *Also*

12 *Also he will make them his Captaines over thousands, and Captaines over fifties, and to eare his ground, and to reape his harveſt, and to make inſtruments of War, and the things that ſerve for his Charets.*

13 *He will alſo take your daughters, and make them Apothecaries, and Cookes, and Bakers.*

The points of Iuſtice, that he ſhall break unto thē, are expreſſed in theſe words.

14 *He will take your Fields, and your Vineyardes, and your beſt Olive-trees, and give them to his ſervants.*

15 *And he will take the tenth of your ſeed, and of your Vineyards, and give it to his Eunnches and to his ſervants: And alſo the tenth of your ſheep.*

As if he would ſay, The beſt and nobleſt of your bloud ſhall be compelled in laviſh and ſervile offices to ſerve him. And not content of his own patrimony wil make up a rent to his own uſe out of your beſt lands, vineyards, orchards & ſtore of cattell. So as inverting the law of nature and office of a King, your perſons and the perſons of your poſterity, together with your lands, and all that ye poſſeſſe ſhall ſerve his private uſe, and inordinate appetit. And as unto the next point (which is his forewarning them, that, weary as they will, they ſhall not have leave to ſhake off the yoake, which God through their importunity hath layd upon them) it is expreſſed in theſe words.

18 *And yee ſhall cry out at that day, becauſe of your King whom yee have choſen you: and the Lord will not heare you at that day.*

As he would ſay, When ye ſhall find theſe things in proof that now I forewarn you of, although you ſhall grudg and murmure, yet it ſhall not be lawfull to you to caſt it off, in reſpect it is not only the ordinance of God; but alſo your ſelves have choſen him unto you, thereby renouncing for ever all priviledges, by your willing conſent, out of your hands, wherby in any time hereafter ye would claim and call back unto your ſelves again that power, which God ſhal not permit you to do. And for further taking away of al excuſe, and retraction of this their contract, after their conſent to underly this yoake with all the burthens that he hath declared unto them, he craves their anſwer, & conſent to his propoſition: which appeareth by their anſwer, as it is expreſſed in theſe words.

19 *Nay but there ſhall be a King over us.* 20 *And we alſo will be like all other nations, and our King ſhall judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battels.*

As if they would have ſaid; All your ſpeechs and hard conditions ſhall not skar us, but we will take the good and evill of it upon us, and we will be content to bear whatſoever burthen it ſhall pleaſe our King to lay upon us, as well as other nations do. And for the good we will get of him in fighting our battels, we wil more patiently beare any burthen that ſhall pleaſe him to lay on us.

Now then, ſince the erection of this Kingdom and *Monarchy* among the *Iews* and the law thereof may, and ought to be a patern to all *Chriſtian* and well founded Monarchies, as being founded by God himſelf, who by his Oracle, and out of his owne mouth gave the law thereof: what liberty can broyling ſpirits, and rebellious minds claim juſtly to againſt any Chriſtian *Monarchy:* ſince they can claime to no greater liberty on their part, nor the people of God might have done, & no greater tyranny was ever executed by any Prince or Tyrant, whom they can object, nor was here fore-warned to the people of God, (and yet all rebellion countermanded unto thē) if tyrannizing over mens perſons, ſons, daughters and ſervants; redacting noble houſes, and men, and women of noble bloud, to flaviſh and ſervile offices; and extortion, and ſpoile of their lands and goods to

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the Princes own private use and commodity, and of his courteours and servants, may be called a tyranny?

And that this proposition grounded upon the Scripture, may the more clearly appeare to be true by the practise oft proved in the same book, we never read, that ever the Prophets perswaded the people to rebell against the Prince, how wicked soever hee was.

1 Sam. 15. When *Samuel* by Gods command pronounced to the same King *Saul*, that his Kingdom was rent from him, and given to another (which in effect was a degrading of him) yet his next action following that was peaceably to turn home, and with floods of tears to pray to God to have some compassion upon him.

And *David* notwithstanding he was inaugurate in that same degraded Kings room, not only (when he was cruelly persecuted for no offence, but good service done unto him) would not presume, having him in his power, skantly, but with great reverence, to touch the garment of the annoynted of the Lord, and in his 1 Sam. 24. words blessed him: but likewise, when one came to him vanting himself untruly 2 Sam. 1. to have slain *Saul*, he without forme of proces, or tryall of his guilt, caused only for guiltinesse of his tongue put him to sodain death.

And although there was never a more monstruous persecutor and tyrant than *Achab* was: yet all the rebellion, that *Elias* ever raised against him, was to fly to the wilderneſſe: where for fault of sustentation, hee was fed with the Corbies. And I think no man wil doubt but *Samuel*, *David* and *Elias*, had as great power to perswad the people, if they had liked to have imployed their credit to uprores and rebellions against these wicked Kings, as any of our seditious preachers in these dayes of whatsoever Religion, either in this Countrey or in *France*, had that busied themselves most to stir up rebellion under cloak of Religion. This far the only love of verity, I protest, without hatred at their persons, have moved me to be somewhat satyrique.

And if any will leane to the extraordinary examples of degrading or killing of Kings in the Scriptures, therby to cloake the peoples rebellion, as by the deed of *Jehu*, and such like extraordinaries: I answer, besides that they want the like warrant that they had, if extraordinary examples of the Scripture shal be drawn in dayly practise; murder under traist, as in the persons of *Ahud* and *Jael*; theft, as in the persons of the *Israelites* comming out of *Egipt*; lying to their parents to the hurt of their brother, as in the person of *Iacob*; shall all be counted as lawfull and allowable vertues, as rebellion against Princes. And to conclude, the practise through the whole Scripture proveth the peoples obedience given to that sentence in the Law of God: *Thou shalt not raile upon the Iudges neither speak evill of the Ruler of thy people.* To end then the ground of my proposition taken out of the Scripture, let two speciall and notable examples, one under the law, Ier. 27. another under the Euangel, conclude this part of my alledgeance. Vnder the law, *Ieremy* threatneth the people of God with utter destruction for rebellion to *Nabuchadnezzar* the King of *Babel*, who although he was an Idolatrous persecutor, a forrain King, a Tyrant, & usurper of their liberties; yet in respect they had once Ier. 29. received & acknowledged him for their King, he not only commandeth them to obey him, but even to pray for his prosperity, adjoyning the reason to it; because Ier. 33. in his prosperity stood their peace. And under the Euangell that King, whom *Paul* bids the *Romaines Obey* and serve for *conscience sake*, was *Nero* that bloudy Tyrant, an infamy to his age, and a monster to the world, being also an Idolatrous persecutor, as the K. of *Babel* was. If then Idolatry & defection frō God, tyranny over their people, & persecutiō of the Saints, for their professiō sake, hindred not

the ſpirit of *God* to command his people under all higheſt paine to give them all due and hearty obedience for conſcience ſake, giving to *Ceſar* that which was *Ceſars*, and to God that which was Gods, as Chriſt ſaith, and that this practiſe throughout the booke of God agreeth with this law, which he made in the erection of that Monarchie (as is at length before deduced) what ſhameleſſe preſumption is it to any Chriſtian people now a dayes to claime to that unlawfull liberty, which God refuſed to his own peculiar and choſen people? Shortly then to take up in two or three ſentences, grounded upon all theſe arguments, out of the Law of God, the duty, and alleageance of the people to their lawfull King, their obedience, I ſay, ought to bee to him, as to Gods Lievtenant in earth, obeying his commands in all things, except directly againſt God, as the commands of Gods Miniſter, acknowledging him a Judge ſet by God over them, having power to judge them, but to be judged onely by God, whom to only he muſt give count of his judgment; fearing him as their Judge loving him as their Father; praying for him as their Protector; for his continuance, he be good, for his amendment, if he be wicked, following and obeying his lawfull commands, eſchewing and flying his fury in his unlawfull, without reſiſtance, but by ſobs and teares to God, according to that Sentence uſed in the Primitive Church in the time of the perſecution.

Preces, & Lachryma ſunt arma Eccleſiæ.

Now as for the deſcribing the alleageance, that the lieges owe to their Native King, out of the fundamentall and Civill Law, eſpecially of this Country, as I promiſed, the ground muſt firſt be ſet down of the firſt manner of eſtabliſhing the Laws and forme of government among us: that the ground being firſt right layd, we may thereafter build rightly thereupon. Although it be true (according to the affirmation of thoſe that pride themſelves to be the ſcourges of Tyrants) that in the firſt beginning of Kings riſing among *Gentiles*, in the time of the firſt age, divers commonwealths and ſocieties of men chooſed out one among themſelves, who for his vertues and valour, being more eminent then the reſt, was choſen out by them, and ſet up in that roome, to maintaine the weakeſt in their right, to throw downe oppreſſours, and to foſter and continue the ſociety among men; which could not otherwiſe, but by vertue of that unity be well done yet theſe examples are nothing pertinent to us; becauſe our kingdom and diverſe other Monarchies are not in that caſe, but had their beginning in a far contrary faſhion. For as our Chronicles beare witneſſe, this, and eſpecially our part of it, being ſcantly inhabited, but by very few, and they as barbarous and ſcant of civility, as number, there comes our King *Fergus*, with a great number with him, out of *Ireland*, which was long inhabited before us, and making himſelfe maſter of the Country by his own friendſhip, and force, as well of the *Ireland-men* that came with him, as of the Country-men that willingly fell to him, he made himſelfe King and Lord, as well of the whole lands, as of the whole inhabitants within the ſame. Thereafter he and his ſucceſſours, a long while after their being Kings, made and eſtabliſhed their lawes from time to time, and as the occaſion required. So the truth is contrary in our ſtate to the falſe affirmation of ſuch ſeditious Writers, as would perſwade us, that the Lawes and ſtate of our countrey were eſtabliſhed before the admitting of a King: whereby the contrary ye ſee it plainly proved, that a wiſe King comming among barbares, firſt eſtabliſhed the eſtate and forme of government, and thereafter made lawes by himſelfe, and his ſucceſſors according thereto.

The Kings therefore in *Scotland* were before any eſtates or rankes of men within the ſame, before any *Parliaments* were holden, or Lawes made: and by them was the Land diſtributed (which at the firſt was whole theirs) ſtates erected and decerned, and formes of government deviſed and eſtabliſhed. And ſo it followes of neceſſity, that the Kings were the authors and makers of the lawes, and not the lawes of the Kings. And to prove this my aſſertion more clearely, it is evident by the Roles of our Chancellery (which containe our eldeſt and fundamentall lawes) that the King is *Dominus omnium bonorum*, and *Dominus directus totius Dominij*, the whole ſubjects being but his vaſſals, & from him holding all their lands as their Over-lord, who according to good ſervices done unto him, changeth their holdings from tacke to few, from ward to blanch, erecteth new Baronies, and uniteth old, without adviſe or authority of either *Parliament*, or any other ſubalterin judicial ſeate. So as if wrong might be admitted in play (albeit I grant wrong ſhould bee wrong in all perſons) the King might have a better colour for his pleaſure, without further reaſon, to take the land from his lieges, as over-lord of the whole, and doe with it as pleaſeth him, ſince all that they hold is of him: then, as fooliſh writers ſay, the people might un-make the King, and put an other in his roome. But either of them, as unlawfull, and againſt the ordinance of God, ought to be alike odious to the thought, much leſſe put in practiſe. And according to theſe fundamentall lawes already alledged, wee daily ſee that in the *Parliament* (which is nothing elſe but the head Court of the King, and his vaſſals) the lawes are but craved by his ſubjects, and only made by him at their rogation, and with their adviſe. For albeit the K. make daily ſtatutes and ordinances, injoyning ſuch pains thereto as he thinks meet, without any adviſe of *Parliament* or eſtates: yet it lyes in the power of no *Parliament*, to make any kinde of law or ſtatute, without his Scepter be to it, for giving it the force of a law. And although diverſe changes have been in other Countries of the bloud Royall, and kingly houſe, the Kingdome being reſtly conqueſt from one to another, as in our neighbour country in *England*, (which was never in ours) yet the ſame ground of the Kings right over all the Land, and ſubjects thereof remaineth alike in all other free *Monarchies*, as well as in this. For when the Baſtard of *Normandie* came into *England*, and made himſelfe King, was it not by force, and with a mighty army? Where he gave the Law, and tooke none, changed the lawes, inverted the order of government, ſet downe the ſtrangers his followers in many of the old poſſeſſours roomes, as at this day well appeareth a great part of the Gentlemen in *England*, being come of the *Norman* bloud, and their old Lawes, which to this day they are ruled by, are written in his language, and not in theirs. And yet his ſucceſſors have with great happineſſe enjoyed the Crowne to this day. Whereof the like was alſo done by all them that conqueſted them before.

And for concluſion of this point, that the King is over-lord over the whole lands, it is likewiſe daily proved by the Law of our hoords, of want of Heires and of Baſtardies. For if a hoord be found under the earth, becauſe it is no more in the keeping or uſe of any perſon, it of the Law pertaines to the King. If a perſon, inheritour of any lands or goods, dye without any ſort of heires, all his lands and goods returne to the King. And if a baſtard dye unrehabled without heires of his body (which rehabling only lyes in the Kings hands) all that he hath likewiſe returnes to the King. And as yee ſee it manifeſt, that the King is Over-Lord of the whole

Land:

Land: *So is hee maſter over every perſon that inhabiteth the ſame, having power over the life and death of every one of them.* For although a juſt Prince will not take the life of any of his Subjects without a cleare Law: Yet the ſame Lawes, whereby he taketh them, are made by himſelfe, or his predeceſſors. And ſo the power flowes alwayes from himſelfe: As by daily experience we ſee, good and juſt Princes will from time to time make new lawes and ſtatutes, adjoyning the penalties to the breakers thereof: which before the Law was made, had bin no crime to the ſubject to have committed. Not that I deny the old definition of a King, and of a law; which makes the King to be a ſpeaking Law, and the Law a dumb King: for certainely a King, that governes not by law, can neither bee countible to God for his adminiſtration, nor have a happie and eſtabliſhed Raigne. For albeit it bee true that I have at length proved, that the King is above the Law, as both the Author, and giver of ſtrength thereto: yet a good King, will not onely delight to rule his ſubjects by the Law; but even will conforme himſelfe in his own actions thereunto, alwayes keeping that ground, that the health of the common-wealth be his chiefe Law. And where he ſees the Law doubt-ſome or rigorous, he may interpret or mittigate the ſame: leſt otherwiſe *Summum jus* be *ſumma injuria*. And therfore generall lawes, made publikely in Parliament, may upon knowne reſpects to the King by his authority be mittigated, and ſuſpended upon cauſes only knowne to him. As likewiſe, although I have ſaid, a good king will frame all his actions to be according to the Law: yet is hee not bound thereto but of his good will, and for good example giving to his ſubjects. For as in the Law of abſtaining from eating of fleſh in *Lenton*, the King will for examples ſake, make his own houſe to obſerve the Law: yet no man will think he needs to take a licence to eate fleſh. And although by our Laws, the bearing & wearing of hag-buts, & Piſtolets be forbidden, yet no man can finde any fault in the King, for cauſing his traine uſe them in any raide upon the Bordourers, or other malefactours or rebellious ſubjects. So as I have already ſaid, a good King, although he be above the Law, will ſubject and frame his actions thereto, for examples ſake to his ſubjects, and of his own free-will, but not as ſubject or bound thereto. Since I have ſo clearely proved then out of the fundamentall laws & practiſe of this Country, what right and power a King hath over his land and ſubjects, it is eaſie to be underſtood, what alleageance and obedience his lieges owe unto him. I meane alwayes of ſuch free Monarchies as our King is, and not of elective Kings, and much leſſe of ſuch ſort of governours, as the Dukes of *Venice* are, whoſe Ariſtocraticke, and limited government is nothing like to free Monarchies: although the malice of ſome writers hath not beene aſhamed to miſ-know any difference to be betwixt them. And if it be not lawfull to any particular Lords tenants or vaſſals, upon whatſoever pretext, to controle and diſplace their maſter, and Over-lord (as is cleerer nor the Sun by all lawes of the world) how much leſſe may the ſubjects and vaſſals of the great Over-lord the King controle or diſplace him? And ſince in all inferiour judgments in the Land, the people may not upon any reſpects diſplace their Magiſtrates, although but ſubaltern: for the people of a borough, cannot diſplace their provoſt before the time of their election: nor in Eccleſiaſticall policy the flock can upon any pretence diſplace the paſtor, nor Iudge of him yea even the ſchoolemaſter cannot be diſplaced by his ſchollers. If theſe, cannot bee diſplaced for any occaſion or pretext by them that are ruled by them: much leſſe is it

upon any pretext to controle or displace the great Provost, and great Schoole-master of the whole land: except by inverting the order of all Law and reason, the commanded may bee made to command their commander, the judged to judge their Judge, and they that are governed, to governe their time about their Lord and governour. And the agreement of the Law of nature in this our ground with the Lawes and constitutions of God, and man, already alledged, will by two similitudes easily appeare. The King towards his people is rightly compared to a Father of children, and to a head of a body compoſed of divers members. For as Fathers, the good Princes, and Magiſtrates of the people of God acknowledged themſelves to their ſubjects And for all other well ruled common-wealths, the ſtile of *Pater-Patria* was ever, and is commonly uſed to Kings. And the proper office of a King towards his ſubjects agrees very well with the office of the head towards the body, and all members thereof. For from the head, being the ſeate of judgement, proceedeth the care and foreſight of guiding, and preventing all evill that may come to the body or any part thereof. The head cares for the body, ſo doth the King for his people. As the diſcourſe and direction flowes from the head, and the execution according thereunto belongs to the reſt of the members, every one according to their office: ſo is it betwixt a wiſe Prince, and his people. As the judgement comming from the head may not only imploy the members, every one in their own office, as long as they are able for it, but likewiſe in caſe any of them be affected with any infirmity muſt care and provide for their remedy, in caſe it be curable; and if otherwiſe, cut them off for feare of infecting of the reſt: even ſo is it betwixt the Prince, and his people. And as there is ever hope of curing any diſeaſed member by the direction of the head, as long as it is whole; but by the contrary, if it bee troubled, all the members are partakers of that paine, ſo is it betwixt the Prince and his people.

And now firſt for the fathers part (whoſe naturall love to his children I deſcribed in the firſt part of this my diſcourſe, ſpeaking of the duty that Kings owe to their ſubjects) conſider, I pray you what duty his children owe to him, and whether upon any pretext whatſoever, it will not be thought monſtrous and unnaturall to his ſons, to riſe up againſt him, to controll him at their appetite, and when they think good, to ſley him, or to cut him off, and adopt to themſelves any other they pleaſe in his roome. Or can any pretence of wickedneſſe or rigour on his part bee a juſt excuſe for his children to put hand into him? And although we ſee by the courſe of nature, that love ever uſeth to deſcend more than to aſcend: in caſe it were true, that the Father hated and wronged the children never ſo much, will any man, endued with the leaſt ſpark of reaſon, think it lawfull for them to meete him with the line? Yea, ſuppoſe the Father were furiouſly following his ſons with a drawne ſword: is it lawfull for them to turne, and ſtrike againe, or make any reſiſtance but by flight? I thinke ſurely, if there were no more but the example of bruit beaſts, and unreaſonable creatures, it may ſerve well inough to qualifie and proove this my argument. We read often the piety that the Storkes have to their old and decayed parents. And generally we know, that there are many ſorts of beaſts and foules, that with violence and many bloudy ſtrokes will beate and baniſh their young ones from them, how ſoone they perceive them to be able to fend themſelves. But we never read or heard of any reſiſtance on their part, except among the Vipers: which proves ſuch perſons, as ought to be reaſonable creatures, and yet unnaturally follow this exam-

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ple, to bee indued with their viperous nature. And for the ſimilitude of the head and the body, it may very well fall out that the head will be forced to ſuffer cut off ſome rotten member (as I have already ſaid) to keep the reſt of the body in integrity. But what ſtate the body can be in, if the head, for any infirmity that can fall to it, be cut off, I leave it to the readers judgment. So as (to conclude this part) if the children may upon any pretext that can be imagined, lawfully riſe up againſt their Father, cut him off, and chooſe any other in his room; and if the body for the weale of it, may for any infirmity that can be in the head, ſtrike it off: then I cannot deny that the people may rebell, controle, and diſplace, or cut off their King at their pleaſure, and upon reſpects moving them. And whether theſe ſimilitudes repreſent better the office of a King; or the offices of Maſters or Deacons of crafts, or Doctors in Phyſicke (which jolly compariſons are uſed by ſuch writers as maintaine the contrary propoſition) I leave it alſo to the Readers diſcretion. And in caſe any doubts might ariſe in any part of this treatiſe, (I will according to my promiſe) with the ſolution of 4. principall and moſt weighty doubts, that the adverſaries may object, conclude this diſcourſe. And firſt it is caſten up by diverſe, that employ their pens upon Apologies for rebellions and treaſons, that every man is borne to carry ſuch a naturall zeale and duty to his common-wealth, as to his mother; that ſeeing it ſo rent, and deadly wounded, as whiles it will be by wicked & tyrannous Kings, good Citizens will be forced, for the naturall zeale and duty they owe to their own native Country, to put their hand to work for freeing their common-wealth from ſuch a peſt. Whereunto I give two anſwers. Firſt, it is a ſure Axiom in *Theologie*, that evill ſhould not be done, that good may come of it. The wickedneſſe therefore of the King can never make them that are ordained to be judged by him, to become his Judges. And if it be not lawfull to a private man to revenge his private injury upon his private adverſary (ſince God hath only given the ſword to the Magiſtrate) how much leſſe is it lawfull to the people, or any part of them (who all are but private men, the authority being alwayes with the Magiſtrate, as I have already proved) to take upon them the uſe of the ſword, whom to it belongs not, againſt the put like Magiſtrate, whom to only it belongeth. Next, in place of relieving the Common-wealth out of diſtreſſe (which is their only excuſe and colour) they ſhall heape double diſtreſſe and deſolation upon it: and ſo their rebellion ſhall procure the contrary effects that they pretend it for. For a King cannot be imagined to be ſo unruly and tyrannous, but the common-wealth will be kept in better order, notwithſtanding thereof, by him, then it can be by his way-taking. For firſt, all ſudden mutations are perilous in common-wealths, hope being thereby given to all bare men to ſet up themſelves, and flie with other mens feathers, the reines being looſed to all the inſolencies that diſordered people can commit by hope of impunity, becauſe of the looſeneſſe of all things.

And next, it is certaine that a King can never be ſo monſtrouſly vicious, but hee will generally favour juſtice, and maintaine ſome order, except in the particulars, wherein his inordinate luſts and paſſions carry him away: where by the contrary, no King being, nothing is unlawfull to none: And ſo the old opinion of the Philoſophers proves true, that better it is to live in a Common-wealth, where nothing is lawfull, then where all things are lawfull to all men: the Common-wealth at that time reſembling an un-daunted young horſe that hath caſten his rider. For as

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the divine Poet *Du Bartas* ſaith: *Better it were to ſuffer ſome diſorder in the eſtate, and ſome ſpots in the Common wealth, then, in pretending to reforme, utterly to overth ow the Republike.*

The ſecond objection they ground upon the curſe, that hangs over the common wealth, where a wicked King raigneth. And, ſay they, there cannot be more acceptable deed in the ſight of God, nor more dutifu l to their common-weale, than to free the Country of ſuch a curſe, and vindicate to them their liberty, which is naturall to all creatures to crave. Whereunto, for anſwer, I grant indeed, that a wicked K. is ſent by God for a curſe to his people, and a plague for their ſins. *But* that it is lawfull to th m to ſhake off that curſe at their owne hand, which God hath laid on them, that I deny, and may ſo doe juſtly. Will any deny that the King of *Babel* was a curſe to the people of God, as was plainely fore-ſpoken and threatned unto them in the prophecy of their Captivity? And what was *Nero* to the Chriſtian Church in his time? And yet *Ieremy* and *Paul* (as ye have alle heard) commanded them not only to obey them, but heartily to pray for their welfare.

It is certaine then (as I have already by the Law of God ſufficiently proved) that patience, earneſt prayers to God, and amendment of their lives, are the onely lawfull meanes to move God to relieve them of that heavie curſe. As for vindicating to themſelves their owne liberty, what lawfull power have they to revoke to themſelves again thoſe priviledges, which by their own conſent before were ſo fully put out of their hands? For if a Prince cannot juſtly bring back again to himſelfe the Priviledges once beſtowed by him or his predeceſſors upon any ſtate, or ranck of his ſubjects: how much leſſe may the ſubjects re ive out of the Princes hand that ſuperiority, which he and his Predeceſſors have ſo long brooked over them? *But* the unhappy iniquity of the time, which hath oftentimes given over good ſucceſſe to their treaſonable attempts, furni heth them the ground of their third objection. For, ſay they, the fortunate ſucceſſe that God hath ſo oft given to ſuch enterpriſes, prooveth plainly by the practice, that God favoure l the j ſtneſſe of their quarrell. To the which I anſwer, tha it is true indeed, that all the ſucceſſe of battels, as well as other worldly things, lyeth only in Gods hand. And therfore it is that in the Scripture he takes to himſelfe the God o Hoſts. But upon that generall to conclude, that he ever gives victo y to the juſt quarrell, would prove the *Philiſtims*, and diverſe other neighbour enemies of the people of GOD, to have oftimes had the juſt quarrell againſt the people of GOD, in reſpect of the many Victories they obtained againſt them. And by that ſame argument they had juſt quarrell againſt the A ke of God. For they wan it in the field, and kept it long priſoner i n the Coun try. As likewiſe by all good write s, as well Theologues, as other the Duells and ſingular combates are diſallowed: which are only made upon pretence that God will kith thereby the juſtice of the quarrell. For we muſt conſider that the inn ocen t party is not innocent before God. And therefore God will make oft times them that have the wrong ſide, reveng juſtly his quarrell; and when he hath done, caſt his ſcourge in the fire: as nee oftentimes did to his owne people ſtirring up and ſtrengthening their enemies, while they were humbled in his ſight, and then delive ed them in their h ands. So God, as the great Iudge, may juſtly puniſh his deputy, and for his rebellion againſt him, ſtir up his rebels to meete him with the like. And when it is done, the part of the inſtrument is no better than the divels part is in temp ting and torturing ſuch as God committeth to him as his hangman to do. Therefore as I ſaid in the beginning, it is oft times a very deceiveable argument, to iudge of the cauſe by the event.

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And the laſt objection is grounded upon the mutuall paction and adſtipulation (as they call it) betwixt the King and his people, at the time of his Coronation. For there ſay they, there is a mutuall paction, and contract bound up, and ſworne betwixt the King, and the people. Whereupon it followeth, that if the one part of the contract or the Indent be broken upon the Kings ſide, the people are no longer bound to keepe their part of it, but are thereby freed of their oath. For (ſay they) a contract betwixt two parties of all law frees the one party if the other breake unto him. As to this contract alledged made at the coronation of a King, although I deny any ſuch contract to be made then, eſpecially containing ſuch a clauſe irritant as they alledge: yet I confeſſe, that a King at his coronation, or at the entry to his Kingdome, willingly promiſeth to his people, to diſcharge honorably and truely the office given him by God over them. But preſuming that thereafter hee breake his promiſe unto them never ſo inexcuſable, the queſtion is, who ſhould be judge of the breake, giving unto them this contract were made unto them never ſo ſicker, according to their alleageance. I think no man that hath but the ſmalleſt entrance in the civill Law, will doubt that of all law either civill or municipall of any nation, a contract cannot be thought broken by the one party, and ſo the other likewiſe to be freed therefro except that firſt a lawful tryall & cognition be had by the ordinary Iudge of the breakers thereof. Elſe every man may be both party and judge in his own cauſe: which is abſurd once to be thought. Now in this contract (I ſay) betwixt the King and his people, God is doubtleſſe the only Iudge, both becauſe to him only the King muſt make count of his adminiſtration (as is oft ſaid before) as likewiſe by the oath in the Coronation, God is made judge and revenger of the breakers. For in his preſence, as only judge of oaths, all oaths ought to be made. Then ſince God is the only judge betwixt the two parties contractors, the cognition and revenge muſt only appertaine to him. It followes therefore of neceſſity, that God muſt firſt give ſentence upon the King that breaketh, before the people can think themſelves freed of their oath. What juſtice then is it, that the party ſhall be both judge and party, uſurping upon himſelfe the office of God, may by this argument eaſily appeare: And ſhall it lye in the hands of headleſſe multitude, when they pleaſe to weary off ſubjection, to caſt off the yoke of government that God hath laid upon them; to judge and punish him, by whom they ſhould be judged and puniſhed; and in that caſe, wherein by their violence they kythe themſelves to be moſt paſſionate parties, to uſe the office of an ungracious Iudge or Arbiter? Nay, to ſpeake truly of that caſe, as it ſtands betwixt the King and his people, none of them ought to judge of the others breake. For conſidering rightly the two parties at the time of their mutuall promiſe, the King is the one party, and the whole people in one body are the other party. And therefore ſince it is certaine, that a King, in caſe ſo it ſhould fall out, that his people in one body had rebelled againſt him, he ſhould not in that caſe, as thinking himſelfe free of his promiſe and oath become an utter enemy, and practice the wreak of his whole people and native Country: although he ought juſtly to puniſh the principall authors and bellowes of that univerſall rebellion: how much leſſe then ought the people that are alwayes ſubject unto him, and naked of all authority (on their part) preſſe to judge and overthrow him? otherwiſe the people, as the one party contracters, ſhall no ſooner challenge the King as breaker, but he as ſoone ſhall judge them as breakers: ſo as, the victors making the tyners the traitours (as our proverb is) the party ſhall aye become both judge and party in his owne particular, as I have already ſaid.

And it is here likewiſe to bee noted that the duty and allegeance, which the people ſweareth to their Prince is not only bound to themſelves, but likewiſe to their lawfull heires and poſterity, the lineall ſucceſſion of Crowns being begun among the people of God, and happily continued in diverſe Chriſtian common wealths. So as no objection either of hereſie, or whatſoever private ſtatute or Law may free the people from their oath giving to their King, and his ſucceſſion, eſtabliſhed by the old fundamentall Lawes of the kingdom. For, as he is their heritable Over-lord, and ſo by birth,

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not by any right in the coronation, commeth to his Crowne; it is a like unlawfull (the crowne ever ſtanding full) to diſplace him that ſucceedeth thereto, as to eject the former. For at the very moment of the expiring of the King raigning, the neareſt and lawfull heire entreth in his place. And ſo to refuſe him, or intrude another; is not to hold out uncomming in; but to expell, and put out their righteous King. And I truſt at this time whole France acknowledgeth the ſuperſtitious rebellion of the liguers; who, upon pretence of hereſie, by force of armes held ſo long out, to the great deſolation of their whole Country, their native and righteous King from poſſeſſing of his own crown and naturall kingdom. Not that by all this former diſcourſe of mine, & Apology for Kings, I meane that whatſoever errours and intollerable abhominations a Soveraigne Prince commit, he ought to eſcape all puniſhment, as if thereby the world were only ordained for Kings, and they without controlement to turne it upſide down at their pleaſure. But by the contrary, by remitting them to God (who is their only ordinary Iudge) I remit them to the ſoreſt and ſharpeſt ſchoole-Maſter that can be deviſed for them. For the further a King is preferred by God above all other rankes and degrees of men, and the higher that his ſeate is above theirs, the greater is his obligation to his maker. And therefore in caſe hee forget himſelfe (his unthankfulneſſe being in the ſame meaſure of height the ſadder and ſharper will his correction be: and according to the greatneſſe of the height he is in, the waight of his fall will recompence the ſame. For the further that any perſon is obliged to God, his offence becom and growes ſo much the greater, then it would bee in any other. Ioves thunder-claps light oftner, and ſorer upon the high & ſtately Oakes, then on the low and ſupple willow trees. And the higheſt bench is ſliddrieſt to ſit upon. Neither is it ever heard that any King forgets himſelfe towards God, or in his vocation; but God with the greatnes of the plague revengeth the greatneſſe of his ingratitude. Neither think I by the force & argument of this my diſcourſe ſo to perſwade the people, that none will hereafter be raiſed up, and rebell againſt wicked Princes. But remitting to the juſtice and providence of God to ſtirre up ſuch ſcourges as pleaſeth him, for puniſhment of wicked Kings (who made the very vermine and filthy duſt of the earth to bridle the inſolency of proud Pharaoh) my only purpoſe and intention in this treatiſe is to perſwade, as far as lyeth in me, by theſe ſure and infallible grounds, all ſuch good Chriſtian Readers, as beare not only the naked name of a Chriſtian, but kith the fruits thereof in their daily forme of life, to keepe their hearts and hands free from ſuch monſtrous and unnaturall rebellions, whenſoever the wickednes of a Prince ſhall procures the ſame at Gods hands: that, when it ſhall pleaſe God to caſt ſuch ſuch ſcourges of Princes, and inſtruments of his fury in the fire, ye may ſtand up with cleane hands, and unſpotted conſciences, having proved your ſelves in all your actions true chriſtians toward God, and dutifull ſubjects towards your King, having remitted the judgment and puniſhment of all his wrongs to him, whom to only of right it appertaineth. But craving at God, and hoping that God ſhall continue his bleſſing with us, in not ſending ſuch fearefull deſolation, I heartily wiſh our Kings behaviour ſo to be, and continue among us, as our God in earth, and loving Father, indued with ſuch properties as I deſcribed a King in the firſt part of this Treatiſe. And that ye (my deare Country men and charitable readers) may preſſe by all meanes to procure the proſperity, and welfare of your King: that, as he muſt on the one part thinke all his earthly felicity and happineſſe grounded upon your weale; caring more for himſelfe for your ſake then for his own, thinking himſelfe only ordained for your weale; ſuch holy and happy emulation may ariſe betwixt him, and you, as his care for your quietneſſe, and your care for his honour and preſervation, may in all your actions daily ſtrive together: that the Land may thinke themſelves bleſſed with ſuch a King, and the King may thinke Himſelfe moſt happie in ruling over ſo loving and obedient Subjects.

FINIS.

24.

TWO

DECLARATIONS

Of the *Lords* and *Commons* assembled in *PARLIAMENT.*

THE ONE

For the preservation and safety of the Kingdome, and the towne of *HVLL.*

With the assurance of both Houses to satisfie all losse sustained by any service done for the safety of the said Town, by reason of the overflowing of the water upon any the grounds there, to all persons that shall be found faithfull in their severall services.

Together with an Order of both Houses of Parliament to all Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of their severall Counties, to raise Forces to suppresse all disturbers of the peace.

THE OTHER

Concerning the miserable distractions and grievances this Kingdome now lieth in, by meanes of Jesuiticall and wicked councellors now about his MAIESTIE.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, that these Declarations be forthwith printed and published.

Iohn Browne Cler. Parliamentorum.

LONDON:
Printed by R. O. & G. D. for *Joseph Hunscott.*
Anno Domini. 1642.

DECLARATION

Of the Lords and Commons assembled

in PARLIAMENT

THE ONE

For the preservation and safety of the King-

dom, and the town of HULL.

With the assurance of both Houses to assist all loyal Subjects

ted by any service done for the safety of the said Town, by

resolving the severall things following, and by a stop upon the proceedings

therein all persons that shall be found faulty

in their severall services.

Together with an Order of both Houses of Parliament to all

Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of their severall Counties,

to raise Forces to suppress all disturbers of the peace.

THE OTHER

Concerning the unalterable difference and grievances this King-

dome now lieth in by means of Jesuiticall and wicked counsel-

lors now about him. MARCH 12.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that

these Declarations be forthwith printed and published.

LONDON:

Printed by R. O. & G. D. for Joseph Hunscott.

Anno Domini. 1642.

Two *Declarations* of the *Lords* and *Commons* assembled in *PARLIAMENT.*

AS in all our endeavours since this Parliament began, we intended wholly the advancement of His Majesties honour and safety, and the regainment of the ancient (though of late yeares much invaded) Rights, Laws, and Liberties, being the birthright of the Subjects of this Land, and sterling of the true *Protestant* Religion (the glory of our Nation) in peace and purity; so did we no lesse hope for, and expect his Majesties concurrence in those particulars, they being the very foundation of his Majesties present honour and greatnes, and the fountaine of perfect and future blisse to himselfe and all his loyall Subjects, which too evidently we see our selves (by the wicked Councellors now unmasked about his Majesty) not only deprived of, but insteed thereof, open war declared, & prosecuted against his Majesties loyall Subjects of *Hull*, and elsewhere in this Kingdom, far unsutable to such Declarations of love and peace as his Majesty hath frequently promised and published to the Kingdome, and in particular to the County of *York*, with solemne protestations, that he would not, nor had it entred into his thoughts, to make War against his Parliament, which how agreeable they are to the present courses of his Majesty and Councellors, specially since from his agents abroad, He received provisions fit for Warre, which immediatly have been put on for execution, we referre to the whole world to judge of.

But however those promises and protestations have been no sooner made, but broken, and our hope of peace and safety thereby wholly disappointed. Yet that it may appeare to all ages to come, that as in duty we are bound (the Kingdome having intrusted us) so we have not, nor will be found wanting in the least degree of our care and providence (God assisting us) for the preservation of the whole Kingdome, and the Town of *Hull*, and the Inhabitants thereof from violence and ruine, though for the effecting thereof, his Majesty hath proceeded to many hostile preparations and acts, by having got divers Pieces of great Ordnance, and other warlike provisions both of horse and foot, for the taking in of the said Town, and his other designes, and by cutting off their fresh-water, incercepting and restraining of victualls and other necessaries, for their subsistance and livelihood, as if to obey the Parliaments Commands (that being Sir *John Hothams* Crime) though never so much

for the safety of the whole Kingdome, were so capitall an offence, as nothing but death, ruine, and destruction could expiate.

Wherefore we the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, have thought fit, and do hereby declare, That whereas Sir *John Hotham* Governor of *Hul*, by the speciall order of the Parliament appointed for that service, hath bin forced for the prevention of the sudden surprisall and destruction of the Town, and the Inhabitants thereof, to let in some Tydes from *Humber* upon the grounds adjoyning to the said Towne, which for present could not otherwise have been secured; We do therefore hereby promise and assure all and every such person and persons whatsoever, either the Owners, or Farmers of any the said grounds which shall be impaired by this overflowing of the water, full and ample satisfaction for all such losse as they or any of them shall thereby sustaine (except such persons only) as formerly have been, now are, or hereafter shall be found the stirrers up, Abbettors, or furtherers of any such way, or meanes as have or may conduce to the endangering, or annoyance of the said Town of *Hull* or the Governor thereof in his service and duty therein, or shall any way disturbe the peace and safety of the said Town, or any the Inhabitants thereof, who stand well affected thereto. And we do also declare, That we the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, will not only protect, secure, and save harmlesse all and every such person, and persons whatsoever, as have or shall either by Sea, or Land, provide, furnish or deliver any provision of victuall, beere, or other thing whatsoever, for the reliefe and safety of the Garrison of *Hull*, but shall also make good payment for the same, and thankfully accept thereof, as good service done to the Kingdome, any pretended warrant issued, or hereafter to be issued out under the colour of any name or authority whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding: And forasmuch as we are informed, that some of the Inhabitants of *Hull* stand firmly resolved in their good affections to the service, and safe keeping of the said Town, for the good of the King and Kingdome, We thought fit also to declare, That all such of the Inhabitants thereof, as shall continue well affected to the said service, and stand close in their fidelity and assistance to the Governour thereof; we do hereby assure and promise them, that they shall receive from us protection and encouragement answerable to such a service, as will be very acceptable unto us, in respect of the importance of it, for the preservation of Religion, and safety of this Kingdom. And lastly, We do declare our acknowledgement, acceptance, & approbation of that prudent valour, vigilancy and faithfulnesse of the Governour, Officers and Souldiers employed

ployed in the said Town, both for the discovery of plots formerly contrived for the betraying of the said Town, and their undaunted resolutions to keepe the same against whomsoever for the Service of his Majesty and Kingdome; And do promise and assure them, that every particular good service done or to be done by any Commander or Souldier serving, or to serve therein, shall be rewarded as shall answer the greatnesse of this Kingdom, and the quality of the service.

Die Lunæ, 5. Julii, 1642.

IT is this day Resolved upon the Question by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that in case any force be brought out of one County into any other County of this Kingdome, to disturbe the peace thereof; That the Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of the Counties adjoyning upon notice given unto them of such disturbance, by the Lord Lieutenants or Deputie Lieutenants where such disturbance is made, be hereby required to give ayd and assistance to the said other Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants or any of them, so requiring the same, for the present suppressing of such force and disturbers of the peace, by Volunteirs, and such of the Trained Bands of their severall Counties that shall voluntarily goe to give their assistance.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Par. D. Com.

The Declaration of the Lords and Commmons now assembled in *PARLIAMENT*.

IT cannot be unknown to the World, how powerfull and active the wicked Councellors about his Majesty have beene, both before and since this *Parliament*, in seeking to destroy and extinguish the true Protestant Religion, the libertie, and Lawes of the Kingdom, and that after many Traiterous indeavours against the Parliament, by Gods provicence discovered and frustrated; they drew His Majestie in the Northern parts, and in his name did publish divers false scandalls and ignominious reproaches against the Lords and Commons, making His Majesties Court a sanctuary for all kind of Delinquents against the Iustice and Priviledge of Parliament: and drawing to *Yorke* by letters, and other means, diverse Members of both houses, and setting up there a counterfeit imaginary usage of the great Counsell of the Peers, in opposition to the Parliament to the great danger, not only of the disturbance, but even of the subversion of the original constitution and frame of this Kingdom.

And that the way to the great change in Religion and government intended, might be more easie and passable, many of those who have shewed themselves faithfull to the cause of God, and the Kingdome, either in Parliament or in the Country are put out of the Commission of Peace, and other publike employments. The Sheriffe of *Leicester* there labouring to keep the peace, when Mr.

Henry

Henry Haſtings marched from *Loughborough* in *Leiceſter* with about 200 Foot and 100 Horſe, of which many were drawn out of *Darbiſhire*. Armed in a warlike manner, with Piſtols, Pikes, and Munkets their Drumms beating, and Collours flying, intending to ſeize upon the Magazine of the County, was for his good ſervice put out of his office: And Mr. *Haſtings*: the Perſon who committed this outrage made Sheriffe in his place. Diverſe great Lords His Majeſties ſervants in places of neereneſſe and truſt, Perſons of high honour, merit, and abilities; as the Earle of *Pembroke*, *Eſſex*, *Holland* and the Lord *Feilding* diſplaced for no other cauſe but diſcharging their conſcience in Parliament; beſides diverſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, one of which hath long ſerved His Majeſtie in places of honour, and had alwayes beene in great favour and eſteeme, till he faithfully diſcharged his duty in Parliament. And laſt of all, the Earle of *Northumberland* put from the place of high Admirall a Man ſo emminent in all qualifications of honor and ſufficiency, ſo neceſſary for the State of this time; when ſo many Ships are at Sea and the Kingdome in ſo much trouble and diſtraction, that there can hardly be named a more miſchievous effect of wicked Counſell or dangerous preparative to future conſuſions, then the bereaving the ſtate of the ſervice of ſo Noble and vertuous a perſon as hee is. The conſideration whereof inforceth both Houſes to declare, that they cannot think the Kingdome in ſafety; nor themſelves to have diſcharged the truſt which lies upon them till they have done their uttermoſt, by all fit way to procure that office to bee reſtored, whereby the Commander of the Ships which are the Walls of the Kingdome, may againe be ſetled in the charge of that noble Lord.

In the midſt of theſe unjuſt and deſtructive courſes to blind the eyes of the multitude, and diſguiſe their malitious and cruell intentions under the ſemblanc of Peace and Iuſtice they have drawn his Maieſtie to make divers ſolemne Proteſtations, with fearefull imprecations upon himſelfe, an invocations of Gods holy name, that hee intended nothing but the peace and welfare of his people, the maintainance of Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom, and for his owne ſecurity onely, to raiſe a guard for his perſon. And that he did from His Soule abhor the thought of making War againſt the Parliament, or to put the Kingdome into a combuſtion; but having under this colour, kept about him, divers Souldiers & Officers, and gathered ſome ſtrength the intentions, do now appear with a more open face, by theſe his Majeſties enſuing actions, and proceedings.

Which the Lords and Commons have thought good to publiſh, that all the Subjects of the Kingdome may underſtand, what dan-

dangers & miſeries are cõming upon them if not timely prevented.

A Garriſon of Souldiers is by his Maieſties order put into *Newcaſtle*, under the command of the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, who ſhould have formerly ſeized upon *Hull*, if by the wiſdome of the Parliament he had not beene prevented.

The Papiſts in *Cheſhire* haue lately in a very peremptory manner, and in his Maieſties name, demanded their Arms taken from them by direction of both Houſes of *Parliament* to bee againe reſtored to them, The Earle *Rivers*, lately a notorius profeſt Papiſt, and ſtill ſuſpected to be a Papiſt, although he now comes to Church, as many other dangerous papiſts do, on purpoſe, as is conceived, to make themſelves capable of employment, is put into the Commiſſion of *Array*, being againſt Law, and the Liberty of the ſubject, which he hath executed with rigour, and hath committed divers perſons to priſon for refuſing to ſubmit thereunto, contrary to the Law, and the Petition of Right.

The mouth of the River of *Tyne* is fortified, whereby the whole trade of *New caſtle* for Cole or otherwiſe, wil be ſubject to be interrupted whenſoever His Majeſtiy ſhall pleaſe, and the City of *London*, and many other parts of the Kingdome exceedingly burthened and diſtreſſed.

A ſhip laden with *Canon* for *batterie*, and other leſſer Ordnance, powder and Ammunition is come into the River of *Hull*, which alſo hath brought divers Commanders from forreigne parts, and in this ſhip, as wee are credibly informed Maſter *Henry Willmot*, Sir *John Barkeley*, and Sir *Hugh Pollard*, three of thoſe who ſtand accuſed in Parliament, for being privie to the deſigne of bringing up the Army: and among others, the Lord *Digby*, a Perſon accuſed in Parliament, of High Treaſon, and thereupon fled out of the *Kingdome*, and adviſed his Majeſtie by Letters to that courſe which he hath ſince purſued, of with drawing him ſelfe from his *Parliament*, to a place of ſtrength, and that then he intended to come to him, and in the meane time would doe him ſervice abroad.

Divers great preparations of Warlike proviſions, are made beyond the Sea, and ſhortly expected, beſides great number of *Gentlemen*, *horſes*, and *Armes* drawne from all parts of the *Kingdome*, and all the *Gentlemen* in *Yorkſhire* required to bring in their horſes for his Majeſties ſervice.

Sundry Commiſsions are granted for raiſing horſe, and divers Officers of the Army are already appointed.

Vpon Monday morning being the Fourth of *July*, his Maieſtie came to *Beverley* with an *Army* of a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, ſome Regiments of the *Trained Bands*, being likewiſe commanded to be raiſed.

Among the Souldiers in this *Army* there are divers Papiſts, and

other persons of desperate fortune, and condition, ready to execute any violence, rapine and oppression.

Some Troopes of horse are sent into *Lincoln shire*, to the great terrour of the well affected people, who are thereby forced, either to forsake their dwellings, or to keep them with armed men.

They begin already to take away mens horses by force, and to commit other Acts of Hostility: and have uncivilly used and searcht a Gentleman sent from the Parliament with a Letter to his Maiesty.

Provisions are restrained from comming to *Hull*, and His Maiestie is shortly expected to come thither with his Army. Notwithstanding the place is in the custody of the Parliament, as hath been often declared to His Maiestie by both houses, and kept by them for his Maiesties service, and the peace of the Kingdom, whereof, assoon as they may be secured, they intend to leave the Town in the state it was.

The warre being thus by his Maiestie begun, the *Lords* and *Commons* in *Parliament*, holds themselves bound in Conscience to raise forces for the preservation of the *Peace* of the *Kingdome*, and protecting of the Subiects in their persons and estates, according to Law, the defence and security of *Parliament*, and of all those who have been imployed by them in any publike service for these ends, and through *Gods blessing* to disappoint the *designes* and *expectations* of those who have drawn His *Majestie* to these courses and Counsells, in favour of the Papists at home, the Rebells in *Ireland*, the forreign enemies of our Religion and peace.

In the opposing of all which, they desire the concurrence of the well-disposed *Subjects* of this Kingdome, and shall manifest by their Courses and endeavours, that they are carried by no respects but of the publike good which they will alwayes preferre before their own Lives and fortunes; And shall ever be most earnest in their *Counsells* and *endeavours* to prevent a Civill *warre*, and those miserable effects it must needs produce, if they may be avoided without endangering the alteration of *Religion*, which is the maine end of those who have been the Authors and Counsellors of his *Majesties* undertaking this Warre, and will necessarily draw with it a losse of *Libertie*, and subversion of the *Law* of the *Kingdome*; so that it rests onely that the free-born *English* Nation do consider whether they will adhere to the King and his Parliament, by which they have so long enjoyed all that is dear unto them; or to the King, seduced by Iesuiticall Counsell and Cavaliers, who have designed all to slavery and confusion, which by Gods blessing, and our joynt endeavours may be timely prevented. FINIS.

ARTICLES OF ACCVSATION AND IMPEACHMENT

Of the Houſe of Commons, and all the Commons of ENGLAND

AGAINST

VVilliam Pierce

Doctor of Diviniti̇e and Biſhop of *Bath and Wells.*

London, Printed for *George Thomlinſon*, and are to be ſold in the *Old-Baily*. 1642.

ARTICLES
OF
ACCVSATION
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Of the Houſe of Commons, and
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Articles of Accusation and impeachment by the Comons House of *Parliament* against *William Pierce*, Doctor of Divinity, and Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*.

1. THat hee hath by his owne arbitrary power against Law since he was Bishop of Bath and wells (being about ten yeares space) of purpose to keepe the people in ignorance, and hinder the Salvation of their Soules which he should promote, suppressed all Lectures within his Dioceese, both in Market Townes and elsewhere, aswell those that the Ministers kept in their severall cures, as others that were maintained by severall yearely stipends (given by the founders) out of their piety and devotion, for such goodnesse, or by the voluntary assistance of neighbour Ministers; some of which * Lectures had continued for 50. 40. 30. yeares, without interruption, and where countenanced by his predecessors, who used to preach at some of them in their turnes.

Among thes he hath suppersed the ancient weekly lecture at the City of Bath, whither many Nobles, and other strangers resort, especially in the spring and fall, who by reason of their sicknesse, both desire & need preaching for the consolation & instruction of their soules, of which now they are there destitute, to their great discomfort.

* John 5. 14. I dare say no Commentator whatsoever, ever made so ill an application of this Text.

2. That in stead of incouraging he hath suspended, excommunicated and otherwise vexed the said Lectures; glorying in this so doing *and thanking God that he had not a Lecture left in all his Dioceese*; the very name whereof he said he disliked, and affirmed unto *Master Cunnant* a Minister, who desired a continuance of a Lecture, that hee would not leave one within his Dioceese; the Bishop alleadging, that though there was neede of Preaching in the infancy of the Church of the Apostles time, yet now their was no such neede; and thereupon required the said Minister upon his Canonicall obedience, not to Preach; and in like manner he dealt with many other godly Ministers within his Dioceese. And in particular he suspended Master *Devenish* the Minister of *Bridgewater*, for preaching a Lecture in his owne Church on the market day there, (which Lecture had continued from Queene *Elizabeths* time till then;) and refused to absolve him, till he had promised never to preach it more; upon which promise, the said Bishop absolved him with this admonition of our Saviour, most prophanely applyed, * *Goe thy way sin no more, least a worse thing happen to thee.* And not content to put downe Lectures in his own Dioceese, he hath indeavored the suppression of them in others, by conventing some ministers of his Dioceese before him, as namely one Master *Cunnant* and Master *Strickland*) and threatning to suspend them for preaching their turnes at Lectures in other Dioceses neere them.

3. That in opposition to Preaching, and the Spirituall good of the peoples Soules, he hath most impiously, and against Law put downe all afternoone Sermons on the Lords day, throughout his Diocesse, and charged the Ministers both publique in his visitation, and privately, *not to preach at all on the Lords day in the afternoone, upon any occasion, under paine of suspension*; after which charge he suspended one Master *Cornish* a Minister, onely for preaching a funerall Sermon on a Lords day Evening.

4. That divers godly Ministers of his Diocesse, being restrained from Preaching, did then upon take great paines, to Catechise the people in the principals of Religion, on the Lords day in the afternoone, enlarging themselves upon the questions and answers of the Catechisme, in the Common-prayer booke, for the peoples better instruction, using some short prayers before or after that exercise: of which the said Bish p having intelligence, convented the said Ministers before him, reproving them sharpely for the same, threatning to punish them if they persisted in that way, which he said, *was a Catechisme Sermon-wise, and as if they preached*; charging them *that they should aske no questions, nor receive any other answers from the people, but such as were contained in the Catechisme in the Service booke*, which some not observing, were convented thereupon before the said Bishop, and punished, as namely Master *Barret* Rector of *Barwick*, who was enjoyned Penance for transgressing the Bishops said order; and likewise *Humphrey Blake*, Churchwarden of *Bridgewater*, was enjoyned penance by the Bishop, for not presenting Master *Devenish* Minister there, *for that he expounded upon the Church-Catechisme on the Lords day in the afternoone, and made a short prayer before he began the same*; the Bishop alleaging, that it was against his order and command, as is above said.

5. That he hath both by precept & example most prophanely opposed the due sanctification of the Lords day, by approving and allowing of prophane Wakes and Revels on that day, contrary to the Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, for which purpose he * *commanded afternoone service on the Lords day not to be long, that so the people might not bee hindred from their Recreations*; pressed and injoyned all the Ministers in his Diocesse in their proper persons, to reade the booke of sports, in their severall parish Churches, in the middest of Divine Service at morning prayer on the Lords day, contray to the words, and perport of the said booke, which some Ministers (as Master *Humphry Chambers*, and Master *Thomas* refusing to doe, he therefore suspended them both from their Office and Benefice and kept them excommunicated for divers yeares, notwithstanding the said booke was by the Bishops Order published in their churches by others: he convented the ministers of *Beererockham* before him for *having two Sermons on the said parish Revell day*, alleadging

* I appears by Act. 20.20.31. Act. 2 46.c 3. & 4. & 5. Lu. 21 37.38. Ioh. 8 22.19.47. 2. tim 4.2. by Basil. Magnus Hexaemeron. Hom. 2.7 8.9. & Hom. in Psal. 114. by Saint Chrysostom. Hom. 10.22. & 34. in Gen. Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 19.13. & 5. De sacerdotio. l. 6. hom. de Lazaro. by Augusti Concio. 2. in Psal. 68. Tract. 16.18. & 21. in Ioan. and other Fathers, that Christ, his Apostles, and the Fathers preached every day, and forenoone and afternoone on the Lords day, how dare then this prelate thus to affront their practise?

* O prophane Impiety and Iniustice, to punish ministers for preaching Catechising, and doing that which God enjoynes them.

* Impiety and prophaneness which no age can patterne, many ministers have been suspended and censured for shortning the Service, that they might preach the longer, and yet they are commanded to consult by this Bishop, that the people might have more time to play in Gods own day

that

that is was a hinderance to the said Revells and to the observance of the Church-Ale, provided to be spent on that day. He converted and punished one Master *Thomas Byford* a Minister, for Preaching at the Parish of *Mountague*, upon the Revell day, upon the Prophet *Isaiah* exhortation, *to fasting, weeping, and mourning*, charging him, *That not onely his Sermon, but his very Text was* * *scandalous to the Revell, and gave offence to the meeting.* And for the same reason, the said Bishop commanded the said Church-wardens of the Parish of *Barcombe*, to blot out of the Church wall, this Text of Scripture therein written, taken out of *Esay* 58, 13. 14. * *If thou turne away thy foote from the Sabboths, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord honorable, and shalt honour him, not doing thine owne waies, nor finding thine owne pleasure, nor speaking thine owne words, then shalt thou delight thy selfe in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth and feede thee with heritage of Jacob thy Father, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.* And he likewise caused to be raised out this clause in *Doctor Bisse* his monument in that Church, formerly Pastor there; he was an enemy to heathenish Revell. To countenance which Revells, the said Bishop (in opposition to the orders of the Judges of Assise, and Justices of Peace of *Somerset-shire*, for the suppressing of Sports and Revells and their Petition to the King, to that purpose) did call before him divers ministers of his Diocesse and presented unto them a writing in approbation and commendations of the said Sports and Revells, whereupon many of the said Ministers subscribed their names, by the Bishops perswasions, which writing the said Bishop sent up to the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, who after the receipt thereof suppressed the Justices Petition. And partly after the booke for Sports and Revells on the Lords day was published.

* A pious petition, after for an Alewise then a Bishop an Atheist then a Prelate.

* O blasphemy why was not the Revell, rather scandalous to the text.

* O the desperate impiety and prophanenesse of this Bishop, who might as well obliterate this Scripture out of the Bible, as out of the Church wall. This speech he borrowed from Canterbury, who might doe well to prove that God almighty sits actually on the Lords Table, & that as well when there is no Communion there, as when there is.

6. That hee hath both by example and command, contrary to the Lawes of the Land, introduced into all or most Churches in his Diocesse sundry Innovations in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and other new inventions of his owne, tending to Popery and Superstition; (as namely, setting up of Alters, and enjoyning the seats about them to be taken away, saying, * *none shall sit equall with or above God Almighty*; bowing and crossing to the said Altars, (and reading the second and third service at the Alter) and enjoyned the strict observation of them under the heaviest Censures of the Church; in so much that the Communion Table of *Siretton* in his Diocesse, which he had caused to be railed in Altarwise, being brought downe againe in his former place and not turned to the East, thereupon no Communion was there permitted to the Parishioners on *Palme-Sunday* and *Easterday* 1637. the minister having received *an Order* from the said Bishop, * *not to administer the Communion untill the Table was againe set up Alterwise*: and caused deverse to be punished for not standing up at the Gospel and *Gloria Patri*. And he hath likewise forced divers parishes, as *Tanto Shepton Mallet*, and others, to their intolerable cost, to set up *Organs*, * where

O monstrous superstition sacriledge & impiety, to deprive the people of the Sacrament, because the Table stood not after his new fancy No age I am certain yeelds such a president.

3. That in opposition to Preaching, and the Spirituall good of the peoples Soules, he hath most impiously, and against Law put downe all afternoone Sermons on the Lords day, throughout his Dioceſſe, and charged the Miniſters both publiquely in his viſitation, and privately, *not to preach at all on the Lords day vn the afternoone, upon any occaſion vnder paine of ſuſpenſion*; after which charge he ſuſpended one Maſter *Cornish* a Miniſter, onely for preaching a funerall Sermon on a Lords day Evening.

4. That divers godly Miniſters of his Dioceſſe, being reſtrained from Preaching did then upon take great paines, to Chatechiſe the people in the principals of Religion, on the Lords day in the afternoone, enlarging themſelves upon the queſtions and anſwers of the Catechiſme, in the Common-prayer booke, for the peoples better inſtruction, uſing ſome ſhort prayers before or after that exerciſe: of which the ſaid Biſhop having intelligence convented the ſaid Miniſters before him, reproving them ſharpely for the ſame, threatning to puniſh them if they perſiſted in that way, which he ſaid, *was a Chatechiſme Sermon-wiſe, and as if they preached*; charging them *that they ſhould aske no queſtions, nor receive any other anſwers from the people, but ſuch as were contained in the Catechiſme in the Service booke*, which ſome not obſerving, were convented thereupon before the ſaid Biſhop, and puniſhed, as namely Maſter *Barret* Rector of *Barwick*, who was enjoyned Penance for tranſgreſſing the Biſhops ſaid order; and likewiſe *Humphrey Blake*, Churchwarden of *Bridgewater*, was enjoyned penance by the Biſhop for not preſenting Maſter *Deveniſh* Miniſter there, *for that he expounded upon the Church-Catechiſme on the Lords day in the afternoone, and made a ſhort prayer before he beg an the ſame*; the Biſhop alleaging, that it was againſt his order and command, as is aboveſaid.

5. That he hath both by precept & example moſt prophanely oppoſed the due ſanctification of the Lords day, by approving and allowing of prophane Wakes and Revels on that day, contrary to the Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, for which purpoſe he *commanded afternoone ſervice on the Lords day not to be long, that ſo the people might not bee hindred from their Recreations*; preſſed and injoyned all the Miniſters in his Dioceſſe in their proper perſons, to reade the booke of ſports, in their ſeverall pariſh Churches, in the middeſt of Divine Service at morning prayer on the Lords day, contray to the words, and perport of the ſaid booke, which ſome Miniſters (as Maſter *Humphry Chambers*, and Maſter *Thomas* refuſing to doe, he therefore ſuſpended them both from their Office and Benefice and kept them excommunicated for divers yeares, notwithſtanding the ſaid booke was by the Biſhops Order publiſhed in their churches by others he convented the miniſters of *Beererockham* before him for *having two Sermons on the ſaid pariſh Revell day*, alleadging

* It appears by Act. 20.20.31. Act. 2 46.c 3. & 4. & 5. Lu. 21 37.38. Ioh. 8 22.19.47.2. tim 4.2. by Baſil. Magnus Hexameron. Hom. 2.7 8.9. & Hom. in Pſal. 114. by Saint Chryſoſtom. Hom. 10.22. & 34. in Gen. Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 19.13. & 5. De ſacerdotio. l. 6. hom. de Lazaro. by Auguſti Concio. 2. in Pſal. 68. Tract. 16.18. & 21. in Ioan. and other Fathers, that Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and the Fathers preached every day, and forenoone and afternoone on the Lords day, how dare then this prelate thus to affront their practiſe?

* O prophane Impiety and Iniuſtice, to puniſh miniſters for preaching Catechiſing, and doing that which God enioynes them.

* Impiety and prophaneneſſe which no age can patterne, many miniſter have been ſuſpended and cenſured for ſhortning the Service, that they might preach the longer, and yet they are commanded to corrall it by this Biſhop, that the people might have more time to play in Gods own day

that

that it was a hinderance to the said Revell, and to the mirth-mens of the Church-Ale, provided to be spent on that day. He censured and punished one Master *Thomas Byford* a Minister, for Preaching at the Parish of *Mountagu*, upon the Revell day, upon the Prophet *Joels* exhortation, *to fasting, weeping, and mourning*, charging him, *that not onely his Sermon, but his very Text was* * *scandalous to the Revell, and gave offence to the meeting.* And for the same reason, the said Bishop commanded the said Church-wardens of the Parish of *Bartcombe*, to blot out of the Church wall, this Text of Scripture therein written, taken out of *Esay* 58, 13. 14. * *If thou turne away thy foote from the Sabboth, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord honorable, and shalt honour him, not doing thine owne wayes, nor finding thine owne pleasure, nor speaking thine owne words, then shalt thou delight thy selfe in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth and feede thee with heritage of Jacob thy Father; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.* And he likewise caused to be raced out this clause in *Doctor Bisse* his monument in that Church, formerly Pastor there; he was an enemy to heathenish Revell. To countenance which Revells, the said Bishop (in opposition to the orders of the Judges of Assise, and Justices of Peace of *Somerset-shire*, for the suppressing of Sports and Revells and their Petition to the King, to that purpose) did call before him divers ministers of his Diocesse and presented unto them a writing in approbation and commendations of the said Sports and Revells, whereupon many of the said Ministers subscribed their names, by the Bishops perswasions, which writing the said Bishop sent up to the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, who after the receipt thereof suppressed the Justices Petition. And partly after the booke for Sports and Revells on the Lords day was published.

6. That hee hath both by example and command, contrary to the Lawes of the Land, introduced into all or most Churches in his Diocesse sundry Innovations in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and other new inventions of his owne, tending to Popery and Superstition: (as namely, setting up of Alters, and enjoyning the seats about them to be taken away, saying, * *none shall sit equall with or above God Almighty*; bowing and crossing to the said Altars, (and reading the second and third service at the Alter) and enjoyned the strict observation of them under the heaviest Censures of the Church; in so much that the Communion Table of *Stretton* in his Diocesse, which he had caused to be railed in Altarwise, being brought downe againe in his former place and not turned to the East, thereupon no Communion was there permitted to the Parishioners on *Palme-Sunday* and *Easterday* 1637. the minister having received *An Order* from the said Bishop, * *not to administer the Communion untill the Table was againe set up Alterwise*: and caused deverse to be punished for not standing up at the Gospel and *Gloria Patri*. And he hath likewise forced divers parishes, as *Tanto Shepton Mallet*, and others, to their intolerable cost, to set up *Organs*,

* where

* A pious barr upon the letter for an Alewise then a Bishop an Antichrist then a Prelate.

* O blasphemy why was not the Revell, rather scandalous to the text.

* O the desperate impiety and prophanenesse of this Bishop, who might as well obliterate this Scripture out of the Bible, as out of the Church wall. This speech he borrowed from Canterbury, who might doe well to prove that God almighty sits actually on the Lords Table, & that as well when there is no Communion there, as when there is.

O monstrous superstition sacriledge & impiety, to deprive the people of the Sacrament, because the Table stood not after his new fancy No age I am certain yeelds such a president.

where there were none at all, or not a long time before; causing the Churchwardens to levie mony towards the building of them upon the Parishioners against their wills, and punishing them in his Ecclesiasticall Court, that would not pay towards them, and that hee hath put the County of *Somerset* to excessive expences by reason of such innovations as aforesaid.

It seemes his Lordship delighted more in piping then preaching, and will have men goe merrily dancing, not mourning to heaven.

7. That he hath contrary to Law, vexed and molested in his Ecclesiasticall Courts divers of the Clergy and Laity of his Diocesse for triviall and small matters; excommunicated and vexed divers Churchwardens, for not rayling in the communion Table, and placing it Alterwise against the East wall of the Chancell; and by name, the Churchwardens of *Beckington*; whom he not excommunicated, but likewise caused them and others to be unjustly indicted at the open Assizes held in the County in Lent, 1636. as for a Riot in hindring the removing of the Table in that Church; putting the said Parish to the expence of 1800. pound or more, and not absolving the Churchwardens from their excommunion till the they had done such open and ignominious pennance, as the said Bishop enjoyned them, in three eminent Parish Churches within his Diocesse as likewise at the Market-crosse at *Wells*. The performance of which pennance wrought so farre upon *James Wheeler* one of the said Churchwardens that thereupon he fell into a consumption through griefe, and so dyed; saying often before his death, *that the performance of the said pennance being so ignominious and against his Conscience, was the cause of his death*; and by his vexatious suites in his Ecclesiasticall Courts he hath raised his Registers office in former Bishops time not worth above 60. pound *per annum*, to the value of 3 or 4 hundred pounds or more by the yeare.

8. That the said Bishop hath undoubtedly and against Law, pressed the Oathes *Ex Officio* upon divers Inhabitants of *Wells* without complaint or accusation, and likewise the Oath of *Deanes Rurall*, with other unlawfull Oathes, both upon the Clergie and Laity within his Diocesse, and other places; and suspended and excommunicated divers of them that refused to take the said Oathes: and that not only in his Consistory Court, but in his owne private Chamber, there being none but a Register with him.

9. That he hath for his owne Lucre and gaine exacted divers summes of money against Law, as of one *Fort* one of the Churchwardens of *South Pederton* twenty pounds. And also of one Master *Francklyn* the somme of three pounds (besides the some of ten pounds given in Fees and rewards to the Bishops servants) for instituting him into the Personage of *Standerwicke*. And hath likewise exacted the summe of sixe shillings eight pence or more, of divers Churchwardens and Parishes within his Diocesse, onely for not ringing the Bells when hee passed through the bounds of their severall Parishes in his Visitation, though privately without giving them any notice of his comming that way.

10. That he hath against Law deferred and denyed Institutions upon presen-

presentations to Benefices, practising in the interim, under hand to conserve the same upon his sonne, servants, or other dependants, and to deprive the Patrons of their rights: and hath even by force, against all law and equity, conferred two of the Benefices upon his sonne, servants, and dependants, viz. upon his sonne, the Parsonage of *Buthland*, and endeavored by the like force to conferre the Parsonage of *Standersecke* upon his said sonne, and other Parsonage upon his servants and allyes: and did against Law and by force conferr the Vicarage of *Hynstridge* upon his servant *Flamstead*.

13. That he hath attempted with witnesses examined by and before him upon Oath, to make them testifie untruths, and hath falsified their depositions, forcing both with his owne words and what hee pleased to have deposed, instead of what they testified; as namely in the Case of the Churchwardens of *Beckington*, and in that of M. *Jones* Minister of *Brewerscombe*.

Further is a common vexer, persecuter and molester of godly and painefull Ministers, and a countenancer of those who are negligent and unpainefull Ministers, as namely he hath vexed and persecuted Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Thrombe*, Mr. *Crocker*, Mr. *Newman*, Mr. *Barnard*, Mr. *Cumbar*, Mr. *Rosewell*, and many other good and painefull Ministers of the Diocesse, and countenanced his Chaplaine Mr. *Eglisfield*, Mr. *Gaylor*, and Mr. *Langworth*, with other vitious Ministers, and Mr. *Hall* and others specially gifted to pray.

And also the said Bishop against the Statute of 13. Eliz. cap. 12. and 23. Eliz. cap. 1. and 13. Eliz. cap. 20. and 1. Jacobi cap. 4. and 25. Henr. 8. cap. 19. and 1. Eliz. cap. 1. and 1. Jacobi cap. 25. and 3. Jacobi cap. 5. and 1. Jacobi cap. 4. and 1. Eliz. cap. 2

free from *Subsidies*, the said Bishop threatned by his power to put more Armes and Horses upon them, saying, *that if they would not serve the King with their purse, they should serve him with their persons*: And thereupon compelled them to pay the summes he demanded of them against Law: as namely, Mr. *Roswell*, Mr. *Iames*, Mr. *Abbot*, and others. And not contented herewith, the said Bishop pretending that there was divers poore Vicars and Ministers in his Diocesse that were not able to pay the benevolence, so that he could not raise the summe hee expected, thereupon directed his letters to divers of his wealthier Clergie, causing some of them to pay a * second contribution.

* Which some of the Countie conceive hee hath pursed up or discharged his owne share in this contribution therewith.

15. That the said Bishop not content with this first benevolence hath since that compelled divers of his Clergy to pay all or part of the sixe illegall subsidies or benevolences imposed by the late pretended Synod, without confirmation of Parliament, threatning to excommunicate and deprive them *ipso facto* who failed payment of it at the dayes prefixed by the Synod, and sent out a proces to Mr. *Newton*, minister of *Taunton* (even whiles the said Towne was much visited by the pestilence,) long before the said Subsidy or Benevolence was due, to enjoyne him to pay it punctually at the day, or else hee would inflict on him the penalties prescribed by this Synod; and used these speeches, that *if they did not pay the said Subsidies or Benevolence, they should be ground to powder.*

16. And the said Commons by Protestation saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against the said Bishop; And also of replying to the answers that he said Bishop shall make unto the said Articles, or to any of them, and of offering proofes also of the premisses or any of them, or any other impeachment or accusation that shall be exhibited by them (as the cause shall according to the course of Parliaments require) doe pray that the said Bishop may be put to answer to all and every the premisses. And that such proceedings, examinations, tryalls, and judgements may be upon every of them had and used, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

By these Articles of impeachment you may easily discover what a deliberately prophane, impious, turbulent Pilate the Bishop is, even such a one, whom no age (I thinke) in many particulars is able to paralell, whose prodigiously prophane speeches and actions proclaim to all the world, that our present Pilates impieties have made them fit for judgement; yea good for nothing but to be cast out and trampled under foote of men, as the very excrements and off-scourings of all things.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM